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Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday

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BAUDDHAVIDYĀSUDHĀKARAḤ

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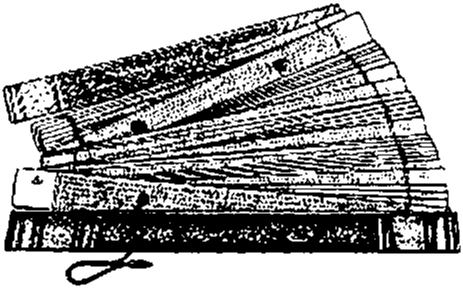
EDITED BY

PETRA KIEFFER-PÜLZ and JENS-UWE HARTMANN



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Preface

On the occasion of Heinz Bechert's 60th birthday in 1992, it was our aim to celebrate this event with a book demonstrating to the outside world the wide range and fruitfulness of Buddhological studies promoted by him in Göttingen. Admission to the felicitation volume was restricted to scholars who had some sort of connection with the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde or with the various research projects conducted by Prof. Bechert, such as the "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden" or the "Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden".

This time, on the occasion of his 65th birthday, we wanted to offer to his friends, colleagues and former students all over the world an opportunity to join us in congratulating Prof. Bechert by submitting a contribution to the *Festschrift* to be presented to him. Our call for papers did not go unheard, and with a certain feeling of satisfaction we now present the result. We consider its diversity, touching upon more or less every field of Buddhist studies at least once, a fitting tribute to the wide range of studies successfully pursued by Heinz Bechert himself during forty-five years of academic research.

It is our pleasant duty to thank all those who contributed in one way or other to the publication of this volume: first of all, the authors of the papers, especially those from Göttingen and Paul Harrison from the Antipodes who provided us with a camera-ready copy of their contributions, thus saving us a great deal of editorial work; second, Siglinde Dietz and Ute Hüsken, Göttingen, for proofreading and editorial assistance; then Reinhold Grünendahl, Göttingen, for helping in various ways with software problems; and last but by no means least Gustav Roth for his unstinting support, both moral and practical, and his unfailing encouragement when external hindrances threatened to jeopardize the timely completion of the book. As in 1992, he graciously donated the funds necessary for its publication.

Weimar/Göttingen, April 1997 The Editors

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Abkürzungen

AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge
BEI	Bulletin d'Études Indiennes
BSR	Buddhist Studies Review
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
IAF	Internationales Asienforum
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
JIABS	Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
SCEAR	Studies in Central and East Asian Religions
VOHD	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
WZKS	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens
ZAS	Zentralasiatische Studien

Once More on a Passage of the *Alagaddūpama-sutta*

KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA, Paris

Some years ago, I discussed a passage of the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, where six views relative to *ātman* are criticized.[1]

After scholars such as Hermann OLDENBERG and Helmuth VON GLASENAPP had commented upon the last of these six views,[2] viz., *so loko so attā, so pecca bhavissāmi nicco dhuvo sassato aviparināmadhammo sassatisamaṃ tath' eva ṭhassāmi*, K. R. NORMAN[3] pointed out – though not for the first time[4] – that it contained 'actual verbal echoes' of *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* III, 14. Here is what we read in the latter passage:

> *eṣa ma ātmāntar hṛdaye, etad brahma, etam itaḥ pretyābhisaṃbhavitāsmi* (*ChU* III, 14, 4).

Now, Professor NORMAN does not mention a most important fact, namely that the Upaniṣadic doctrine in question belongs to a stratum of thought which is earlier than that represented by the doctrines associated with such names as Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka Āruṇi. Attributed to Śāṇḍilya, this doctrine already appears, almost in the same words, in the tenth Book of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (X, 6, 3), and bears the stamp of the period between the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. The "attainment" of *ātman* it speaks of 'erscheint' – as DEUSSEN observed long ago – 'nach Analogie mit den hergebrachten Anschauungen noch als ein Emporsteigen zu himmlischen Regionen, – als wäre der Ātman anderswo zu suchen als in uns selbst.' Further on, DEUSSEN asked: 'Wer fühlt nicht den innern Widerspruch dieser Worte, und daß es, wenn der Ātman wirklich meine Seele ist, keines Hingehens mehr zu ihm bedarf!'[5]

Śaṅkara – for whom the subject of this passage is the meditation on "qualified *brahman*" (*saguṇa-brahman*) – says basically the same thing: '... The word

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[1] "*Diṭṭhaṃ Sutaṃ Mutaṃ Viññātaṃ*", *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, London, 1980, pp. 10–15. The passage in question occurs at *Majjhima-Nikāya* I, pp. 135–136. The editions of Pali texts quoted here are those of the Pali Text Society.

[2] See references in K. BHATTACHARYA, *L'Ātman-Brahman dans le bouddhisme ancien*, Paris, 1973 (Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. XC), p. 10, n. 4 to p. 9.

[3] "A Note on Attā in the Alagaddūpama-sutta", *Studies in Indian Philosophy: A Memorial Volume in Honour of Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghvi*, Ahmedabad, 1981 (LD Series, 84), pp. 19–29.

[4] See *L'Ātman-Brahman*, *op.cit.*, p. 10, n. 4 to p. 9.

[5] P. DEUSSEN, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* I, 2. *Die Philosophie der Upanishad's*, dritte Auflage, Leipzig, 1919, p. 309.

ātman does not mean [in this passage] the inmost Self itself. For the genitive *mama* "my" conveys the meaning of a relation, and in "this I shall attain" is mentioned the relation of the object and the agent [of the action of attaining][6]... It is without abandoning a little separation that it is stated: "I shall attain 'this', i.e. the *ātman*, after having departed from 'here', i.e. from this body."'[7]

From all we know of the attitude of early Buddhism toward Brahmanism,[8] it is not at all surprising to find a criticism of such a doctrine in a text of the Pali Canon. And it is not reasonable to use such texts as evidence of Buddhism's criticism of the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the *ātman*.

What is, however, meant by *loka* in the Pali passage under consideration, *loka* which is identified with *attan*? Without entering upon a polemic concerning the so-called Upaniṣadic "identification of the world and the self",[9] it can be said that similar expressions are found in the Upaniṣads. Thus, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* I, 4, 15: *ātmānam eva lokam upāsīta;* IV, 4, 22: *kiṃ prajayā kariṣyāmo yeṣāṃ no 'yam ātmāyaṃ lokaḥ.* But, while in the Upaniṣads, this "world" is inner, and to be realized here and now, in our passage, as also in the doctrine of Śāṇḍilya, it is paradoxically conceived as the yonder world, to be attained after death.

This view does not take into account the *khandha*-s, all impermanent and hence painful, with which the common folk identify the *ātman*. In our text, it is mentioned after the five other views identifying the *ātman* with the five *khandha*-s have been enumerated. More explicitly still, we are told in the *Pārileyya-sutta* of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, which presents the doctrine under discussion as an expression of "eternalism" (*sassataḍiṭṭhi*):[10]

> *na h' eva kho rūpaṃ attato samanupassati, na vedanaṃ attato samanupassati, na saññaṃ ... na saṃkhāre ... na viññāṇaṃ attato samanupassati. api ca kho evaṃdiṭṭhi hoti: so attā so loko, so pecca bhavissāmi nicco dhuvo sassato avipariṇāmadhammo ti.*[11]

But can one who says: 'After death, I shall become permanent ...' do so without some attachment to the *khandha*-s, which constitute our individuality? We thus read in the *(e)soattā-sutta:*

> *rūpe kho, bhikkhave, sati, rūpaṃ upādāya rūpaṃ abhinivissa evaṃ diṭṭhi uppajjati: so attā so loko, so pecca bhavissāmi nicco dhuvo sassato avipariṇāmadhammo ti.*

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[6] Cf. *Brahmasūtra* I, 2, 4, with Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya*.

[7] *na tv ātmaśabdena pratyagātmaivocyate, mameti ṣaṣṭhyāḥ sambandhārthapratyāyakatvād etam abhisambhavitāsmīti ca karmakartṛtvanirdeśāt ... antardhānam tad aparityajyaivaitam ātmānam ito 'smāc charīrāt pretyābhisambhavitāsmīty uktam. Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya* III, 14, 4, p. 174. (The editions of the Upaniṣads, with Śaṅkara's commentary, quoted here are those of the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, second edition, 1902.)

[8] See, e.g., *L'Ātman-Brahman, op.cit.* (n. 2), ch. III.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 14, n. 7.

[11] *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* III, p. 98.

> *vedanāya ... saññāya ... saṃkhāresu ... viññāṇe sati, viññāṇaṃ upādāya viññāṇaṃ abhinivissa evaṃ diṭṭhi uppajjati ...*[12]

This view, as well as the "nihilism" (*ucchedadiṭṭhi*), which does not arise either without some attachment to the *khandha*-s, is condemned.

So much for this view. Professor NORMAN only touches upon the fifth view mentioned in our passage, viz. the one that identifies the *ātman* with the fifth *khandha*, the *viññāṇa*.[13] But the terms in which this view is expressed — *yaṃ p' idaṃ diṭṭhaṃ sutaṃ mutaṃ viññātaṃ pattaṃ pariyesitaṃ anuvicaritaṃ manasā taṃ pi 'etaṃ mama, eso 'ham asmi, eso me attā' ti samanupassati* — have given rise to some discussion.

These words have been contrasted with those of Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad:*

> *ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ. Maitreyi, ātmano vā are darśanena śravaṇena matyā vijñānenedaṃ sarvaṃ viditam (ātmani khalv are dṛṣṭe śrute mate vijñāta idaṃ sarvaṃ viditam).*[14]

However, no sensible reader of the Upaniṣads will believe that in the Upaniṣads, and particularly with the great thinker Yājñavalkya,[15] the *ātman*, the Absolute (and not the psycho-physical being), can be seen, as you see, for instance, a cow, or shown as one shows a cow by holding it by its horns.[16] This interpretation — if it can be called an interpretation at all — is contradicted by *all* statements of Yājñavalkya:

> *yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati ... tad itara itaraṃ paśyati, tad itara itaraṃ śṛṇoti ... tad itara itaraṃ manute, tad itara itaraṃ vijānāti. yatra vā asya sarvam ātmaivābhūt ... tat kena kaṃ paśyet, tat kena kaṃ śṛṇuyāt ... tat kena kaṃ manvīta, tat kena kaṃ vijānīyāt.*[17]
>
> *na dṛṣṭer draṣṭāraṃ paśyer na śruteḥ śrotāraṃ śṛṇuyā na mater mantāraṃ manvīthā na vijñāter vijñātāraṃ vijānīyāḥ.*[18]
>
> *adṛṣṭo draṣṭāśrutaḥ śrotāmato mantāvijñāto vijñātā.*[19]
>
> *adṛṣṭaṃ draṣṭṛ aśrutaṃ śrotṛ amataṃ mantṛ avijñātaṃ vijñātṛ.*[20]

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[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 182–183. See also the passage of the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* itself at *Majjhima-Nikāya* I, pp. 138–139.

[13] See "*Diṭṭhaṃ Sutaṃ Mutaṃ Viññātaṃ*", *loc. cit.*, p. 11 and n. 3.

[14] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* II, 4, 5; IV, 5, 6.

[15] Cf. DEUSSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[16] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* III, 4. — *viṣpaṣṭaṃ śṛṅge gṛhītvā yathā gāṃ darśayati*, Śaṅkara *ad loc.*, p. 441.

[17] *Ibid.* II, 4, 14 (cf. IV, 5, 15). Cf. *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* VII, 24. The passage has been discussed in *L'Ātman-Brahman*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[18] *Ibid.* III, 4, 2.

[19] *Ibid.* III, 7, 23.

[20] *Ibid.* III, 8, 11.

The four empirical "ways of knowledge", *dṛṣṭi, śruti, mati, vijñāna* (*vijñāti*), are recognized in Buddhism as well as in the Upaniṣads.[21] But the Absolute is beyond them. The *dṛṣṭi* that Yājñavalkya speaks of with reference to the *ātman* is a "seeing" of a different kind. It is the vision of the Absolute, which cannot even be properly called a vision, being beyond the subject-object split. Echoes of the four stages of spiritual knowledge mentioned by Yājñavalkya are also found in the Pali Canon.[22]

Scholars have been prone to see polemics against the Upaniṣads in Buddhist texts when they actually talk about different matters, or even when they say the same thing.[23] The Buddha's rejection of the views that identify the *ātman* with the *khandha*-s (*eso 'ham asmi*) cannot be interpreted as a rejection of the *tat tvam asi* of Uddālaka Āruṇi,[24] which, correctly understood, implies the negation expressed by the Buddha (*n' eso 'ham asmi*).[25]

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[21] Cf. also Śaṅkara, *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* I, 3, 19: *dṛṣṭiśrutimativijñātayo hi jīvasya svarūpam … sarvo hi jīvaḥ paśyañ śṛṇvan manvāno vijānan vyavaharati* (*Brahmasūtraśāṅkarabhāṣya*, with the Commentaries *Bhāmatī, Kalpataru* and *Parimala*, ed. Anantakṛṣṇa ŚĀSTRI, Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, second edition, 1938, p. 304).

[22] "*Diṭṭhaṃ Sutaṃ Mutaṃ Viññātaṃ*", *loc. cit.*, p. 12–13. Śaṅkara's disciple Sureśvara gives an interpretation of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* passage which differs from the Master's. See *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣyavārttika* with Ānandajñāna's *Śāstraprakāśikā*, Poona, 1892–1894 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 16), pp. 1068 ff., vv. 212 ff. But that is a different matter, and it does not affect our standpoint here.

[23] In one instance, at least, the Buddha's words have been attributed to his opponent — against the Tradition, and at the risk of absurdity — simply because the idea expressed by those words does not tally with the scholars' own notion of Buddhism. See *L'Ātman-Brahman*, *op. cit.*, p. 54, n. 2; also my review of C. A. SCHERRER-SCHAUB, *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 22 (1994), p. 392. Others have, more modestly, relegated the same words to a 'precanonical' or 'pre-Hīnayānistic' Buddhism.

[24] NORMAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

[25] *L'Ātman-Brahman*, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

Nāgārjuna's Logic*

JOHANNES BRONKHORST, Lausanne

Some years ago Claus OETKE published several articles[1] dealing with the arguments and teaching of Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (MMK) and Vigrahavyāvartanī (VV). In these articles he corrected a number of mistaken notions that existed in connection with these texts, and analysed their most important arguments. He dedicated a whole article to one type of argument, which recurs frequently in Nāgārjuna's work.[2] This article, the problem it studies and the solution it offers, is the subject of this paper. The type of argument concerned has the following structure: There can be no entities of a certain kind F that are G, and there can be no entities of the same kind F that are not-G. An argument of this type can only lead to the conclusion that there cannot be any entity of the kind F, provided, of course, that the premises are correct. It is here, however, that the difficulties begin.

Let us consider an example. It occurs in the first verse of chapter 21 of the MMK, where it is stated that there is no destruction without or together with production, and that there is also no production either without or together with destruction. OETKE draws in this connection attention to what he calls the "temporal-atemporal ambiguity" — there is no destruction while there is production, but there certainly is destruction later on — and observes: "the fallacious character of the argument, if based on the 'temporal-atemporal ambiguity', is so obvious that it seems quite improbable that the author of the MMK should not have noticed it". Indeed, saying that there is no destruction without production means that there is no destruction that has not been preceded by production; the statement that there is no destruction together with production, on the other hand, means that the two do not occur simultaneously. OETKE then concludes: "we must either assume that Nāgārjuna being well aware of the unconclusiveness of his reasoning intended for some reason to present such an argument here or assume that his argument was subject to tacit presuppositions which either strengthened the force of the reasoning or made the aim of the proof weaker than it appears to be". The

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* This article is the somewhat belated outcome of a seminar on Nāgārjuna organised by Prof. T. E. VETTER at Leiden University in 1979/1980. See in this connection VETTER, 1982; 1982a.

[1] See the bibliography at the end of this article.

[2] OETKE, 1990. See further OETKE, 1988: 53f.; 1989: 10f.; 1991: 320; 1992: 208 Anm. 21.

second of these two assumptions appears to be the more reasonable one. The question is therefore: which are Nāgārjuna's tacit presuppositions?

Tacit assumptions may be required to understand chapter 19 of the MMK, too. OETKE describes the situation as follows: "In chapter XIX Nāgārjuna reasons to the effect that time does not exist by arguing that present and future are not independent of the past but also not dependent because if present and future were depending on the past they would exist in the past, a consequence that is obviously regarded as unacceptable. Similar consequences exist regarding the dependence of past and present on future and past and future on present." OETKE then comments: "Here the reasoning seems prima facie absurd. ... It seems hardly conceivable that Nāgārjuna should have clung both to the thesis of the dependence between the time epochs and to the assumption concerning the entailment between dependence and coexistence without special reasons." Again the question presents itself: what were Nāgārjuna's special reasons?

It is not possible to reproduce OETKE's further analyses of the problems at hand in complete detail here. Let it be sufficient to note that he addresses the problems with admirable skill and thoroughness. In the end he solves them with what he calls the "hypothesis of the merger of condition-types". Nāgārjuna is credited with the following general theorem:

> For all x and for all y: If x is the condition of y / If x is the condition of the existence of y, then y must be something that exists during the existence of x (or: that does not exist exclusively later than x).

OETKE calls this theorem P5; I will refer to it as "OETKE's theorem".

Applied to Nāgārjuna's proofs, this theorem is often able to complete them, or it can bridge some obvious gaps in the argumentation. Past, present and future, for example, are conditions for each other, and must therefore, according to this theorem, exist simultaneously. In the case of production and destruction, too, OETKE is able to show that his "theorem ... and the principles that lie at its root can be exploited to account for the way in which the author of the MMK argues" in the relevant passage. OETKE mentions some other passages where the theorem might play such a role, and observes, quite generally, that this theorem and the related views constitute a principle that lies at the root of a great number of argumentative reasonings in the MMK.

OETKE may be right in thinking that his theorem is capable of explaining a great number of argumentative reasonings in the MMK. The question is however whether this really solves the problem. Does the solution not rather shift the problem? Isn't the fallacious character of the theorem so obvious that it seems quite improbable that the author of the MMK should not have noticed it? Is it conceivable that Nāgārjuna clung to it without special reasons? Which then were those reasons? Why should anyone accept such a peculiar theorem? Indeed, OETKE himself feels obliged to make the following concession: "It is true that on the hypothesis that [the above theorem] and its

underlying assumptions play a key-role in the mentioned passages it would hold that the author of the MMK applied principles to instances that contradict their general validity."

I think that the problems discussed by OETKE can be solved differently. To begin with, we must recall that Nāgārjuna was a Buddhist. In his time many Buddhists had come to look upon the phenomenal world as being ultimately unreal. Objects in the phenomenal world were considered to have nominal existence only. OETKE himself describes this situation in his article "Rationalismus und Mystik in der Philosophie Nāgārjunas" in the following words:[3]

> Es ist wohlbekannt, daß in bereits relativ früher Zeit im Buddhismus die Tendenz bestand, aus Bestandteilen zusammengesetzten Dingen letztliche Existenz abzusprechen. Der vielleicht berühmteste Text, der diese Auffassung (oder zumindest die Tendenz zu dieser Auffassung) belegen dürfte, ist der Abschnitt des Wagengleichnisses des Milindapañha. Man muß annehmen, daß die Ansicht, derzufolge aus Elementen konstituierten Dingen nur "nominelle", nicht letztliche Existenz zuerkannt werden kann, sich zur Zeit N[āgarjuna]s bei den Buddhisten weithin durchgesetzt hatte. Die Prinzipien, mit denen diese Art von "ontologischer Reduzierung" begründet wurden, finden sich nun in Texten, die von der Zeit der Entstehung des Madhyamaka nicht allzu weit entfernt sind, ausdrücklich genannt.

OETKE uses this description of the ideas current in Nāgārjuna's time to make plausible that Nāgārjuna accepted the theorem which we call OETKE's theorem. These ideas can, however, shed more direct light on Nāgārjuna's arguments.

The phenomenal world, seen in this way, is completely determined by words. It is also, ultimately, unreal. Nāgārjuna inherited this belief, and, it appears, extended it. He may have been the first to draw sentences into the picture, besides individual words. And what he tried to do is to show that many of those sentences are somehow impossible, or self-contradictory. He did not, however, abandon the pan-Buddhist belief that words and things in the phenomenal world correspond to each other. This belief is rather, in an important way, his point of departure. He concludes from it that the words of a sentence must correspond, individually, to things in the phenomenal world. More precisely, the words of a sentence must correspond, one by one, to the things that constitute the situation described by that sentence. In the case of the sentence "Devadatta reads a book" there can be no doubt that this sentence describes a situation in which there are three things: Devadatta, his book, and the activity of reading. However, in certain other cases this position gives rise to the difficulties and contradictions which have become Nāgārjuna's hallmark. In the end they supposedly prove that the phenomenal world is indeed ultimately unreal.

[3] Cp. OETKE, 1989: 12.

Take as an example the sentence "Devadatta makes a jar" (*devadatto ghaṭaṃ karoti*). This sentence describes a situation in which supposedly three things interact: Devadatta, the activity of making, and a jar. These three objects must be there, while and as long as the action of making a jar is in progress. But this is impossible, for at that time the jar is still being made, and is therefore not yet in existence.

This simple principle — which I have approximately described as "the words of a sentence must correspond, one by one, to the things that constitute the situation described by that sentence"; I will refer to it as the "correspondence principle" — seems capable of explaining many of Nāgārjuna's arguments. I shall limit myself to the ones dealt with by OETKE in connection with his theorem.

Before doing so, I wish to emphasize that Nāgārjuna's arguments concern the phenomenal world, not language. Since, however, he believed that the phenomenal world is determined by language, his arguments are often based on certain linguistic features.

Turning now to Nāgārjuna's arguments, consider first the first two verses of chapter 19 of the MMK:[4]

> If present and future existed depending on the past, (then) present and future would be in the past. If present and future would not be there [in the past], how would present and future be depending on that?

This verse concerns the true statement: "Present and future depend on the past", in Sanskrit: *pratyutpanno 'nāgataś ca atītam apekṣya* (*staḥ*).[5] Our correspondence principle requires that present, future and past are there in the situation described, which is the phenomenal world. In other words, present and future are in the past, present and past in the future, and future and past in the present.

The discussion of production and destruction in chapter 21 of the MMK is very similar. It concerns the statement "destruction depends on production", or "destruction occurs along with production", or even "destruction necessarily follows production". All these statements — which apply without doubt to the phenomenal world — describe a situation in which destruction and production must coexist. This, however, gives rise to the confrontation with experience expressed in verse 5:[6]

> How should production be together with destruction? For birth and death are not found [like that] at one and the same time.

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[4] MadhK(deJ) 19.1–2: *pratyutpanno 'nāgataś ca yady atītam apekṣya hi | pratyutpanno 'nāgataś ca kāle 'tīte bhaviṣyataḥ ‖ pratyutpanno 'nāgataś ca na stas tatra punar yadi | pratyutpanno 'nāgataś ca syātāṃ katham apekṣya tam ‖* tr. OETKE.

[5] Note the independent use of the absolutive in MadhK(deJ) 19.1ab.

[6] MadhK(deJ) 21.5: *sambhavo vibhavenaiva kathaṃ saha bhaviṣyati | na janma maraṇaṃ caiva tulyakālaṃ hi vidyate ‖* tr. OETKE.

As a further example OETKE refers to MMK 1.6:[7]

> Neither of a non-existent nor of an existent thing is a cause possible. Of what non-existent (thing) is there a cause, and of an existent (thing) what is the use of a cause?

Seen from the point of view of the correspondence principle, there is no difficulty in understanding the verse. The statement "a is the cause of b" or "the effect depends on the cause", along with our principle, justifies the conclusion that effect and cause must be part of the situation described. This means that the cause has an existent effect. Our experience, on the other band, teaches that the effect does not exist while its cause exists.

MMK 7.2, also mentioned by OETKE to illustrate the applicability of his theorem, reads:[8]

> The three (characteristics) origination etc. are separately not capable of the performance of the characterization of the conditioned (thing); (but) how would they be together at one place at one time?

The answer inspired by the correspondence principle is easy: these three characteristics are together in the phenomenal world, because they depend upon each other — destruction depends on origination, etc. — and because true statements can express this. In our experience, on the other hand, the three characteristics do not occur together. Once again we arrive at the contradiction, whicb it is Nāgārjuna's intention to demonstrate.

Finally there is MMK 10.11, whicb has a parallel in VV 42 and its commentary. It reads:[9]

> The thing that is established in dependence, how could it depend (when it is) unestablished? Or it depends (when it is) established — (then) its dependence is not possible.

Unfortunately OETKE does not say how he makes this verse intelligible with the help of his theorem, and nor am I quite sure how to elucidate it with the correspondence principle.

It is time to compare the two different types of explanations which we have considered so far. OETKE's theorem, as far as I can see, explains the different verses satisfactorily, but so does the correspondence principle. This raises the question whether OETKE's theorem and the correspondence principle are somehow equivalent, that they constitute two different ways of saying the same thing.

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[7] MadhK(deJ) 1.6: *naivāsato naiva sataḥ pratyayo 'rthasya yujyate | asataḥ pratyayaḥ kasya sataś ca pratyayena kim* ‖ tr. OETKE.

[8] MadhK(deJ) 7.2: *utpādādyās trayo vyastā nālaṃ lakṣaṇakarmaṇi | saṃskṛtasya samastāḥ syur ekatra kathaṃ ekadā* ‖ tr. OETKE.

[9] MadhK(deJ) 10.11: *yo 'pekṣya sidhyate bhāvaḥ so 'siddho 'pekṣate katham | athāpy apekṣate siddhas tv apekṣāsya na yujyate* ‖ tr. OETKE.

This is not however the case. It seems justified to think that the correspondence principle covers all cases also covered by OETKE's theorem, but not vice-versa. For any sentence of the type "A is the condition of (the existence of) B" — which expresses the realm of applicability of OETKE's theorem — falls automatically in the realm of the correspondence principle, which concerns all sentences whatsoever. Sentences that are not of the type "A is the condition of (the existence of) B", on the other hand, are not covered by OETKE's theorem, yet they fall within the realm of the correspondence principle.

I have already drawn attention to the fact that the correspondence principle has the distinct advantage of fitting in well with what we know was a generally held belief among the Buddhists of the time, the belief that there is a close connection between words and the objects of the phenomenal world. In this it contrasts sharply with OETKE's theorem, which makes one wonder why anyone should have accepted such a counterintuitive statement. We have seen that OETKE himself gave expression to similar doubts. In order to strengthen the case for the correspondence principle even further, we will discuss some cases where this principle offers a direct and obvious explanation of Nāgārjuna's argument, whereas OETKE's theorem is either of no help, or is of help only in a roundabout, non-obvious manner. These cases, be it noted, do not prove that OETKE's theorem is somehow incorrect. On the contrary, this theorem, as it seems to me, is confirmed and strengthened by the circumstance that it appears to constitute part, a special case, of a wider principle accepted by Nāgārjuna.

A case where OETKE's theorem does not appear to be applicable occurs in the second chapter of the MMK, which proves the impossibility of going. Verse 5 reads:[10]

> If there is a going of [a road] that is being gone, there would be two goings: that by which the [road] is being gone, and again the going on it.

Underlying this argument is some such sentence as "[the road] which is being gone, is being gone" (*gamyamānaṃ gamyate*; cp. MMK 1d: *gamyamānaṃ na gamyate*); Nāgārjuna appears to think that it is well-formed. In the situation described by this sentence, there must be two goings, for two words that refer to going figure in the sentence. This is what verse 5 says, and this is what we expected on the basis of the correspondence principle.

This example, more than most others, demonstrates the close connection that exists for Nāgārjuna between language and reality. It seems to me unlikely that OETKE's theorem can explain this verse, and I would be surprised to see it satisfactorily explained by any theorem or principle that does not take the close connection between language and reality into account.

[10] MadhK(deJ) 2.5: *gamyamānasya gamane prasaktaṃ gamanadvayam | yena tad gamyamānaṃ ca yac cātra gamanaṃ punaḥ ||*

The theme of the two goings comes up again later on in the same chapter, this time in connection with the sentence "the goer goes" (*gantā gacchati*). Verses 22 and 23 read:[11]

> The going by which the goer is manifested, that he does not go, because he is not prior to going. For someone goes something. Another going than that by which the goer is manifested, he does not go, because two goings cannot occur at one (single) goer.

Seen from the point of view of the correspondence principle, the problem described in these verses is clear. Two words referring to the act of going occur in the sentence "the goer goes", so there should be two acts of going. Since this is impossible in the case of one goer, we have to decide which of the two the goer goes: is it the one that gives him his name 'goer'? or is it the other one? The one that gives him his name has to precede him. But the going he goes must follow him, "for someone goes something".

Interestingly, OETKE discusses these same two verses, too. According to him, "It seems that the mechanism involved here consists in a remodelling of the symmetrical relation of bilateral implication into a non-symmetrical dependence relation between particulars." In a note he admits that such a transformation is not immediately obvious in the case of these two verses, and in his main texts he points out that it would need a thoroughgoing analysis of the whole chapter to substantiate his statements "which cannot be taken up here". It is a pity that OETKE does not discuss the use of his theorem in the case of these two verses, for they might constitute a case where the relative merits of his theorem and of the correspondence principle could be compared.

Another case is MMK 7.17, which reads:[12]

> If any unproduced entity is found anywhere it could be produced. Since that entity does not exist, what is produced?

This verse could be illustrated with the sentence "The jar is being produced". Since this phrase does not, as far as I can see, refer to two objects, one of which could be the condition of the other, OETKE's theorem would seem to be inapplicable here. The correspondence principle, on the other hand, is applicable, and requires that words of this sentence must correspond to objects in the phenomenal world. But of course there is no jar in the situation described by the sentence "The jar is being produced".

Having argued that the correspondence principle appears to give expression to Nāgārjuna's more or less consciously held beliefs, it is necessary to point out

[11] MadhK(deJ) 2.22–23: *gatyā yayājyate gantā gatiṃ tāṃ sa na gacchati | yasmān na gatipūrvo 'sti kaścid kiṃcid dhi gacchati | gatyā yayājyate gantā tato 'nyāṃ sa na gacchati | gatī dve nopapadyete yasmād eke tu gantari |* tr. OETKE.

[12] MadhK(deJ) 7.17: *yadi kaścid anutpanno bhāvaḥ saṃvidyate kvacit | utpadyeta sa kiṃ tasmin bhāva utpadyate 'sati ||*. This translation follows OETKE (1992 [p. 203; cp. p. 210f.]), who discusses and rejects the possibility of a logical error in this verse.

its weaknesses. We formulated this principle in the following, approximate, manner: "the words of a sentence must correspond, one by one, to the things that constitute the situation described by that sentence". This formulation gives of course rise to many questions. Did Nāgārjuna really believe that there are objects in the phenomenal world corresponding to all words, including adverbs and other indeclinables? And even if we only consider nouns, adjectives and verbs, did Nāgārjuna really think that these three types of words imposed some kind of ontology upon the phenomenal world, as the Vaiśeṣikas did? Other questions of a similar nature could be asked, but unfortunately it may not be possible to find satisfactory answers to any of them. I do not think that Nāgārjuna's MMK and VV contain passages that would allow us to draw conclusions as to his position in matters like these. But then, he may not have worried much about the precise ontological structure of the phenomenal world, for the phenomenal world, for him, had ultimately no existence whatever, and therefore hardly merited all that much attention; the same is true for words, which do not really exist either. Nāgārjuna may not have been really interested in these questions, and we, modern researchers, may have to content ourselves with the observation that the correspondence principle, though incomplete and imprecise, helps us to understand Nāgārjuna's arguments. While trying to identify tacit assumptions, however, we have to take into account that the first requirement is not that these assumptions look plausible to us. They should be such that they can reasonably be considered to look plausible to the author concerned, in this case Nāgārjuna. And this, I would think, can safely be said of the correspondence principle.

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Abbreviations

MMK	Mūlamadhyamakakārikā
MadhK(deJ)	Nāgārjuna, Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ, ed. J. W. de JONG
VV	Vigrahavyāvartanī, ed. E. H. JOHNSTON and Arnold KUNST (in BHATTACHARYA, 1986)

Two *karmavācanā* Texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins: *cīvarādhiṣṭhāna* and *pātrādhiṣṭhāna*

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One of the characteristic features of the Buddhist order is a well-organized juridical system. In accordance with this system there exist a certain number of separate collections of formulae concerning administrative, ritual and disciplinary acts (*karman*; pa. *kamma*). These formulae are called in general *karmavācanā* texts and are applied in due process during the specific acts which are performed either periodically or when necessary.

The collections of the *karmavācanā* texts handed down separately by various Buddhist traditions are in many cases a compilation of formulae without any concrete criterion for selection and arrangement. Even the collections which are considered to belong to the same school show considerable differences in those criteria. In addition, the formulae are arranged into lines with only brief connecting remarks of varying length, or in some cases without connecting remarks. As a result, the functional context of these formulae often remains uncertain. In most cases these formulae have their equivalents in the so-called Vinayavastus[1], which, classified by subject, consist of ca. 17–22 sections.[2] Accordingly the potential functional uncertainty of the respective formulae can be reduced through comparison with their equivalents in the Vinayavastu, which gives an explanation of the enactment and application of the formulae.

The authenticity of some *karmavācanā* collections is often questioned.[3] It is quite possible that certain collections were originally just an excerpt or an abstract from the Vinaya of the respective schools.[4] One must, however, exercise a high degree of caution before making general statements about the authenticity of particular *karmavācanā* collections; there are often some de-

[1] There are also in the Vinayavibhaṅga quite a few *karmavācanā* texts which sometimes have slightly different wording.

[2] Cf. FRAUWALLNER, *Vinaya*, pp. 172–207; HIRAKAWA, *Ritsuzō*, pp. 591–629.

[3] Cf. B. C. LAW, *A history of Pāli literature*, vol. II, pp. 608–609.

[4] Cf. HIRAKAWA, *Ritsuzō*, pp. 202–218, 252–255; YUYAMA, 1.13.C.1–2, 1.33.C.1–2; MATSUMURA, p. 69, § 3.2.

viations between specific formulae in such a *karmavācanā* collection and the Vinaya of the tradition in question.[5]

The *upasampadā* ceremony, the ritual of ordination, is one of the official acts in the Buddhist order, and a certain number of formulae are assigned to it.[6] These formulae are, to differing extents and in different degrees of comprehensiveness, contained in the collections of various schools. The Mūlasarvāstivādins possess about six collections[7], which have been handed down to us in three different languages, i.e. Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. Some formulae for the *upasampadā* ceremony in these collections concern the robe and alms-bowl of the ordinand.[8]

The *karmavācanā* collection of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition from Gilgit published by O. VON HINÜBER[9] contains some formulae which differ slightly from those for the *upasampadā* ceremony. Formulae I-VIII are almost identical, in wording as well as in order, with the formulae for the *upasampadā* ceremony in the *Bhikṣukarmavākya*[10] and in the *Upasampadājñaptiḥ*[11], with the exception of the following two points: 1) the substitution of *upādhyāya* for *āyuṣmat*; and 2) the addition of the word *bhikṣu* after *aham evamnāmā*. In the opinion of O. VON HINÜBER, two of these formulae (I-II) are to be assigned to the *kaṭhina* ceremony. Unfortunately however, there is no equivalent of these formulae in the Kaṭhinavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, as he noted.[12]

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[5] Cf. J. CHUNG/P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ, "The *karmavācanās* for the determination of *sīmā* and *ticīvarena avippavāsa*" *Dharmadūta — Mélanges offerts au Vénérable Thích Huyền-Vi à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, dirigés par Bhikkhu T. Dhammaratana et Bhikkhu Pāsādika, Paris, 1997; MATSUMURA, p. 66, § 3.2.

[6] On the general order of the *upasampadā* ceremony cf. H. HÄRTEL, *Karmavācanā, Formulare für den Gebrauch im buddhistischen Gemeindeleben aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrithandschriften*, Berlin, 1956 (STT 3) (= *KaVā*), *§ 13, pp. 60–61*.

[7] Cf. H. SAKURABE: "Konpon setsuissaiu-bu no shohon ga tsutaeru shukke jugusokukai sahō" (The ceremonial process for the *pravrajyā-upasampadā* in the Vinaya texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins), *IBK* XII (1964), pp. 26(496)–34(504); WILLE, pp. 129–130, 148–153; the so- called "Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā" (YUYAMA, 1.24) is in fact an equivalent of the **Bhikṣuṇīvastu* which has its parallel in the *'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gži* (**Vinayakṣudrakavastu*) (TT vol. 44); cf. J. CHUNG, "'Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā' of the Mūlasarvāstivādins" [in press].

[8] The equivalent *karmavācanā* texts in the Pravrajyāvastu of this school are preserved only in the Tibetan version; the corresponding part of the Sanskrit manuscript has not yet been discovered (cf. WILLE, p. 130), and the Chinese version leaves this part out with reference to the **Ekaśatakarman* (T 1444 [23] 1030b27–c3).

[9] O. VON HINÜBER, "Eine Karmavācanā-Sammlung aus Gilgit", *ZDMG* 119, 1969, pp. 102-132 [= V.HI. KaVā-Slg.].

[10] A. Ch. BANERJEE, "Bhikṣukarmavākya", *IHQ* XXV, 1949, pp. 19–30; repr. *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit: Prātimokṣa Sūtra and Bhikṣukarmavākya*, Calcutta, 1977 (= KaVā(B)).

[11] B. JINANANDA, *Upasampadājñaptiḥ*. Critically edited with notes and introduction, Patna, 1961 (TSWS, VI) (= *Upj*).

[12] V.HI. KaVā-Slg., p. 104. This leads him to assume: "Da der Mū-Vinaya selbst kein Formular für die ‚Aneignung' kennt, ist es naheliegend anzunehmen, daß der uns vorliegende Text ein Supplement zum Kaṭhina darstellt." As will be shown later, these two formulae as well

In addition, O. VON HINÜBER cannot, with any great certainty, link the following formulae (III–VIII) of this *karmavācanā* collection to any specific process due to the lack of exact equivalents in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins as well as to a misreading of the manuscript. The reading of *akṛtvā samadhitiṣṭhāmi* in place of *antarvāsam adhitiṣṭhāmi* in III leads to an unconvincing translation of the formula and to its separation from its proper context.[13] Formula III is one of the three formulae concerning *tri-cīvara*: *adhiṣṭhāna*[14] of tailored *tricīvara*, i.e. *saṅghāṭī*, *uttarāsaṅga* and *antarvāsa*.[15]

The Sanskrit *karmavācanā* collection of the Sarvāstivāda tradition[16] contains a fragment (§ 32) which H. HÄRTEL assigns, in my opinion correctly, to the *upasampadā* ceremony. This fragment has its equivalents in the Chinese translation of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, as H. HÄRTEL notes.[17] The only difference between the Sanskrit version and the Chinese version is that the latter, which H. HÄRTEL has translated in his aforementioned work, presents a combined version of two varying formulae: *chinnakādhiṣṭhāna* and *achinnakādhiṣṭhāna*. This combined formula is to be recited differently corresponding to the situation. Consequently the following two points of H. HÄRTEL's translation should be amended:[18] 1) The passage "entweder zerschnitten oder nicht zerschnitten" should be substituted by "zerschnitten/nicht zerschnitten"; 2) The character *shòu* probably corresponds to *adhitiṣṭhāmi*, in which case "erhalten" is not a matching word for the term. In spite of these details, it is without doubt that this formula belongs to the *upasampadā* ceremony.

O. VON HINÜBER suggests that this formula may well belong to the *kaṭhina* ceremony. This suggestion is based only on the unexpected position of the formula,[19] and he does not cite other plausible arguments that would indi-

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as the following ones (III–XI) have their equivalents in an unexpected place, i.e. in the **Mūlasarvāstivādavinayasaṃgraha* (T 1458 [24] 553a22–c20), dealing with "extra robe" (*atireka-cīvara*; NP. 1).

[13] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg., p. 107f.: "Kommentar: Der Bezug des Formulars ist nicht eindeutig zu bestimmen. [...], so daß die vorgeschlagene Einordnung unsicher bleibt."

[14] I will return later to the meaning of this word, see pp. 44ff.

[15] For this reason, it is not correct when O. VON HINÜBER writes: "Daher steht III, das die Aneignung eines übertragenen Gewandes behandelt, nicht bei dem für die Übertragung. Nach Formular IX konnte es nicht eingeschoben werden, da die in IX genannten *cīvara* nicht alle unter die Gruppe der übertragbaren fallen." The passage *chinnakādhiṣṭhānam evam* (IV) is specifically a concluding remark relating to the preceding three formulae, and is thus not directly related to the description of tailoring.

[16] KaVā.

[17] KaVā, p. 75, fn. 1; cf. further T 1439 [23] 498b1–6.

[18] H. HÄRTEL's translation reads: "Ich, N.N., habe dieses Gewand *saṅghāṭī*, (das) aus so und so vielen Flicken (besteht), entweder zerschnitten oder nicht zerschnitten erhalten. Dieses Gewand behalte ich und ich werde nicht getrennt davon übernachten. So ein zweites, ein drittes Mal."

[19] KaVā p. 75: "In beiden Fällen sind die Umstände eigenartig: die Reste der Formel finden sich jeweils in der letzten Zeile eines Blattes, das keine Ordinationsformulare enthält. In Nr. 47 geht eine *poṣatha*-Formel, in Nr. 60 eine *varṣopagamana*-Formel voraus." These two lines have,

cate this formula belongs to the *kaṭhina* ceremony rather than to the *upasampadā* ceremony. Therefore, his proposed substitution *āyuṣmaṃ* in place of *upādhyāya* is hard to accept unless he can clearly prove that this formula plays a concrete role within the context of the *kaṭhina* ceremony. With regard to the broken akṣaras found at the end of the fragment, H. HÄRTEL's suggestion remains unconfirmed because of the difficulties he mentions.[20]

Formulae V-VII in O. VON HINÜBER's *karmavācanā* collection, which, according to his suggestion, might also be assigned to the *kaṭhina* ceremony,[21] correspond exactly to the formulae of *achinnakādhiṣṭhāna*, i.e. the *adhiṣṭhāna*[22] of untailored *tricīvara*, in KaVā(B)[23] and in Upj[24], with the exception of the two points mentioned above, i.e.: 1) the substitution of *upādhyāya* for *āyuṣman*; and 2) the addition of the word *bhikṣu* after *aham evaṃnāmā*. The formulae in KaVā(B) and in Upj are meant to be recited by a novice when the cloth has not yet been tailored to the robe at the time of ordination.[25] They also have their equivalents, albeit in summarized form, within the Sarvāstivāda tradition (see above)[26]. The connection of formulae V-VII with the *kaṭhina* ceremony by O. VON HINÜBER is probably based on *anantarāyeṇa dhārayiṣyāmi*.[27] In this context O. VON HINÜBER criticises the amendment of *dhārayiṣye* to *dhāviṣye* by A. Ch. BANERJEE and maintains:[28]

> "Auch in der Upasampadākarmavācanā ist *dhārayiṣyāmi* die richtige Lesart. BANERJEE, *IHQ* 25.22.3, 6, 6 ‚verbessert' nach dem Tibetischen *bkru* zu *dhāviṣye*, überliefert ist 45b2 *dhārayiṣye*, 45b4 *dhāriṣye*, 45b7 *dhārayiṣyāmi*.
>
> Der tibetische Übersetzer hat offensichtlich das erste Glied der Reihe nach der Folge *dhāvatā vitaratā cchindatā* etc. Gil. Man. 3.2.156.1 geändert."

This criticism does not hold much weight, as is shown by careful reading of the manuscript: In 39b5 and 45b4 the manuscript reads *dhāviṣye*. The reading

however, obviously been written down afterwards by a third hand as a supplementation. Consequently, it is not proper to draw any conclusions from them.

[20] KaVā, p. 75. H. HÄRTEL reads: + + .[i] [ā] .[m]. However, according to K. WILLE, it should rather read: + + .i .i .m.

[21] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg., p. 109: "Der Wortlaut weist auf eine Verwandschaft mit Niss. 3, das über das *akālacīvaram* handelt [...] Eine formale Verhandlung über die Übergabe eines *akālacīvaram* ist sonst nicht bekannt. Vielleicht wurden V-VII in diesem Zusammenhang angewendet; doch ist auch denkbar, daß sie wie I und II der Kaṭhina-Zeremonie zugehören."

[22] Below I will return to the meaning of this word, see pp. 44ff.

[23] KaVā(B), p. 22, l. 1ff.

[24] Upj, 12.1-15.

[25] Cf. TT vol. 41, p. 24, Khe 55a2; TT vol. 123, p. 242, Zu 115a8; EIMER 138.1-2 (*gal te re źig chos gos dras śin drubs pa dag med na rgyu la byin gyis brlab par bya'o*); T 1453 [24] 456c29-457a1.

[26] Cf. v.Hi, KaVā-Slg., p. 109, fn. 31.

[27] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg., pp. 110-111: "Ein Mönch muß seine drei Gewänder stets tragen, sofern sich kein zwingender Grund ergibt, sich von einem zeitweilig zu trennen; daher wird 39a6 betont *anantarāyeṇa dhārayiṣyāmi*."

[28] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg., p. 111, fn. 42.

dhārayiṣyāmi or *dhārayiṣye* is not convincing in this context; the novice whose robe has not yet been tailored promises that he will produce a proper robe in accordance with the accepted process. Furthermore the Chinese translation by Yijing backs up this opinion.[29]

Formula VIII in O. VON HINÜBER's collection makes reference to the alms-bowl (*piṇḍapātra*) of a Bhikṣu. This formula also differs from the formulae in KaVā(B)[30] and in Upj[31] in the points mentioned above. Consequently, O. VON HINÜBER assumes, in my opinion appropriately, that this formula should be assigned to a process for the exchange of a used alms-bowl for a new one. However, he fails to give any direct evidence supporting his assumption.[32] NP. 21 specifically forbids the possession of an extra alms-bowl (*atireka-pātra*) by a Bhikṣu and thus forms the counterpart of NP. 1, which forbids the possession of an extra robe (*atireka-cīvara*).[33]

As mentioned above (see above fn. 12, 32), we find equivalents of formulae I–XI in the **Mūlasarvāstivādavinayasaṃgraha*: *adhiṣṭhāna*, *vikalpana* and *pratyuddhāra* of the three robes and the alms-bowl. This proves that formulae I–XI in v. Hi, KaVā-Slg. are a set of statements prescribed for the general process of dealing with robes, alms-bowls and the other allotted articles of the Bhikṣus rather than for specific ceremonies like *upasaṃpadā* and *kaṭhina*.[34]

However, because the formulae in v. Hi, KaVā-Slg. have exactly the same order and an almost identical wording, we could be misled into assuming that both the substitution of *upādhyāya* for *āyuṣman* and the addition of the word *bhikṣu* after *aham evaṃnāmā* are simply mistakes made by the scribe.[35] But

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[29] T 1453 [24] 456c29–457a4; cf. also T 1453 [24] 461b4–12.

[30] KaVā(B), p. 22, l. 11ff.

[31] Upj. 12.19–21.

[32] Cf. v. Hi, KaVā-Slg., p. 111, fn. 47. He notes: "Wie lange eine Almosenschale benutzt werden muß, ist aus Niss. Mū. 22, Niss. 22 Vin. 3.246.10ff. zu erfahren." As will be shown later, this formula has its equivalent in the **Mūlasarvāstivādavinayasaṃgraha* (T 1458 [24] 561c19–26) in the commentary dealing with "extra alms-bowl" (*atireka-pātra*; NP. 21).

[33] So it would appear that this formula (VIII) is not directly relevant to the formula in the KaVā(B) and in Upj.

[34] This corresponds with the fact that *adhiṣṭhāna* (pa. *adhiṭṭhāna*), *vikalpana* (pa. *vikappana*) and *pratyuddhāra* (pa. *paccuddhāra*) are the subject of the Cīvarakkhandkaka: Mv VIII.13.8 = Vin 289; Mv VIII.20.2 = Vin 296–297. It does not of course contradict the fact that the *pratyuddhāra* and *adhiṣṭhāna* of a robe are recommended at the beginning and at the end of the *kaṭhina* ceremony respectively.

[35] This assumption could also be supported by the fact that the following formula (IX) in O. VON HINÜBER's collection reminds us of a similar procedure in the *upasaṃpadā* karma mentioned by Yijing and 'Phags-pa (cf. YUYAMA 1.23.C.2): "So-called six articles are: 1) *saṅghāṭī*; 2) *uttarāsaṅga*; 3) *antarvāsa*; 4) *pātra*; 5) *niṣīdana* (seat-mat); and 6) *parisrāvana* (water-strainer). At the time of the *upasaṃpadā*, these six articles should be prepared. The following are the thirteen articles. ..." (T 2125 [54] 212b18–22 = TAKAKUSU, p. 54); cf. T 1451 [24] 285b6–7; T 1904 [45] 907b9. The following articles are the rest of the so-called thirteen articles of the bhikṣus. There are some divergences in the list of the thirteen articles according to the

the following two formulae (X–XI) rule out this assumption; the formulae for the *vikalpana* and *pratyuddhāra* of the robes and the alms-bowl are not necessary for the *upasampadā* ceremony (see below).

In the early stage of Buddhism, one of the conditions set in order to receive ordination as a Buddhist monk was that the novice declare that he is ready to partake in the custom of wearing the three robes, i.e. *saṅghāṭī*, *uttarāsaṅga* and *antarvāsa*, and of carrying the alms-bowl. According to this regulation a novice should prepare his own set of three robes as well as an alms-bowl for the ordination and should declare at some time during the ceremony that this set of three robes is tailored and ready to wear, that the alms-bowl is suitable for the receiving of alms, and that they belong to him and nobody else. Concerning the word *adhi-√sthā* in this context, D. MAUE/K. RÖHRBORN[36] note:

> "*adhitiṣṭhāmi*: Die Übersetzung von Härtel, S. 74–75, ("sein Augenmerk richten auf") ist in WALDSCHMIDT (*Wb, s.v. adhi-ṣṭhā*) mit Recht zugunsten von "in Besitz nehmen, in Gebrauch nehmen" aufgegeben.[37] Man vergleiche die einschlägigen Belege bei TRENCKNER (*s.v. adhitiṭṭhati*)."

This, in my opinion, questionable assumption may be based on the following interpretation of a text which involves an elder questioning the ownership of a particular set of robes and alms-bowl:[38]

> "Bei den Übersetzern des *Vinaya* wird dies einhellig als Zuweisungsformel verstanden. Nach DICKSON [...] kommt diese Formel an einer Stelle im (sic) Upasaṃpadā-Zeremonie vor, nachdem die Kleiderverleihung bereits stattgefunden hat. Dieser Umstand (?) scheint ihn dazu zu veranlassen in *ayan te* ... eine Frage zu sehen: "Is this your ..." Wie auch immer die Diskrepanz zu beurteilen ist, wir müssen für unsere Stelle zuweisendes: ‚Dein (ist) dieses Gewand' annehmen. Der Novize akzeptiert: *mama* ‚Mein (ist es)'."

The bilingual text which was published by D. MAUE/K. RÖHRBORN has its equivalent in the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins[39]. This Chinese text shows the same order as in the bilingual text: When a candidate comes for ordination, he should be instructed to pay respect to the order. After paying due respect he should be asked whether the *saṅghāṭī* is his. The ordinand should answer affirmatively. Then he has to repeat after the instructor, i.e. he has to recite the formula for the *adhiṣṭhāna* of *saṅghāṭī*. The same holds true for

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texts. About the so-called six articles and the thirteen articles cf. MOCHIZUKI s.v. *jūsanshigue* and *rokumotsu*, TAKAKUSU, pp. 54–55.

[36] MAUE/RÖHRBORN, p. 216.

[37] O. VON HINÜBER renders this term with the German expression "sich aneignen".

[38] MAUE/RÖHRBORN, p. 216.

[39] T 1435 [23] 155b19–c11.

the *adhiṣṭhāna* of *uttarāsaṅga*, *antarvāsa* and the alms-bowl.[40] As a result, the translation by D. MAUE/K. RÖHRBORN "Dein ist dieses Gewand" for *tava idaṃ cīvaram* is not convincing.

It is obvious that the interpretation of D. MAUE/K. RÖHRBORN is based primarily on the possibly incorrect translation of Mv I.76.3 (= *Vin* I.94) by H. OLDENBERG[41] and I. B. HORNER[42]. Probably they have not considered the fact that this passage relates to two preceding passages: Mv I.70 = *Vin* I.90–91 and Mv I.76.1 = *Vin* I.93: A candidate cannot be ordained without his own — not borrowed — set of three robes and an alms-bowl.[43] The possession of the articles should be checked before the beginning of the ceremony along with the possibility of social or physical handicaps which could lead to a disturbance of the ordination. In compliance with this rule the ordinand is questioned whether he has already chosen a teacher and whether he is the owner of the three robes and the alms-bowl.[44] In addition he is requested to stand in a certain place, presumably in order to ascertain whether he is socially impeccable and free from any bodily obstructive conditions. It can be taken for granted that this would not happen in public, as that would be rather embarassing for the ordinand. In light of this, the translations by H. OLDENBERG and I. B. HORNER cannot serve as evidence for an inference.[45]

The passage is the same as in Mv I.76.1 = *Vin* I.93, with the exception of the fact that in Mv I.76.3 (= *Vin* I.94) it is specifically noted that the examination should not be carried out in public:

evañ ca pana bhikkhave anusāsitabbo: paṭhamaṃ upajjhaṃ gāhāpetabbo, upajjhaṃ gāhāpetvā pattacīvaraṃ ācikkhitabbaṃ, ayaṃ te patto, ayaṃ saṃghāṭi, ayaṃ uttarāsaṅgo, ayaṃ antaravāsako, gaccha amumhi okāse tiṭṭhāhīti.	And thus, O Bhikkhus, one is to be instructed. First, one is to be caused to choose an Upajjhāya. After being caused to choose an Upajjhāya, the alms-bowl and the set of (three) robes are to be shown (to the instructor). (Thereupon the instructor says): "Is this alms-bowl yours? Are these Saṅghāṭi, Uttarāsaṅga and Antaravāsaka (yours)? Go and stand in such and such a place.

[40] Cf. T 1421 [22] 119b15–c11. According to MOCHIZUKI (cf. *s.v. jūsan shanan*), the lack of the set of the three robes and the alms-bowl is one of the thirteen obstructive conditions.

[41] Cf. *VinTexts*, I.231.

[42] Cf. *BD*, VI.120–121.

[43] Cf. Dh T 1428 [22] 811c13–20; MŚ T 1421 [22] 119b12–c4.

[44] Cf. the comparison by H. HÄRTEL, KaVā, p. 76.

[45] *VinTexts*, I.231: "[...] their alms-bowl and robes must be shown to them, 'this is your alms-bowl, this is your saṃghāṭi, this is your upper robe, this is your under garment [...]'" *BD*, IV.121: "[...] a bowl and robe should be pointed out to him (with the words): 'This is a bowl for you, this is an outer cloak, this is an upper robe, this is an inner robe; [...]'"

From all these sources, it is evident that the word *adhi-√sthā-* as used in this particular context relates to the official pronouncement of setting in use the single set of robes and alms-bowl to which each ordinand is entitled. Independently of the manner of acquisition, whether these are gained by his own effort or presented to him,[46] the word *adhi-√sthā-* stands for the inaugural act related to the setting of the robes and the alms-bowl into regular use rather than to the taking possession of them. On that account the German translation "in Besitz nehmen/ergreifen" or "sich aneignen" are, strictly speaking, unsuitable for reproducing the intended meaning of this technical term.[47]

The *karmavācanā* texts in O. VON HINÜBER's collection (I–XI) deal with three different processes relating to the thirteen articles of the Bhikṣus: 1) The setting in use (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the allotted single set of robes and alms-bowl as well as the other articles (I–IX); 2) the formal entrustment (*vikalpana*)[48] of extra robes (*atireka-cīvara*) and extra alms-bowls (*atireka-pātra*) for the exemption from an offence (X; see above fn. 48); and 3) the setting out of use (*pratyuddhāra*) of the single set of robes and alms-bowl which had been in use so far (XI; *adhiṣṭhita-cīvara/adhiṣṭhita-pātra*). Accordingly, formula IX and the translation of formulae X–XI by O. VON HINÜBER could be amended as follows:

IX: *samanvāharāyuṣmann aham evaṃ(nā)(2)mā bhikṣur idaṃ {cīvara} niṣadanam adhitiṣṭhāmi kṛtaniṣṭhitaṃ {cīvaraṃ} kalpikaṃ pāribhogikaṃ evaṃ dvir api evaṃ tṛr api* · | *evaṃ nivā[s](anaṃ)* (3) *pratinivāsanaṃ* · *saṃkakṣikā* · *pratisaṃkakṣikā* · *kaṇḍūpraticchandanaṃ* · *varṣāśāṭīcīvaraṃ* · *mukhapuṃcchanaṃ* · *keśapratigrahaṇaṃ* · *pa[r](i)(4)ṣkāracīvaraṃ ca svena svenādhi* ○ *ṣṭhānenādhiṣṭhātavyā* · ||

[46] Cf. Mv I.70 = *Vin* I.90–91. The tendency to interprete this process in the *upasampadā* ceremony as awarding of the set of the three robes and of the alms-bowl reflects the later development in the course of the institutionalization of the Buddhist order which indeed concurs with the present form of the ceremony in the Buddhist countries. The set of robes and the alms-bowl are prepared by the people who care for him (e.g. *upādhyāya*). The beginning of this development appears quite early as we can observe in the following passages: Mū T 1451 [24] 283c25–284a10; 284b1–21; T 1458 [24] 598b29–c1; Sa T 1435 [23] 149c12–13; cf. also T 2125 [54] 219b25 = TAKAKUSU, p. 99.

[47] Also the heading "§ 32. Bitte um Gewänder (*cīvara*) und Schale (*pātra*)" by H. HÄRTEL for the corresponding passage in his work (KaVā, p. 74) is not suitable.

[48] The term *vikalpana* (Tib. *rnam par rtog pa*) deals with the technical process of legalizing the possession of extra robes or robe materials (*atireka-cīvara*; Tib. *gos lhag pa*) and an extra alms-bowl (*atireka-pātra*; Tib. *lhuṅ bzed lhag pa*). According to NP. 1 and 21, it is forbidden for the Bhikṣus to possess an extra set of the three robes or an extra alms-bowl more than ten days without receiving exemption by means of a formal entrustment thereof (*vikalpana*). There are two ways for the *vikalpana*: **sammukha-vikalpana* (pa. *sammukhā vikappanā*) and **paramukha-vikalpana* (pa. *paramukhā vikappanā*). Thus, the translation of the word **avikalpaka-cīvaradhāraṇa* by H. HÄRTEL (KaVā § 113.2) is not appropriate: "Tragen von nicht zugewiesenen Gewänder". Concerning the details see HIRAKAWA, *Ritsuzō*, pp. 737–741; SATŌ, pp. 710–712.

X:[49] Pay heed, O venerable Sir! I, Bhikṣu N.N, hand over this extra robe (*atireka-cīvara*), which is not yet handed over (*avikalpita*) but should be handed over (*vikalpanārha*)[50], to you, my dear teacher[51]. I place it in your trusteeship, my dear teacher. Thus, (it is to be said) a second and third time.[52]

XI:[53] Pay heed, O venerable Sir! I, Bhikṣu N.N., set this robe out of use, the same robe (lit. object) which has been set in use till now. Thus, (it is to be said) a second and third time.

Apart from the varying length of the connecting remarks between each *karmavācanā* text, the *karmavācanā* texts themselves are almost identical in all versions. The divergences in each version concern in most cases merely a spelling mistake or an omission. This circumstance allows us to attempt to reconstruct a reasonable text by collating of the manuscripts. The following is a synopsis of the two *karmavācanā* texts discussed so far: *cīvarādhiṣṭhāna* and *pātrādhiṣṭhāna*. The Sanskrit text (§§ 1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1) is based on the three versions mentioned above[54], whereas the Tibetan text (§§ 1.2, 4.2, 7.2) is based on the Peking edition and the Chinese text (§ 1.3, 4.3, 7.3) on the Taishō edition. The English translation is based on both the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions. Due to technical difficulties, I have made

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[49] O. VON HINÜBER translates: "[...] übertrage dieses überschüssige Gewand, das nicht übertragen, doch übertragbar ist, dem Upādhyāya; im Vertrauen auf den Upādhyāya trage ich es. [...]"

[50] Among the so-called thirteen articles there are some articles detailing the entitlement which seem to depend on necessity according to Mv VIII.20.2 (= Vin 297). Thus Bhikṣus are entitled to use a *vassikasāṭika* robe during the rainy season, but not after the rainy season. This is also the case for a *kaṇḍupaṭicchādi*-robe, a robe used to cover a skin disease, which Bhikṣus are entitled to use if they suffer from a cutaneous illness, but not after recovering from the illness. In both cases, when a robe is no longer needed it should be handed back until needed again.

[51] The word *upādhyāyá* in this place implies a possible change in the process in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition: the entrustment of the extra robe would mean just a shifting of the problem to the recipient, if he is a regular member of the order, a Bhikṣu. So it becomes clear that the recipient is merely a trustee and does not have the right to use it without the permission of the person who has entrusted it (Pāt: Dh/Pāli 59; Ma 63; MS 81; Mū/Sa 68). This leads to the further assumption that the formal announcement of the intention of entrustment of the extra robe before an authority was possibly enough to be exempted from the offence (NP. 1). In consequence, the assignment of this formula by O. VON HINÜBER (p. 114) is not correct: "Überblickt man die Formulare I–XI, so ergibt sich eine Zweiteilung. Aneignungen werden behandelt in I–IX, Aufgaben in X und XI."

[52] This is a so-called **sammukha-vikalpana* (entrustment to one present) process. The other manner of entrustment is called **paramukha-vikalpana* (entrustment to one absent): One Bhikṣu entrusts an extra robe (*atireka-cīvara*) to some person present and the recipient entrusts it again to a third person, calling out his name, who is not present. The person named in absence is not aware of this, and the extra robe is put at the disposal of the Bhikṣu who originally handed it over.

[53] O. VON HINÜBER translates: "[...] gebe dieses Gewand, da ich es mir begründet(?) angeeignet habe, begründet(?) auf. [...]" His proposal for the emendation of the text *yasmāt vastuny ... tasmād vastuni ...* in place of *yasmin vastuny ... tasmād vastuni ...* seems to me unconvincing. I would propose rather to keep *yasmin vastuny ... tasmin vastuni ...*

[54] The punctuation marks (*daṇḍa* [।], double *daṇḍa* [॥] and period set high [˙]) are not taken into consideration.

an English translation based on the Taishō edition in place of the Chinese text in original characters.

1. Tricīvarādhiṣṭhāna

1.1. chinnakādhiṣṭhāna

§ 1.1. samanvāharopādhyāya[55]/°vāharāyuṣman aham evaṃnāmā[56]/evannāmā bhikṣur[57] idaṃ[58] cīvaraṃ saṃghāṭīm[59] adhitiṣṭhāmi[60] [61]kṛtaniṣṭhitaṃ[62] cīvaraṃ kalpikaṃ[63] pāribhogikaṃ[64]. [65]evaṃ dvir[66] apy evaṃ[67] trir[68] api vaktavyaṃ[69].

§ 1.2. mkhan po dgoṅs su gsol | bdag miṅ 'di źes bgyi ba'i chos gos bgyis lags pa ruṅ ba spyad par 'os pa 'di chos gos snam sbyar du/bla gos su/mthaṅ gos su byin gyis brlab bo || de bźin du lan gñis lan gsum du bzlas | (TT vol. 41, p. 24, Khe 54b5-8; vol. 123, p. 242, Zu 115a2-6)[70].

"Pay heed, Upādhyāya. I, N.N., set this *saṅghāṭī/uttarāsaṅga/antarvāsa* robe in use. This robe ist done and finished, and fit and proper (to wear)." It is to be spoken thus a second and third time.

§ 1.3. "Pay heed, Upādhyāya. I, N.N., set this *saṅghāṭī/uttarāsaṅga/antarvāsa* robe in use. This is a tailored robe and ready to wear." In this manner, he speaks three times. (T 1453 [24] 456c23-29).

§ 2.1. samanvāharopādhyāya[71]/°vāharāyuṣmaṃn aham evaṃnāmā[72]/evaṃnāmā bhikṣur idaṃ[73] cīvaram[74] uttarāsaṃgam[75]adhitiṣṭhāmi[76] kṛtaniṣṭhi-

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[55] KaVā(B) °*vāhara upā*° (ms. °*vāharopā*°); Upj °*vāharatu upā*°.

[56] Upj *evannāmā*.

[57] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *evaṃnāmā bhikṣur*.

[58] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *idam*.

[59] KaVā(B) °*tīm*; Upj *sāṃghāṭīm*.

[60] Upj *adhiṣṭhāmi* (ms. *adhitiṣṭhāmi*) with an unconvincing argument: "Pāli, *adhiṭṭhāmi*".

[61] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *kṛta(n)i(ṣṭhitaṃ cīvaraṃ kalpikaṃ pāribhogikaṃ)*.

[62] KaVā(B)/Upj °*niścitaṃ* (ms. °*niṣṭhitaṃ*); BhīKaVā(S) °*pariniṣṭhitaṃ*.

[63] In KaVā(B)/Upj omitted.

[64] KaVā(B) °*kam* (ms. °*kaṃ*).

[65] In KaVā(B) the sentence *evaṃ ... vaktavyaṃ* is omitted.

[66] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. [*dv*]*ir*.

[67] Upj *api* in place of *apy evaṃ*.

[68] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *tṛr*; Upj *trir* (ms. *tṛr*).

[69] In Upj omitted.

[70] Cf. EIMER II, 137.3-19.

[71] KaVā(B) °*vāhara upā*° (ms. °*vāharopā*°); Upj °*vāhara upā*°.

[72] Upj *evan*°.

[73] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *cīvara(m) u[tta](rāsaṃgam adhitiṣ)ṭh(āmi kṛta)niṣṭhitaṃ*.

tam[77] cīvaraṃ kalpikam[78] pāribhogikam[79]. [80]evaṃ dvir apy evaṃ[81] trir[82] api vaktavyaṃ.

§ 3.1. samanvāharopādhyāya[83]/°vāharāyuṣmamaham evaṃnāmā[84]/evaṃnāmā bhikṣur idaṃ cīvaram[85] antarvāsam[86] adhitiṣṭhāmi[87] kṛtaniṣṭhitaṃ[88] cīvaraṃ kalpikaṃ[89] pāribhogikaṃ[90]. [91]evaṃ dvir[92] apy evaṃ[93] trir api vaktavyaṃ.

1.2 *achinnakādhiṣṭhāna

§ 4.1. samanvāharopādhyāya[94]/°vāharāyuṣmann [95]aham evaṃnāmā/evaṃnāmā bhikṣur idaṃ[96] cīvaraṃ[97] saṃghāṭīm[98] adhitiṣṭhāmi[99]. ākāṃkṣamāṇaḥ[100] navakaṃ[101] kariṣyāmy[102] ardhatṛtīyamaṇḍalakam[103]. anantarā-

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[74] KaVā(B) *cīvaram* (ms. *cīvaramm*); Upj *kalpikaṃ idaṃ cīvaraṃ*.
[75] KaVā(B) °*gaṃ*.
[76] Upj *adhiṣṭhāmi* with reference to the ms.: "Ms. °*adhitiṣṭhāmi*".
[77] KaVā(B)/Upj °*niścitaṃ* (ms. °*niṣṭhitaṃ*); BhīKaVā(S) °*pariniṣṭhitaṁ*.
[78] In KaVā(B)/Upj omitted.
[79] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. °*kaṃ*; Upj °*kaṃ* (ms. °*kaṃ*° |).
[80] In KaVā(B) the sentence *evaṃ* … *vaktavyaṃ* is omitted.
[81] Upj *api* in place of *apy evaṃ*.
[82] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *tṛr*; Upj *trir* (ms. *tṛr*).
[83] KaVā(B) °*vāhara upā*° (ms. °*vāharopā*°); Upj °*vāhara upā*°.
[84] Upj *evaṃ nāmā* (ms. *evannāmā*).
[85] Upj *cīvaraṃ*.
[86] KaVā(B) °*saṃ* (ms. °*saṃ*); v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *akṛtvā samadhi*°.
[87] Upj *adhiṣṭhāmi* with reference to the ms.: "*adhitiṣṭhāmi*" (ms. *adhitiṣṭhayāmi*).
[88] KaVā(B)/Upj °*niścitaṃ* (ms. °*niṣṭhitaṃ*); BhīKaVā(S) °*pariniṣṭhitaṁ*.
[89] In KaVā(B) omitted.
[90] KaVā(B) °*kaṃ* | (ms. °*ka<ṃ>* ‖).
[91] In KaVā(B) the sentence *evaṃ* … *vaktavyaṃ* is omitted; v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *evaṃ dvir apy evaṃ tṛr apy* {*evaṃ*} *va* (3) *ktavyaṃ* · ‖
[92] Upj *dvir* (ms. [*d*]*vir*).
[93] Upj *api* in place of *apy evaṃ*.
[94] KaVā(B) °*vāhara upā*° (ms. °*vāharopā*°); Upj °*vāhara upā*°.
[95] In KaVā(B)/Upj *aham eavaṃnāmā* is omitted.
[96] Upj *asya* in place of *aham evaṃnāmā idaṃ* (ms. probably *idaṃ*; these two akṣaras are covered by a drawing pin which was used for photographing. Only the vowel 'i' of the word '*idaṃ*' is legible).
[97] KaVā(B) *cīvaraṃ* (ms. *cīvara*).
[98] KaVā(B) °*ṭīṃ* (ms. *ṭīṃ*); v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *sa(ṃ)ghāṭ*[*ī*]*ṃ*; Upj *saṃghāṭīṃ* (ms. *sāṃghāṭīṃ*).
[99] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. °*ṣṭhāmy*; Upj *adhiṣṭhāmi* (ms. *adhitiṣṭhāmi*).
[100] v.Hī, KaVā-Slg. *ā*{*kāmyā*}*kāṃkṣamāṇa*; Upj °*kṣe* (ms. °*kṣaṃ*).
[101] KaVā(B) *navaṃ*.

yeṇa[104] dhāviṣye[105]. vitariṣyāmi[106]. chetsye[107]. sambantsyāmi[108]. saṃgranthiṣye[109]. seviṣyāmi[110]. ramkṣye[111]. āsevakān[112] vātrāropayiṣyāmi[113]. [114]yathāpratyayaṃ vā kariṣyāmi[115] idaṃ cīvaraṃ kalpikaṃ[116] pāribhogikam[117]. [118]evaṃ dvir apy evaṃ[119] trir[120] api vaktavyaṃ[121].

§ 4.2. mkhan po dgoṅs su gsol | bdag miṅ 'di źes bgyi ba'i chos gos 'di snam sbyar du/bla gos su/mthaṅ gos su byin gyis brlab bo || [122-]'tshal na snam phran dgu pa la sogs par/bdun par/lṅa par bgyis te glegs bu phyed daṅ gsum pa la sogs par/gsum par/gñis par bgyi'o | bar chad ma byuṅ na-[122] bkru'o || brkyaṅ ṅo || dra'o || sdeb bo | gzuṅs gdab bo | drub bo || kha bsgyur ro | yaṅ na 'di la lhan thabs su glan no | rkyen ji lta ba bźin du bgyi ste chos gos 'di ruṅ ba spyad par 'os pa'o | de bźin du lan gñis lan gsum du bzlas | (TT vol. 41, p. 24, Khe 55a3-b2; vol. 123, p. 242, Zu 115b2-156a2)[123]

"Pay heed, Upādhyāya. I, N.N., set this robe (material) as *saṅghāṭī/uttarāsaṅga/antarvāsa* in use. Intending so, I will make a nine-piece/seven-piece/five-piece robe, each piece of which contains two and a half/two and a half/one and a half segments (*maṇḍalaka*).[124] If there is no hindrance, I

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[102] KaVā(B) °*yāmi* |; Upj *kāriṣyāmi* |.

[103] KaVā(B) °*kaṃ* (ms. °*kam*); Upj °*kaṃ* (ms. *arddha*°*kaṃ*).

[104] KaVā(B) °*yeṇa* (ms. °*ye<ṇa>*).

[105] KaVā(B) *dhāviṣye* with reference to the ms.: "Ms. *dhārayiṣye*"; v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *dhārayiṣyāmi*; Upj *anantarāyenopāviṣya* (ms. *anantarāyeṇā dhāviṣye*).

[106] KaVā(B) *vitariṣyāmi* (ms. [*v*]*i*[*ta*]*riṣyāmi*).

[107] KaVā(B) *chetsye* (ms. *cchetsye*); v.Hi, KaVā-Slg./Upj *cchetsyāmi*.

[108] KaVā(B) *saṃbhaṃtsyāmi* with reference to the ms.: "Ms. *saṃbhatsyāmi*"; v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *saṃbandhayiṣyāmi*; Upj *saṃbhatsyāmi*.

[109] KaVā(B) °*granthiṣye* (ms. °*graṃnthiṣye*); in v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. omitted.

[110] KaVā(B) *seviṣyāmi* (ms. *sīviṣyāmi*); v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *sīviṣyāmi*; Upj *sīviṣyāmi* (ms. *seviṣyāmi*).

[111] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg./Upj *rakṣye*.

[112] Upj *āsevakād* (ms. °*kān*).

[113] KaVā(B) *vā atra āropa*° (ms. *vāttrāro*°); v.Hi, KaVā-Slg./Upj °*yiṣye*.

[114] The passage *yathāpratyayaṃ* ... *vaktavyaṃ* is in KaVā(B) omitted. There the text reads simply *cīvaraṃ pāribhogikam* (ms. °*kaṃ* · ||).

[115] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. °*ṣye*.

[116] In Upj omitted.

[117] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg./Upj °*kaṃ*.

[118] In KaVā(B) the sentence *evaṃ* ... *vaktavyaṃ* is omitted.

[119] Upj *api* in place of *apy evaṃ*.

[120] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *tṛr*.

[121] Upj *vācyam* (ms. *vācyaṃ* | O ||).

[122-122] EŚK *'tshal la bar chad ma byuṅ na rnam phran dgu pa la sogs par/bdun par/lṅa par bgyis te glegs bu phyed daṅ gsum pa la sogs par/gsum par/gñis par bgyi'o* |.

[123] Cf. EIMER II, 138.6-139.9.

[124] On the nine kinds of *saṅghāṭī*, i.e. nine-, eleven-, thirteen-, fifteen-, seventeen-, nineteen-, twenty one-, twenty three-, and twenty five-piece robes see MSVŚ, T 1453 [24] 497a13-21. Each piece of the first three kinds of robes contains two long and one short segments while

will wash, spread, cut, join, tie, sew together and dye (the cloth). Or I will (mend it) by putting a patch on it. Assuredly, I will make with this (cloth) a robe which is fit and proper (to wear)." It is to be spoken thus a second and third time.

§ 4.3. "Pay heed, Upādhyāya. I, N.N., set this robe (material) as (*saṅghāṭī*) in use. (Intending so,) I will make a nine-piece robe, *saṅghāṭī*, each piece of which contains two long segment and half a short one (*maṇḍalaka*). If there is no hindrance, I will wash, dye, cut and sew (this cloth to a *saṅghāṭī* robe. Or, I will mend it by putting a patch on it)[125]. This would be ready (to wear)." In this manner, he speaks three times. This is to be applied also to the (two) other robes. (T 1453 [24] 457a1-3)

§ 5.1. samanvāharopādhyāya[126]/samanvāharāyuṣmann aham [127]evamnāmā/evamnāmā [bhikṣur] idam[128]cīvaram[129]uttarāsaṃgam[130] [131]adhitiṣṭhāmi. ākāṃkṣamāṇaḥ[132] saptakaṃ[133] kariṣyāmy[134] ardhatṛtīyamaṇḍalakam[135]. anantarāyeṇadhāviṣye[136]. vitariṣyāmi. chetsye[137] saṃbaṃtsyāmi[138]. saṃgranthiṣye[139]. seviṣyāmi[140]. raṃkṣye. āsevakān[141] vātrāropa-

each piece of the second three and third three kinds of robes contains three long and one short and four long and one short respectively.

[125] Supplemented according to 'Phags-pa (cf. YUYAMA 1.23.C.2): T 1904 [45] 907a8-12.

[126] KaVā(B) °*vāhara upā*° (ms. °*vāharopā*°); Upj °*vāhara upā*°.

[127] KaVā(B) *evaṃ*° (ms. *evan*°); Upj *evan*°.

[128] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. [*i*]*daṃ*.

[129] KaVā(B) °*raṃ* (ms. °*ram*); Upj °*raṃ*.

[130] KaVā(B) °*gaṃ* (ms. °*gam*); v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. [*u*]*ttarāsaṃgam*.

[131] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *ahiti*[*ṣṭhāmy ā*°]; Upj *adhiṣṭhāmi*.

[132] KaVā(B) °*māṇaḥ* (ms. °*māṇa*); Upj °*kṣe* (°*kṣaṃ*).

[133] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. [*saptakaṃ*].

[134] KaVā(B) °*yāmi* |; Upj °*yāmi*.

[135] KaVā(B) °*kaṃ* (ms. °*kam*); v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *ardhatṛ*[*tī*]*ya*°; Upj °*kaṃ* (ms. *arddha*°*kaṃ*).

[136] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *dhārayiṣyāmi*; Upj *athānantarāyeṇopāviṣya* with reference to the ms.: "Ms. °*ṣye*" (ms. *anantarāyeṇa dhāviṣye* |).

[137] KaVā(B) *chetsye* (ms. *cchetsye*); Upj *chetsyāmi* (ms. *cchetsyāmi*). In v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. omitted.

[138] KaVā(B) *saṃbhaṃtsyāmi* with reference to the ms.: "Ms. *saṃbhatsyāmi*"; v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *saṃ*[*ba*]*ndhiṣyāmi*; Upj *saṃbhat*°.

[139] KaVā(B) °*granthiṣye* (ms. °*graṃnthiṣye*); in v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. omitted.

[140] KaVā(B) *seviṣyāmi* (ms. *sīviṣyāmi*); v.Hi, KaVā-Slg./Upj *sīviṣyāmi*.

[141] Upj *āsevakād*.

yiṣyāmi[142]. [143]yathāpratyayaṃ vā[144] kariṣyāmi[145] idaṃ cīvaraṃ kalpikaṃ[146] pāribhogikam[147]. evaṃ dvir apy evaṃ[148] trir[149] api vaktavyaṃ.

§ 6.1. samanvāharopādhyāya[150]/°vāharāyu[ṣmann] aham[151] evaṃnāmā[152] /evaṃnāmā bhikṣur idaṃ cīvaram[153] antarvāsam[154] adhitiṣṭhāmi[155]. ākāṃkṣamāṇaḥ[156] pañcakaṃ[157] kariṣyāmy <adhy>ardhamaṇḍalakam[158]. anantarāyeṇa dhāviṣye[159]. vitariṣyāmi. chetsye[160] saṃbaṃtsyāmi[161]. saṃgranthiṣye[162]. seviṣyāmi[163]. raṃkṣye[164]. āsevakān[165] vātrāropayiṣyāmi[166]. [167]yathāpratyayaṃ vā[168] kariṣyāmi idaṃ cīvaraṃ[169] kalpi-

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[142] KaVā(B) *atra āropa°* (ms. *vātrāropa°*); v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *°ṣye ·*.

[143] The passage *yathāpratyayaṃ … vaktavyaṃ* is in KaVā(B) omitted. There the text reads simply *cīvaraṃ pāribhogikam* (ms. *cīvara<ṃ> pāribhogikaṃ* · ‖).

[144] Omitted in Upj.

[145] v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *kari[ṣyāmi]*.

[146] In Upj omitted.

[147] v.Hı, KaVā-Slg./Upj *°kaṃ*.

[148] Upj *api* in place of *apy evaṃ*.

[149] v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *trr*.

[150] KaVā(B) *°vāhara upā°* (ms. *°vāhara upā°*); Upj *°vāhara upā°*.

[151] v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. [*aha*]*ṃ*.

[152] Upj *evan°*.

[153] KaVā(B) *°raṃ* (ms. *°raṃṃ*); Upj *°raṃ*.

[154] KaVā(B) *°sam* (ms. *°saṃ*).

[155] v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *°my*; Upj *adhiṣṭhāmi* (ms. *adhitiṣṭhāmi*).

[156] KaVā(B) *°kṣamāṇaḥ* with reference to the ms.: "Ms. *ākāṃkṣa*" (the ms. reads however *ākāṃkṣam*); Upj *°kṣe* (ms. *°kṣam*).

[157] KaVā(B) *pañcakaṃ* (ms. *paṃcakaṃ*); v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *paṃcakaṃ*.

[158] KaVā(B) *ardhatṛtīyamaṇḍalakaṃ*; v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *a[rdhama]ṇḍalakam*; Upj *°kaṃ*. Cf. v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. p. 109; K. CHANG pp. 49–50; T 1453 [24] 197a13–b7.

[159] KaVā(B) *dhāviṣye* with reference to the ms.: "Ms. *dhārayiṣyāmi*"; v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. [*dhā*]*riṣyāmi*; Upj *anantarāyeṇopāviṣya* (ms. *anutarāyeṇa dhāviṣye* | or *anuntarā°*).

[160] KaVā(B) *chetsye* (ms. *cchetsye*); v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *cchetsyāmi*; Upj *chetsyāmi* (ms. *cchetsyāmi*).

[161] v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *saṃbandhiṣyāmi*; Upj *saṃbhatsyāmi*.

[162] In v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. omitted.

[163] KaVā(B) *seviṣyāmi* (ms. *sīviṣyāmi*); v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *sīviṣyāmi*; Upj *sīviṣyāmi* (ms. *seviṣyāmi*).

[164] v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *raṃkṣe*.

[165] Upj *āsevakād*.

[166] KaVā(B) *vā atra āropa°* (ms. *vatrāro[pa]°*); v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. *°ṣyāmi* (ms. *°ṣyāni?*).

[167] The passage *yathāpratyayaṃ … vaktavyaṃ* is in KaVā(B) omitted. There the text reads simply *cīvaraṃ pāribhogikam* (ms. *cīvara<ṃ> pāribhogikaṃ* · ‖).

[168] Omitted in Upj.

[169] v.Hı, KaVā-Slg. [*c*]*īvaraṃ*.

kaṃ[170] pāribhogikam[171]. evaṃ dvir apy evaṃ[172] trir[173] api vaktavyaṃ[174].

2. *Pātrādhiṣṭhāna*

§ 7.1. samanvāharopādhyāya[175] / °vāharāyuṣmaṃn aham evaṃnāmā[176] / evaṃnāmā bhikṣur idaṃ pātraṃ ṛṣibhājanaṃ[177] bhikṣābhājanam[178] [179]adhitiṣṭhāmi[180] bhojane kalpikaṃ[181] pāribhogikam[182]. evaṃ dvir apy evaṃ[183] trir[184] api vācyam[185].

§ 7.2. mkhan po dgoṅs su gsol | bdag miṅ 'di źes bgyi ba'i lhuṅ <bzed> zas la spyad par 'os pa draṅ sroṅ gi snod 'di bslaṅ ba'i snod du byin gyis brlab bo ‖ de bźin du lan gñis lan gsum du bzlas | (TT vol. 41, p. 24, Khe 55b6-7; vol. 123, p. 242, Zu 116a7-8).[186]

"Pay heed, Upādhyāya. I, N.N., set this alms-bowl in use, vessel for the sages, vessel for the mendicancy. This (alms-bowl) is fit and proper for eating from." It is to be spoken thus a second and third time.

§ 7.3. "Pay heed, Upādhyāya. I, N.N., set this alms-bowl in use. This is the vessel for the great sages, vessel for the mendicancy. I set this now in use for the daily meal." In this manner, he speaks three times. (T 1453 [24] 457a8-10; cf. T 1904 [45] 907b5-7)

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[170] In Upj omitted.

[171] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. °*kaṃ*; Upj °*kaṃ* ‖.

[172] Upj *api* in place of *apy evaṃ*.

[173] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *tṛr*.

[174] Upj *vācyam* (ms. *vācyam°*).

[175] KaVā(B) °*vāhara upā*° (ms. °*vāharopā*°); Upj °*vāhara upā*°.

[176] KaVā(B) *evaṃ*° (ms. *evan*°); Upj *evan*°.

[177] KaVā(B) *ṛṣi*° (ms. *riṣi*°); v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. [*r*]*iṣibhājana*.

[178] KaVā(B) °*bhājanaṃ* (ms. °*bhājana*); v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. / Upj *bhaikṣā*°.

[179] The passage *adhitiṣṭhāmi … trir api vācyaṃ* is io KaVā(B) omitted. There the text reads simply *pāribhōgikam*.

[180] Upj *adhiṣṭhāmi* (ms. *adhitiṣṭhāmi*).

[181] In Upj omitted.

[182] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. <<*ka*[*lpi*]*ka*(*ṃ*)>> *bhojanapāribhogikaṃ*; Upj *bhojanapāribhogikaṃ*.

[183] Upj *api* in place of *apy evaṃ*.

[184] v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. *tṛr*.

[185] In v.Hi, KaVā-Slg. omitted; Upj *vācyaṃ* (ms. *vācyam°*).

[186] Cf. EIMER II, 140.4-7.

Abbreviations

* Abbreviations follow those of H. BECHERT, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien*, Göttingen, 1990, in addition to those listed below.

BhīKaVā(S) = M. SCHMIDT, "Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā. Die Handschrift Sansk. c.25(R) der Bodleian Library Oxford", *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde. Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Professor Dr. Heinz Bechert*, hrsg. von R. GRÜNENDAHL u.a., Bonn, 1993 (Indica et Tibetica, 22), pp. 239–288.

CHANG = K. CHANG, *A comparative study of the Kaṭhinavastu*, 's-Gravenhage, 1957 (IIM, vol. I).

EIMER = H. EIMER, *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gźi. Die tibetische Übersetzung des Pravrajyāvastu im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*, Teil I und II, Wiesbaden 1983 (AsF, Bd. 82).

KaVā(B) = A. Ch. BANERJEE, "Bhikṣukarmavākya", *IHQ* XXV (1949), pp. 19–30; repr. *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit: Prātimokṣa Sūtra and Bhikṣukarmavākya*, Calcutta, 1977.

MATSUMURA = H. MATSUMURA, "Miscellaneous notes on the Upālipariprcchā and related texts", *AO* LI (1990), pp. 61–113.

MAUE/RÖHRBORN = D. MAUE/K. RÖHRBORN, "Ein zweisprachiges Fragment aus Turfan", *CAJ*, vol. XX, 1976, no. 3, pp. 208–221.

MSVS = Mūlasarvāstivādavinayasaṃgraha.

SATŌ = M. SATŌ, *Genshi Bukkyō kyōdan no kenkyū* (A study of the early Buddhist order in the Vinayapiṭaka), Tōkyō, 1963.

TAKAKUSU = J. TAKAKUSU, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-Tsing*, London 1896 (repr. Delhi, 1966).

Upj = B. JINANANDA, *Upasampadājñaptiḥ*. Critically edited with notes and introduction, Patna, 1961 (TSWS, VI).

WILLE = K. WILLE, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Vinayavastu der Mūlasarvāstivādin*, Stuttgart, 1990 (VOHD, Suppl. 30).

Symbols used

( ) restored akṣara.
[ ] damaged akṣara.
{ } superfluous akṣara.
< > omitted akṣara.
* virāma.
' avagraha, not written in the manuscripts.
| , || punctuation marks in the manuscripts.
O punch hole.

Confession in Early Buddhism*

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Professor BECHERT enabled me to consider *vinaya*, but in the text in question[1] confession, though relevant, does not arise. *Vinaya-piṭaka* and *Sutta-piṭaka* passages[2] contain a well-matured formula of confession, and it is possible to discover the theory behind what was a reality, not a mere observance. The Buddha's insistence on self-monitoring and self-purification seems to have broken down (M 1.36–8; cf. Manu 11.231–2), for confession is a secondary expedient. In any case, the formula makes a contribution to experience of the psychologically and sociologically fascinating subject. Confession formed a prominent feature of Jaina disciplie,[3] where we find a fossilized confession-procedure, with its own vocabulary, testifying to an earlier stage when particular confession must have been a reality.

What, anyway, is confession and what does it do, objectively (?) and/or subjectively? Can acts be *undone* (cf. Pindar, Olymp. 2.15)? Does confession diminish guilt, or the sensation of guilt, or punishment? Where offences are confessed some authorities will diminish or waive punishment,[4] since an intention to 'mend one's ways' is inherent in confessing. Thus children may

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* Abbreviations of biblical books vary according to the language of the translation. Modern students' versions, e.g. *Jerusalem Bible* and *New International Version* provide lists of abbreviations either separately or in the table of Contents, wherein English abbreviations are traceable. For other abbreviations see the *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien*, hrsg. Heinz BECHERT, Göttingen, 1990 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 3).

[1] SANGHASENA [ed.], *Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṅgrahaṭīkā*, Patna, 1968, translated by me at *A Textbook for Novices*, Turin, 1983 (Pubblicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia, 15). Cf. SANGHASEN SINGH, *A Study of the Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācāra* ..., New Delhi, 1975; SANGHASEN SINGH at *Buddhist Studies* 10 (1986), pp. 1–6.

[2] Vin 4.18–19 (a woman confesses to Anuruddha); Vin 2.125–126; D 1.85; 3.55 (Nigrodha the Wanderer); S 2.128 (Susina), 205; M 1.438 (Bhaddāli).

[3] R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga*, London, 1963, pp. 42–43, 184, 200, 203–207; S. B. DEO, *Jaina Monastic Jurisprudence*, Benares, 1960, p. 40; C. CAILLAT, *Atonement in the Ancient Ritual of the Jaina Monks*, Ahmedabad, 1975 (no absolution occurs). I would like better information about *ālocanā*.

[4] Notably in China, where even an extorted confession will mitigate the sentence. Cf. the T'ang Code, art. 37: Reinhard MAY, *Law and Society, East and West*, Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 149 n, 165n. Cf. Paul HAIR, *Before the Bawdy Court*, London, 1972, p. 56 (§ 76). Commonly, however, public penance was humiliating: *ibid.*, p. 256. Confession of guilt figures in peace treaties: Jörg FISCH, *Krieg und Frieden im Friedensvertrag*, Stuttgart, 1979. Antipater's abject confession to his father, Herod, at Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 1:635, only postponed his condemnation and execution (ibid. 661, 664).

decide to confess rather than deny misdeeds. A child's conception may help us here. Meanwhile, since God or gods are presumed to be omniscient a *general* confession to them may usefully assuage supernatural wrath. Hence, whether in Vedic sacrificial lore,[5] or in Judaism,[6] or in third-world hunting and fishing,[7] a general confession of sins is propitious. St. Luke develops this idea, which startles some New Testament scholars: ''Ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλός εἰμι.[8] In the Vedic sacrifice even the sacrificer's wife must confess her lovers. Confession is not rare in the Old Testament, though in some cases only does it serve to abate or postpone punishment.[9]

There is the very ancient Roman Catholic *non-sacramental* procedure at the commencement of the Mass, and at the (former) Prime and Complin(e), whereby the priest confesses to God and the saints unspecified sins, and after only a token absolution (*Misereatur* followed by *Indulgentiam*), the 'liturgical absolution' from the server or choir, receives grace to proceed with his ritual. Deriving historically from the Roman Catholic pre-Tridentine *Confiteor* we have the ritual general confession in the Morning and Evening offices of the Book of Common Prayer, and comparably in the services of Holy Communion and the Communion of the Sick.[10] The value of such mock-confessions and the form and effect of the absolutions are beyond our present concern;

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[5] Pt. Dr. Parameśvara K. AITHAL directs me to the *cāturmāsya:* Āpastamba-śrautasūtra 8.6.20–22; Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa 1.6.5.2 (see W. CALAND, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, Göttingen, 1921, p. 25); Bhāradvāja-śrautasūtra 8.9.4–7.9 (TS 1.8.3.1) (ed. C. G. KASHIKAR, Poona, 1964, pp. 108, 204). He also cites prayer in daily rituals, e.g. *pāpo 'ham pāpakarmā-ham pāpātmā pāpasambhavaḥ/trāhi mām kṛpayā deva śaraṇāgatavatsala*. Cf. D. KILLINGLEY at *JRAS* 3rd. ser. 5/3 (1995), p. 443 (*yajña* as a model).

[6] Especially at Lev 16:18,22. See n. 11 below. For the Prayer of Manasseh 7-12 (2nd to 1st cent. B.C.) see J. H. CHARLESWORTH, ed., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, London, 1985, pp. 625–637. Cf. Psalms of Solomon 9:6 (the Avesta is consonant with this: Vendidad 3.4.41). For the Prayer of Nabunai (Nobonidus) (c. 100 B.C.) (4QprNab) see A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer morte*, 3rd edn., Paris, 1968, pp. 336–341; G. VERMES, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 3rd edn., London & Harmondsworth, 1987, p. 274. For confession before execution see *Mishnah*, Sanhedrin VI.2 (trans. H. DANBY, *The Mishnah*, Oxford, 1933, p. 390), where no question of absolution arises.

[7] Sources at J. D. M. DERRETT, *Studies in the New Testament* III, Leiden, 1982, pp. 1–30 at p. 16, n. 52; add Homer, *epigr*. 8, and R. ROBERTSON, *Sociology of Religion*, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 92 quoting Mary DOUGLAS (1966).

[8] Lk 5:1–11, see DERRETT at n. 7 above, pp. 14–18.

[9] It does: Ex 32:31–32; Num 21:7, 22:34–35; 2 Sam 12:13; 1 Kgs 8:46–53; Ps 32:8; cf. Neh 9:1–3. It does not: Josh 7:20, 2 Sam 24:10–16. Gen 38:26 leaves the question open, but see *Mekilta*, Beshallaḥ 6 (trans. LAUTERBACH, I, p. 236). Public confessions: Lev 5:51; Num 5:6,7–11; 1 Sam 7:6. Cf. Damascus Code 9:13–14; 15:4. For the New Testament see A. STROBEL, *Erkenntnis und Bekenntnis der Sünde in neutestamentlicher Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1968. See especially James 5:16. Add J. G. MURPHY and J. HAMPTON, *Forgiveness and Mercy*, Cambridge, 1988.

[10] For the scheme followed in the Penitential Introduction (General Confession and Absolution) included in the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI, 1552, Morning Prayer, see Evan DANIEL, *The Prayer Book*, London, 1901, p. 102, and the excellent article 'Confiteor' at *Catholic Encyclopedia* IV, New York, 1913, pp. 222–223, and for different forms of absolution *ibid*., I, pp. 64–65.

but comparison with early Buddhist formulae may be instructive, as with the Jewish Day of Atonement procedure.[11]

Since Vedic ideas afford clues to Buddhist images, one might imagine that the *vinaya* requires formal confessions in order that the *saṅgha* may function. However, in our 'matured' formula confession is viewed subjectively: the offender *if he is compliant* is alone affected (if he is not it is another matter as we shall see). The *saṅgha* does not find itself restored, regularized, by the humiliation of the offender as may well be the Hindu position where, e.g. a penitent admits he has been bitten by a camel (*sic*),[12] and a penance is prescribed by the committee charged with maintaining the social weal.[13] It is important to notice that Buddhist monks did not 'forgive' or 'absolve' anyone (no 'binding and loosing' as in the Judaeo-Christian tradition), though they aided the discipline of the 'laity' as well as that of *bhikkhus*. The text I am considering is D 1.85.[14] I shall not disparage the mistakes of other translators, seeing that I must confess an egregious grammatical error I have myself committed in this very connection.[15]

> *Taggha tvaṃ mahā-rāja accayo accagamā yathā-bālaṃ yathā-mūḷhaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ, yaṃ tvaṃ pitaraṃ dhammikaṃ dhamma-rājānaṃ jīvitā voropesi. Yato ca kho tvaṃ mahā-rāja accayaṃ accayato disvā yathā dhammaṃ paṭikarosi, tan (v.l. taṃ) te mayaṃ paṭigaṇhāma. Vuddhi h' esā mahā-rāja ariyassa vinaye, yo accayaṃ accayato disvā yathā dhammaṃ paṭikaroti āyatiṃ saṃvaraṃ āpajjatīti.*
>
> "Truly, great king, an offence has overcome you[16] conformably with your ignorance, folly, and demerit, in that you put to death your father, a righteous

[11] Very pedantic enumerations of sins are rehearsed: Israel BRODIE, ed., *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, London, 1962, pp. 353-358 (both secular and spiritual offences are included, both voluntary and involuntary); Hermann ADLER, *Service of the Synagogue ... Day of Atonement*, Pt. 1, *Evening Service*, 9th edn., London & New York, N.D., pp. 7-11.

[12] Manu 11.200. The penance is suppression of the breath.

[13] Raffaele PETTAZZONI, *La Confessione dei peccati*, 3 vols., Bologna, 1929-1936 (Storia delle Religioni, 8, 11, 12); O. D. WATKINS, *A History of Penance*, 2 vols., London, 1920; H. C. LEA, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols., London, 1896; P. MICHAUD-QUANTIN, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XII-XVI siècles)*, Louvain, 1962 (Analecta Medievalia Namurcensia, 13). For TENTLER see below, n. 31.

[14] The translation at T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha* I, London, 1956, pp. 94-95, appears to be correct, though not literal. Cf. T. LING, *The Buddha's Philosophy of Man*, London, 1981, pp. 32-33. The passage is mistranslated by Edward J. THOMAS, *The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History*, 3rd edn., London, 1975, p. 138. That Ajātasattu was not converted is opined by RHYS DAVIDS at *Buddhist India*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 7.

[15] DERRETT, *Two Masters. The Buddha and Jesus*, Northampton, Pilkington, 1995, p. 127. *Disvā* is indicative (perceiving, therefore admitting) (A. K. WARDER, *Introduction to Pali*, 2nd edn., London & Boston, 1974, p. 58). It appears at Dhp 15-16. My 'makes amends' also is wrong, though my predecessors liked it. After confessing I perceive shame turning into regret.

[16] This tactful formula presumes that amendment is always possible (it has no dualistic resonance).

man,[17] a righteous ruler. And since you, great king, perceive the offence as an offence (cf. Dhp 319) and render it up[18] according to *dhamma*, we accept it of you.[19] For it is an 'increase' in the discipline of the *ariyas* (Buddha's disciples) if one, perceiving (his) offence as an offence, renders it up according to *dhamma*, and so acquires restraint[20] in future."

The choice of Ajātasattu is significant: a 'layman', sympathetic to the *saṅgha*, he was not amenable to any other discipline. But the technical terms must be unwound.

1. The essential first step is to perceive, admit to oneself, that an act was an *accaya*, an offence. Admitting it to oneself one can admit it to others.

2. As with monks aware of offences set out in the Pāṭimokkha in the course of the ceremony[21] or previously to it,[22] one must 'render it up' in a dhammik style before someone skilled in, appreciative of, Buddhist casuistry. Various offenders asked the Buddha to receive what they 'rendered up'.[23] One confesses the deed as, in the model, Ajātasattu does, and asks the hearer(s) to accept the rendition. The psychology is indicated by this vocabulary. The reciprocal activity, 'accepting' the (*de facto*) confession, certifies that the applicant/penitent understands his offence and is disclosing it correctly. The analogy is not with rituals but with procedures before village (we should say 'secular') courts or similar customary authorities.[24] The offender voluntarily discloses his fault, as at Manu 11.83, 86, 229, and, unable to remove 'impurities' for himself (Dhp 239), endures the sentence, whatever it

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[17] Bimbisāra, 491 B.C. Not an enemy nor a criminal, the slaughter of whom by kings (not monks or lay-followers) was allowed.

[18] On *paṭikaroti* see below. The idea is to render what is rightly due, but it suggests no *obligation* to confess.

[19] *Paṭiganhāma* correctly rendered by T. W. and C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha* III, London, 1921, p. 50. Had Ajātasattu been a *bhikkhu* the confession could not have been 'accepted' nor consolation afforded.

[20] Self-restraint is favoured by the acceptance of acceptable confessions.

[21] Wang PACHOW, *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa*, Santiniketan, 1955, pp. 70–71. One is reminded of monthly public confession sessions held by the Cathar 'perfect'.

[22] One is told that confessions no longer interrupt the ceremony. H. OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, London, 1882, pp. 371–373. E. W. THOMAS, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London & New York, 1933, p. 16. J. F. DICKSON, *JRAS* 1876, pp. 63, 72 (*desitāpattikassa*).

[23] See n. 2 above, and particulars of *paṭikaroti* below.

[24] N. BOSE, ed., *Data on Caste: Orissa*, Calcutta, 1960; S. K. BISWAS at *Bull. Anthrop. Survey of India* 11 (1962), pp. 41–46; C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Morals and Merit*, London, 1967; K. GNANAMBAL, *Religious Institutions and Caste Panchayats in South India*, Calcutta, 1973 (Anthropological Survey of India, Memoir 18); C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, "The sense of sin in cross-cultural perspective", *Man* (N.S.), 9 (1974), pp. 539–556; J. D. M. DERRETT, "The judicial panchayat ..." in: J. GILISSEN, ed., *Les Communautés rurales III Asie et Islam* = *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 42 (1982), pp. 133–141; ROBERT M. HAYDEN, "Excommunication as everyday event and ultimate sanction: the nature of suspension from an Indian caste", *Journal of Asian Studies* 42/2 (Feb. 1983), pp. 291–307. Modern India assigns many functions to *panchayats*, some of which overlap. A 2.240-243 (below), partly paralleled at S 2.128, and more curiously at 4.343 where secular justice is caricatured.

will be. He submits to the court's decision because of conscience and (we must add) the likelihood of exposure by others. We shall return to this model below.

3. The 'We' in 'We accept' suggests the *saṅgha*. When a 'rendition' is accepted growth, increase, in *vinaya* takes place, whether monastic or lay,[25] as the offender, almost logically, acquires (increased) (self-)restraint for the future, whether or not he maintains his resolve to amend. The hearer(s) do not absorb his offence, imparting their own 'holiness'; they do not forgive or pardon him, nor is the offence atoned for, or washed away. No 'amends' are made — how can one make amends for parricide, or 'out-talking' a colleague? Self-restraint is important (Dhp 360–361, 375) for its practitioners have a reputation as ascetics. No *absolution* takes place, and the hearer's powers are limited. In the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* there are many confessions: in the class of offences called *pāṭidesanīya* mere disclosure brings the problem to an end; but there are others which cannot be accepted. Neither in the *pāṭidesanīya* group (Vin 1.172; 3.195; A 2.243) nor in the others does any 'expiation' take place. A restoration to normal life in the *saṅgha* occurs in all but the *pārājika* cases; but the transactions after the rendition/confession are not our present concern, nor the *ukkhepanīyakamma* risked by a recalcitrant monk.

The hearer(s) have an option to accept, just as the offender has an option to render up his offence. Skt. or BHS *pratigṛhṇāti* (parallel to our *paṭiganhati*) implies grasp, accept, assent to, acquiesce in, approve. The penitent *asks* for this acceptance, which includes definition of the offence submitted to the hearer(s).[26] These are not 'accepting an apology' (as I apologise for my grammatical error): the applicant has not wronged *them*. The equivalent for 'forgive' is *khamati* (Skt. *kṣamate*), which means 'condone'. One asks a person to *condone* a misdeed in so far as he has liberty to do so (*khamāpati*, BHS *kṣamāpayati*). Condonation is not in point here (but note the Jaina formula below). What is meant is that an acceptance occurs like a creditor's issuing a receipt, the hearer(s) signifying that what has been done was *duly* done. *Paṭikaroti* (BHS *pratikaroti*) means to work in accordance with what is expected, to redress, repair. *Pratikṛtika*, an adjective, in BHS means 'consisting of a requital or repayment'. In Judaism, and later in Christianity, sin is equated with debt, and forgiveness is 'release' of that debt (cf. Luke 7:36–50).[27] In our situation the hearer(s) perform a function for the penitent,

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[25] As is apparent from the introduction to our passage and from its sequel.

[26] *Atyayaṃ pratigṛhṇātu* (LV 379.6; Divy 617.22–23); *atyayaṃ pratigṛhṇantu* (Suv 30.8); *pratigṛhṇīṣva* (MSV i.43.4).

[27] Wisdom 12:15,21; Mt 6:12; Lk 11:4, 13:4; *Mishnah*, Avot 3.17; R. EISENMAN and M. WISE, *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, Shaftesbury, 1992, pp. 253–254. F. HAUCK at *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* V (1954), pp. 559–565. J. D. M. DERRETT, "Bankruptcy in the New Testament", *Downside Review* 109, no. 376 (July 1991), pp. 173–182.

while he performs a function for himself in 'rendering up' what he has done. This aspect of Buddhist ethics should be more widely understood.

The ancient Jaina formula understands the penitent to make *pratikramaṇa* (saying *paḍikkamāmi*) in respect of daily transgressions. The monk hears also his promise to cast aside the past self, and next hears a *kṣāmaṇā-sūtra*, in which the penitent confesses breaches of etiquette, craving condonation for them. *Pratikramaṇa*, literally returning, descending, must mean 'recapitulate', the process of confessing, perhaps originally specific, neither general nor ritual, and by a later stage a mere recital of a confessional formula which the monk is expected to 'condone', though, etiquette apart, he has nothing, himself, to complain of. He 'condones' both classes of offence. The Buddhist formulae seem more rational.

The analogy which Buddhism chose is set out clearly at A 2.240-243 (§ 242): the four *āpatti-bhayāni*, 'fears of offending', the four categories of monastic offence of which every *bhikkhu* and *bhikkhunī* must be afraid. The offender fears the supernatural effects of his deed and experiences remorse. No monk or nun should be without *shame* at offending or *remorse* having offended.[28] Ajātasattu, as a parricide, was probably 'incurable', like his friend Devadatta. 'Curable' (*satekiccha*), as HORNER has explained,[29] is the condition of one, receipt of whose confession put an end to his alarm, a situation applying to many but not all offences. Ajātasattu's conscience was eased but he could not become a *bhikkhu* had he wanted to do so. Five offences, commencing with murder of one's mother and ending with causing a schism in the *saṅgha*, are called *ānantarikakamma*, their effect beginning immediately, and whereas offences can be *sappaṭikamma* (capable of being rendered up/confessed) there are those which are *appaṭikamma*, not capable of being (effectively) rendered up (A 1.20), which calls to mind the *pārājika* offences. In the Anguttara model each offender (excepting one liable to a death penalty) comes voluntarily to the court (cf. Manu 8.314-316)[30] and

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[28] *Hiri-ottapa*. Shame and remorse are essential qualities: Dhp 67-68; Sn 253, 719; D 3.212; M 1.271, 356; A 1.51, 83, 95; 3.421; 5.146, 214. Buddhaghosa, *Visuddhi-magga* 1.22, 48; 14.133, 142, 155. A popular wisdom background? Cf. *Nālaḍiyār* 81-84 (guilty fear — *accam*); 145 (contempt for those lacking the four 'dreads') (ed., trans. G. U. POPE, Oxford, 1893, pp. 55, 57, 97-98). Cf. Testament of Gad 6.7 (R. H. CHARLES, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* II, Oxford, 1913/1968, p. 342); C. E. PADWICK, *Muslim Devotions*, London, 1961, p. 196; P. N. NOWELL-SMITH, *Ethics*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pp. 25-26. Shame (injury to self-esteem) is distinguished from regret by John RAWLS, *A Theory of Justice*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 442-444.

[29] *Milinda's Questions* 1.275 n. 5 (I. B. HORNER, London, 1969). Examples at Miln 221,344 as well as 192. Devadatta is *atekiccha* (M 1.393).

[30] J. FEZAS, "Le voleur, le roi et la massue. Expiation et châtiment dans les texts normatifs sanskrits", *BEI* 7-8 (1989-1990); C. A. BHATTACHARYA, *The Concept of Theft in Classical Hindu Law*, Delhi, 1990; A. WEZLER, "Der Tod als Mittel der Entsühnung (Gemäß dem Dharmaśāstra)", *Im Tod gewinnt der Mensch sein Selbst. Das Phänomen des Todes in asiatischer und abendländischer Religionstradition*, ed. Gerhard OBERHAMMER, Wien, 1995 (Österrei-

confesses his crime, and the court agrees, in each case awarding a punishment reflecting his submission. The cudgelling, reprimand or banishment takes place because he states what he did and admits the right of the court to punish him at its discretion. This eases his secular fear, though not necessarily his supernatural fear (cf. Manu 9.240). If he goes before Buddhist monks and makes the same 'rendition' his fear of rebirth may be assuaged.

Without (1) remorse, (2) communication, and (3) acceptance of the 'rendering up' the 'advance', 'growth' cannot take place (cf. Manu 11.231–233). Before we conclude, some comparisons with the sacramental confession as known in the West (distinct from 'liturgical confession') will be helpful. In spite of cynical disparagement of 'gallows sorrow',[31] sacramental confession survived Reformers' scepticism.[32] By contrast, Buddhism made no difficulty about repeated confessions, nor presupposed a promise not to re-offend; there is no manual for confessors, since knowledge of *vinaya* was presupposed in the hearer(s). Buddhist confessions could well be one-to-one, but need not be in private;[33] nor are penitents cross-questioned; nor must confession be exhaustive. There are no 'reserved' cases (disputes apart) in Buddhism. When a 'rendering up' has been accepted there is no appeal. If in the Mahāyāna Buddhas, e.g. Maitreya, fictionally 'receive' any or all confessed sins, they too would neither absolve nor forgive, in the sense familiar in sacramental confession. The Theravāda scheme relies on compunction, remorse, and therefore both *discipline* and *consolation* are furthered, a point of contact between Catholic and Buddhist practice. In Buddhism there is no conditional absolution nor is there any talk of satisfaction or restitution.[34] The Reformers and the Catholics differed as to the role of *faith*;[35] in Buddhism confessing is prompted by a righteous fear (Dhp 317), since better behaviour modifies retribution. Fellow religionists' acknowledgement of the duty done is instrumental in achieving peace of mind. This derives not from ritual but from popular practice. One does not rely on a faithful companion to console one — that commences the downward path.[36]

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chische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 624 Bd.), pp. 97–140 at p. 121.

[31] Thomas N. TENTLER, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton, NJ, 1977, p. 351 n. 5.

[32] *Catechismi ex decreto Concilii Tridentini ad Parochos* ... (original edn., 1568), pt. 2, ch. 5, § 37, Rome, 1845, p. 174. Note HORNER's comment at *Milinda's Questions* 1.275 nn. 2–3.

[33] Cf. TENTLER, pp. 82–83: though the etiquette of sacramental confession required it to take place in a public place, the transaction between confessor and penitent was customarily private.

[34] TENTLER, pp. 131, 144, 340–343. A topic on which casuists were not strong.

[35] On contrition (remorse) see TENTLER, pp. 11, 22, 24–25, 235 ff., 250 ff., 265, 337, cf. pp. 353–4 (Luther's view).

[36] Cf. the irregular 'consolation' given to King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (101–77 B.C.) at Mahāvaṃsa 25.103–111. René GOTHÓNI, "Caste and kinship within Sinhalese Buddhist monasticism", in: A. PARPOLA and B. S. HANSEN, edd., *South Asian Religion and Society*, London & Riverdale,

One may confess a fault when one doubts whether it is one, in order not to be faced with a schism.[37] Of course one can be in doubt, and one can be better informed (cf. Manasseh),[38] but the Theravāda procedure presupposes a willingness to abide by the decision of the hearer(s). He must trust him/them (M 1.37) as the criminal (above) trusts the village court. He must put aside shame (cf. Ecclesiasticus 4.26) and ignore the power he puts into his/their hands.[39] One-to-one confession must often have succeeded.[40] Those who refused to accept the hearers' definition of the offence seemingly had to be expelled, successive bodies being appealed to to avoid a schism.[41] This weak point cannot be said to have been satisfactorily addressed,[42] and it is not surprising that the *saṅgha* needed 'reform' from time to time.

Conclusion: The Buddha, and his *bhikkhus*, were realistic. Consciousness of doing ill causes grief (Dhp 15). Confession clarifies one's position. One may be reassured there is growth for the future. Like a child's transaction with his guardians, the offender will be 'better hereafter'. The secular criminal may be dismissed with an oral punishment (Manu 8:128–130). The hearer(s) of a Buddhist confession state into what peril the offence has brought the applicant. If he is indeed a candidate for *arahant* status he is admonished as to the discipline. This has no relevance to criminal liability, if any (cf. Manu 8.318). Ajātasattu, of course, had none in any case; yet the burden needed to be shared (so to speak). To that extent his predicament was similar to that of Jews asking for baptism (Matthew 3.6: ἐβαπτίζοντο ... ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, cf. Acts 19.18: πολλοί τε τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἤρχοντο ἐξομολογούμενοι καὶ ἀναγγέλλοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν).[43] Applicants for baptism were not cross-questioned as to their sins, nor did they receive any absolution. They understood themselves to be entering upon new lives, achieving, shall we say?, self-control for the future.

MD, 1986 (ideologically unacceptable principles penetrated Ceylonese *saṅgha* ...).

[37] Vin 1.339–40; Vin 2.288–9.

[38] See n. 6 above.

[39] "Paraenesis is usually transmitted by persons who are socially and morally superior to those they address": David E. AUNE, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, Philadelphia, 1987, p. 191. Allan GIBBARD, "Communities of judgement", in: Ellen F. PAUL, *et al.*, edd., *Foundations of Moral and Political Philosophy*, Oxford & Cambridge, MA, 1990, pp. 175–189 at p. 177; E. M. FORSTER, *The Life to Come and other Stories*, Harmondsworth, 1975, p. 55. Seneca, *De constantia sapientis* 14.3. M. SPARK, *Public Image*, London, 1970, p. 97.

[40] Vin 2.101–2 (*āyatiṃ saṃvareyyāsi*). Failure is recorded at Vin 2.103.

[41] Vin 1.339–40.

[42] Vin 1.324, 337–40.

[43] Hartwig THYEN at E. DINKLER, ed., *Zeit und Geschichte. Festschrift R. Bultmann*, Tübingen, 1964, pp. 97–126.

From the Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra

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The Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra,[1] by convention referred to as 'Mañj', is one of the few extant Khotanese Buddhist texts that are not translated from Sanskrit. It is, however, a composite metrical work containing passages from various sources, some of which may themselves be translations from Sanskrit. Thus, a passage of nine verses corresponding to the Laṅkāvatārasūtra[2] is almost certain to derive from a translation of that work or of another containing the same verses. However, the source that has provided by far the most verses that have been identified is the so-called 'Book of Zambasta', the well-known original Old Khotanese poem containing chapters on various aspects of Buddhism.[3]

Several factors are responsible for the fact that it is extremely difficult to identify the source of verses in Mañj.[4] The poem is known from one manuscript only and that is badly written. The script itself, late cursive, is clear, but the orthography is extremely defective and the scribe is guilty not only of all the usual copyist's errors of haplography, dittography and the like but of freely omitting akṣaras. The poem is not arranged in verse form although occasionally the verse numbers and punctuation of an earlier manuscript have been copied. Since it is difficult to understand the verses, it is even more difficult to trace their source.

Bearing in mind the difficulties in the way of establishing and interpreting the text I offer here a first tentative translation of the beginning of Mañj. The

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[1] On this tenth-century work see my notice in *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1992 (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series III), 26.

[2] See "Some verses from the Laṅkāvatārasūtra in Khotanese", pp. 125–133 in: *A green leaf, papers in honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen*, Leiden 1988 (Acta Iranica, 28).

[3] Corresponding passages in the Book of Zambasta have been printed opposite the text of Mañj on pp. 440–453 of my edition of *The Book of Zambasta, a Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*, Oxford University Press, London, 1968 (London Oriental Series, 21).

[4] On 9.6.1982 Almuth DEGENER informed me that verse [72] in lines 84–85:
haura usānāña yanāka parāhna ra jastvā ysatha
hajvattā jeda jadī bāvaña jsa ysathā jega
('The gift is the maker of wealth, and birth among the gods is due to moral restraint. Wisdom destroys folly (and) the destruction of births is due to meditation.')
correspoods closely to Kaṭhināvadāna (ed. A. DEGENER, Bonn, 1990) 31.4:
dāridra-nāśanaṃ dānaṃ śīlaṃ durgati-nāśanaṃ |
añjana-nāśanaṃ prajñā bhāvanā bhava-nāśanaṃ |

immediately following passage contains a description of the three *kleśas* as Rākṣasa monsters. I published a preliminary edition of this passage with translation and commentary in *Studia Iranica* 6.1, 1977, 65–74.

For the benefit of the Indological reader I have inserted within brackets in the following literal translation the Sanskrit equivalents of the key words. For reasons of space commentary has been kept to a minimum. It is hoped to publish in a future edition of the complete text a fuller commentary containing a discussion also of possible alternative renderings.

Lines 1–2:

sadhaham,

drra-baḍa namasū ba'[ysa] [saṃva]drrana dījsāka
aharīna cu bvare hamauda harbaśu parṣa' jsa hatsa [1]

App.: B. reads *ba'ysa* but only *ba'* is visible on my photograph. B. supplies *[mahāsaṃva]drrana*, but I am not sure that there is sufficient room for *[mahā]*.

Success.

I worship the Buddhas of the three times, the supporters of the oceans, all (the Buddhas), however many there may be, together with the whole assembly (*pariṣad*).

Lines 2–3:

paramārtha namasū dā ahamye aje naṣau'da
drra-bāḍū be'ysūña pade darma-dhātta śau-raysa hamaga : [2]

I worship the Law, the highest reality (*paramārtha*): (it is) unoriginated (*anutpanna*), undestroyed (*aniruddha*), tranquil (*praśānta*). (I worship) the path of the Buddhas of the three times, the sphere of the Law (*dharmadhātu*), which has one flavour (*ekarasa*), equal (*sama*).

Lines 3–4:

ga' bīsagīja uvāra cu beśa āyauysa naṣau'da
rana-tvīpa *māñada śare jsa pūṇya-kṣettr[āna va]ska 3 [3]

App. **māñada* em. E. for MS *māda*. B. reads *pūṇya kṣettr . . vaska* and remarks that two akṣaras are illegible. In my photograph they are no longer visible. It is accordingly possible that the gap contained one more akṣara.

(I worship) the noble assembly of the monks (*bhikṣusaṅgha*), since in it all afflictions (*kleśa*) have been extinguished. (It is) like a Jewel Isle (*ratnadvīpa*) due to its splendour (*śrī*) for the sake of fields of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*).

Lines 4–6:

pīrmātta[ma] tta draya rana ttruāyāka satvā beśa
ttera jsa namasū aysa devedrraśurasīha ṣada jsa brrīya [4]

App. *pīrmātta[ma]* suppl. B.

The three supreme Jewels, saviours of all beings – with the forehead I, Devendraśūrasiṃha, worship (them) with faith (and) in love.

Lines 6–7:

utvaḍa namasū tva vahaiysā nīrātma vī
tcana thyau ̦byehīda ra[na] · *avārautta nervāṇa *gūste [5]

App. ra[na] suppl. B. **avārautta* em. B. for MS. *avārau.* B. reads *gūstre*, which may be correct. However, the expected form of *stra* (Fig. 1) is different: cf. *straya* (line 34), *strīya* (line 35). The akṣara here (Fig. 2) looks like that in *strīya* (lines 188 190 193 256 379) and *streha* in line 72 (where BAILEY reads *rreste ha*).

Fig. 1: *stra* 34 Fig. 2: *st(r)e* in *gūst(r)e*

Greatly I worship this descent (*avatāra*) into (the doctrine of) selflessness (*nairātmya*), by which they quickly obtain the Jewels, unsupported Nirvāṇa, deliverance.

Lines 7–8:

ttaradara nyāska-masauña *ysamaśade hettana hattsa
kā cu maña skadāau āttma ttyā †na ma āauṣka : [6]

App. **ysamaśade* em. B. for MS *ysamade.* B. reads here (line 8) *ttyāna haraṣḍa ma āauṣka*, but there can be no doubt that what he reads as *ha* is in fact *ma*. The akṣaras are quite different and here the MS is clear. However, I cannot make sense of *ttyāna maraṣḍa ma āauṣka.* There are dots over the akṣaras *ra* and *ṣḍa* and possibly over the *ma* that immediately precedes *ṣḍa*. These may indicate deletion. The akṣaras *ma ra ṣṭa* occur on the following line and the copyist's eye may have slipped. It is conceivable that *ttyāna ma āauṣka* should be read and understood as 'for them (the self remains) here (in *saṃsāra*) forever', but against this is the fact that although *ttyā* occurs frequently in Mañj as oblique plural of the demonstrative pronoun, *ttyāna* does not occur.

The body is merely to be despised (and) the world together with its cause (*hetu*). If anyone should regard the self (*ātman*) as among the elements (*skandha*), for them … here forever;

Lines 8–9:

cu ne hyahe skadvā āttma ne vā drāva-masa darma
ṣā' vasva bvāma raṣṭa ṣā' gūstyai ysathā ̦jega [7]

(but) if one does not find the self among the elements (*skandha*) nor things (*dharma*) even the size of a hair, this (is) pure knowledge, right, this (is) salvation for him, removal of births.

Lines 9–11:

hana avījsyadai satva beśa vīra ttāḍā śuma
vara ttu dīśa' tcaimausta hvāeṇḍa rūda ṣai bāśa vī daitta [8]

For the blind, unseeing being (there is) only darkness everywhere, (but) for the seeing man there in that direction even light appears everywhere.

Lines 11-12:

kū ṣṭa hanāsa prrahūjanau : cu maññāre āttama darma
*vara hajū bvāmaya satva narāmā narvāṇa gūstya [9]

App. The MS appears to have here *vaira*, but *vara* must be intended as correlative to *kū ṣṭa* 'where'. Between *narāmā* and *narvāṇa* the syllables *sattsā* (written in anticipation of the following *saṃsārvā* in the same line) occur heavily deleted.

Where (there is the false) hypothesis of ordinary beings (*pṛthagjana*), who regard the self (*ātman*) as a thing (*dharma*), there for the wise knowledge-filled being (there is) disappearance, Nirvāṇa, deliverance.

Lines 12-14:

sattsārvā jsīrja hanāsa sūha sūrai āttama nattye :
ttyā jsa hanaśa ttsīda pajsa ge satva pacaḍana [10]

Of those in the cycle of existence (*saṃsāra*) the deception, the (false) hypotheses (*viparyāsa*) (are): (there exist) pleasure (*sukha*), the pure (*śuci*), the self (*ātman*), the permanent (*nitya*). Through these the beings (*sattva*) in the five states (*pañcagati*) in turn become lost.

Lines 14-15:

cu au hīra ttatva kaida : jaḍīnai hūnana bītcapha
ysyāra ysīrāre mīrāre ysatha nāsāra vacettra [11]

Since they think things are real, troubled by the dream of folly, they are born, grow old, die, take up various births.

Note: For *jaḍīnai hūnana bītcapha* 'troubled by the dream of folly' cf. line 171 [152b] *jaḍanai hūna jsa bītcapha.*

Lines 15-16:

skadvā ja sūha na byaide : na sūrāttā agapī buāśa
kṣaṇa kṣaṇa hamaica nāsta anacī rāśa' beḍa : [12]

Yet among the elements (*skandha*) pleasure (*sukha*) is not found, nor purity (*śuci*), (but) all is impure (*aśuci*). Moment by moment one undergoes transformation. They are bound in the realm of the impermanent (*anitya*).

Lines 16-18:

usta vī jīya tcabrrīśta : peṣkatta hvā hvā beśa
uysānā ṣā' va na byaide skadā naṣata prrara 3 [13]

App. BAILEY reads as *tta* what I regard as the numeral *3*.

At the last one's life will disperse. (If) one analyses separately all (the elements), a self, that is not found there. The nature (*prakṛti*) of the elements (*skandha*) (is) tranquil.

Note: *jīya* could be taken as a verb as suggested by A. DEGENER. Render then: 'At last one will disappear, be scattered'.

Lines 18–19:

prracā jṣa hamya paḍeda aśucāgyā habaḍa bā'sta
padā masta ācha vaska dūkhīna haje śūma [14]

They have been created by causal factors (*pratyaya*). (They are) crammed full of impure (*aśuci*) members (*aṅga*). (They are) a great vessel for disease, merely heaps of woe.

Note: This explanation of *dūkhīna haje śūma* was proposed by A. DEGENER, essentially following BAILEY, *Dict.* 444a, 445b s.vv. *haje, hamjātu*.

Lines 19–21:

khva ja vyehāra vaska tcahaura : tta prracā tcana padeda
cakala gaysa kīḍā u auysama vyehāra ttī byehī nauma 10 5 [15]

App. A small akṣara, probably *na*, heavily deleted, occurs after *auysa-* in *auysama*.

As for the sake of a dwelling (*vihāra*) four things (are necessary): those (are) the causal factors due to which it is made (namely) wood, reeds, creepers, and clay. Then it would get the name 'dwelling (*vihāra*)'.

Lines 21–23:

tta ttyā prracā jsa vyehāra vīnau ttyā pātca ne byade
khva prracā hvā hva vīśtada vyāhāra ttī rūye nauma [16]

App. na before *ttyā* is bracketed by BAILEY. From my photographs it is not clear whether the akṣara is marked for deletion or not.

Thus the dwelling (*vihāra*) is due to those causal factors (*pratyaya*). Without them then it does not exist. If they place the causal factors separately, then it loses the name 'dwelling (*vihāra*)'.

Lines 23–24:

ttaradara prracyā pātca mahā-bhavyau jsa padeda
utca dai śadā bāva vejñāna ṣai jsā ttīma guśta [17]

Further, the body is due to causal factors (*pratyaya*). (It is) made from the great elements (*mahābhūta*): water, fire, earth, wind. Likewise perception (*vijñāna*) – seed, flesh,

Lines 24–25:

spava āsta hūña kaga cha ttyau jsa ra pūīsta
ttaradara byehī nauma khu ja padā grrainai pīḍa : [18]

spine, bones, blood, skin – covered with those would get the name 'body' just like an earthen vessel (that has been) painted.

Lines 25–26:

āttama satva pūdagala jīva maññāma satva pa'jsa ttuśai
āstīnai yadrra mahā-bhuvyau jsa hamye [19]

Self (*ātman*), being (*sattva*), individual (*pudgala*), life principle (*jīva*) are (merely) thought. A being (*sattva*) (is) utterly empty (*śūnya*), a mechanism (*yantra*) of bones that has arisen from the great elements (*mahābhūta*).

Lines 27-28:

cu nauya varanyau ysautta āhūsā ganā ṣa utca
cvai gvaśte hvaḍū khaṣṭa u grrāttā ṣai' jsā dai 20 [20]

As for what flows out from the nine apertures, sweat (and) smells, that is (1) the water; when one's food is digested and one's drink, and warmth (arises), that is likewise (2) the fire;

Lines 28-29:

va'jāma hamarau aga āśvāsa-prraśvāsa bā
cu jsā vara āstai styūde ṣa' śade hīvī bhāgu [21]

the motion of the joints and the limbs, breathing in and out (*āśvāsa-praśvāsa*), (that is) (3) the wind; what is there the firm bone, that is the share of (4) the earth;

Lines 29-30:

tcamañūā haysgvā ai'ha vara āśa' bvauña
vaijñāna ṣa' ra jsā kṣema cu ttu vī jve yadrra : [22]

App. Deleted akṣara between *ā-* and *-śa'* in *āśa'*.

(what is) in the eyes, in the nostrils, in the mouth there is to be known as (5) the space (*ākāśa*). Moreover, perception (*vijñāna*) is the sixth (element), which is in that living mechanism (*yantra*).

Lines 30-32:

cu yadrraḍā mvīrau khauysda hvaijīnau yadrrā gīhana
cī hvai ja harṣḍa tcabrrīśta yadraḍa hva hva aga [23]

App. Deleted akṣara (*rḍa*?) after *-drra-* in *yadrraḍā*.

As for the mechanism-made (body), which moves and shakes with the help of mechanisms (*yantra*) of blood, when a man is broken up, the mechanism-made (body) is scattered, (and its) members (are) separate.

Lines 32-33:

khu aysmva harṣḍa uysanā tcabrrīsīda tcahaura
pātca kūśa' ca vara ttaña baiḍa : tta prracā spāśa narīkṣa : [24]

When the mind is broken up, the four (kinds of) self (*ātman, sattva, pudgala, jīva*) are scattered. Then seek what is there at that time. Regard, examine those causal factors (*pratyaya*).

Lines 33–35:

ca menẹ vara dahū ṣtraya utça *ysamaśadā dai bā :
bainema prracā bāśa. ne ne byade āttama satva [25]

App. **ysamaśadā* by emendation for MS *ya* (M. MAGGI).

Whatever (there was) there (that was) man and woman (was in reality merely) water, *earth, fire, wind. Divide up all the causal factors (*pratyaya*): there is found no self (*ātman*), (no) being (*sattva*).

Lines 35–36:

khu ttaurañá hamadā strīya pīrūna *harbaiśyā *agyā śuau'sta
gūna cha saḳṣā dyāena vara jaḍā aysmva khauysda [26]

App. **harbaiśyā agyā* em. E. for MS *ha gyā*.

Just as in the case of the painting on a wall of a woman furnished with *all the members*, due to the appearance of hair, complexion, stature, in that case (it is) the mind of the ignorant (that) moves.

Note: For *ttaura-* 'wall' see note on verse [27].

Lines 36–37:

ttu mañada harbaśa rūva tvīra pīrūna hamaga
ttaśā drravyasta na īda cāya-narmyana hamaga [27]

App. Possibly *īde* or *īdą* rather than *īda* is intended.

Similarly, all forms (*rūpa*) are like paintings on a scroll. Empty (*śūnya*), they are not substantial (but) like what is magic-created.

Note: I have rendered *tvīra* as 'on a scroll' although in the *Dict.* 145b s.v. *tvārā-* BAILEY translates it as 'canvas' in this passage. In *Dict.* 134b s.v. *ttaurañá* 'picture' BAILEY seems to equate *ttaura-* with *tvārā-* 'scroll, text', which seems formally as well as semantically implausible. *ttaura-* 'wall' suits the context of [26] perfectly, but it is not necessary to assume that in [27] we likewise have reference to a wall painting and it is unlikely that *tvīra* is an alternative locative singular to *ttaurañá*. It is, however, somewhat surprising even in Mañj to find *tvīra* for older *tvera* Z 9.19. Perhaps the Late Khotanese forms represent a different formation *tvārā-*.

Lines 37–39:

udvīya tcarā pajsama yada āska khenḍa
ttuśā kṣajīda marīce na haḍa vara byehīde utca : [28]

App. Deleted *rva* (cf. *urvīya* in 1.116) occurs after *u-* in *udvīya*.

One must feel disgust (at the world, but one who instead) does honour (to it) is like the deer (who) long for empty mirages but do not find water there.

Lines 39–40:

tcahau-padya jsīrja hanāsa tcana ma ñūāṣṭa satva
sa khva pere bīra ñāṣṭa uysānā hīvī drau:na [29]

Fourfold is the deception, false hypothesis (*viparyāsa*), by which beings (*sattva*) have been trapped here. As leaves are trapped in a net, (they have been trapped) by the deception of self.

Lines 40–41:

ttu māñada harbaśa satva aysmvīnai drrauna ttanvāre
*sattsaira drrāmā byaire dūkhīnai badana-śela [30]

App. Deleted syllable, perhaps *rna*, after *drrau-* in *drrauna*. **sattsaira* em. B. for MS *sattsai*.

Similarly, all beings are extended by the mind's deception. Such (beings) are found in the cycle of existence (*saṃsāra*), the prison hall of woe (*bandhana-śālā*).

Lines 41–42:

cu mī ttyai kṣamī narīda sattsārva bīrai jsa vāṣṭa
ttyāe hīvī aysmva sa vasūjāña a nada tcarai [31]

If it should please him to escape from the net of the cycle of existence (*saṃsāra*), he must merely purify his mind and must do homage.

Note: a nada tcarai 'and he must do homage' is uncertain. *nada* is perhaps for *noda*, cf. *nonda yan-* 'to do homage' (see BAILEY, *Dict.* 192b), but *a* for *u* 'and' is unexpected, although not impossible. Cf. *a* 'and' in Siddhasāra 24.31 (Ch ii.002 #141v3–4 *KT* 1.80): *a-v-ī kuhaṃ thau jsa ā vā perām jsa hā hagunāñą* 'and his (wound) must be covered with an old cloth, or alternatively, with leaves'. BAILEY, *Dict.* 3a s.v. *anada* reads *anada tcarai* and renders 'the mind is just to be purified, it is to be made unlimited(?)'. Thus he accounts for it as a hapax and that without obtaining a satisfactory meaning. *anada tcarai* would most plausibly be explained as 'he must experience joy', taking *anada* as Sanskrit *ānanda*, but that too does not suit the context. Another line of approach is suggested by A. DEGENER, who proposes to read *a na *byada tcarai* 'and he must have no doubt'.

Line 43:

śaira asada *harbaśa †kara bhuāja ttū†
aysmva śau tta khu paste śāstāra baiysa [32]

App. **harbaśa* em. B. for MS *harba*. †*kara bhuāja ttū*† appears to be corrupt.

All good (and) evil ... the mind alone, just as the teacher Buddha deigned (to preach).

Lines 43–45:

mahāleyā ṣa kāma-dāttu u rūpa-dā ārūpya nairvaṇa kathe
tteña ttaradara hvā baiśā aysmya jai hajsara ttāha [33]

App. **mahāleyā* em. E. for MS *mahā* at the end of line 43 followed by *mahāleyā* at the beginning of line 44.

The great universe (*mahāloka*), that (is) the sphere of desire (*kama-dhatu*) and the sphere of form (*rūpa-dhātu*) (and) the sphere of non-form (*ārūpya-dhātu*), the city of Nirvāṇa. In it (are) all bodies severally, a pure sphere of the mind.

Lines 45–47:

khu aysmva āyauṣṭa kūra satva *āyauṣṭa hvañare
khu aysmva raysda vasūśta satva pā hūvasva bvāña [34]

App. *āyauṣṭa em. B. for MS *āyau*. Half line vacant after *va-* in *vasūśta*.

When the mind is disturbed, false, the beings (*sattva*) are said to be disturbed. When the mind is controlled, becomes pure, then tbe beings (*sattva*) are to be known as very pure.

Note: BAILEY, *Dict.* 358b takes *raysda* as 'directs' and thus synonymous with the causative *rrāś-*, but a passive meaning seems required by the context here and elsewhere.

Lines 47–48:

khu aysmva panama kūśala śera vā vīvā nāste
hvīña jastuña uvāra narvartta ttye va *sūha [35]

App. sūha em. E. for MS *sū*.

When good thought (*kuśalacitta*) arises, one obtains the fruition (*vipāka*) for the good. For him there are human (and) divine, noble, blissful (*nirvṛta*) blessings.

Lines 48–49:

cī paname akūśala catta dedrrā vā vīvā nāsta
avāyvā pītta ṣa' drrena byehe dūkha staura naraukṣa [36]

When evil thought (*akuśalacitta*) arises, one obtains the fruition (*vipāka*) for such. He falls into the three evil states (*apāya*) (and) finds severe, harsh woes (*duḥkha*).

Lines 49–50:

cu vā ttu aysmva pātca ttuśāttā-lakṣaṇa bvatte
khu na-ṃ byehe śau-mase dharma ṣa' vā sa ttatva gūstya [37]

If then one perceives the mind (*citta*) as having the marks of emptiness (*śūnyatālakṣaṇa*), if one does not find a single thing (*dharma*), that alone is truly deliverance.

Lines 50–51:

ba'ysūśta na cu ttye hāysa na vā ṣai kāmye naysda
cu aysmva vasūja raṣṭa ttye gūstyā ba'ysūśta [38]

Enlightenment (*bodhi*) is not what is far from one, nor is it even near anyone. (For one) who rightly purifies the mind (*citta*), his is deliverance, enlightenment.

Lines 51–52:

ttye na vā ṣā' ba'ysūśta pātca hadarya hauḍa hame
khu satvā hauḍa hamya ya baiśa satva ba'ysa hamīra : [39]

And this enlightenment (*bodhi*) of his cannot afterwards be given to another. If it could be given to beings (*sattva*), all beings (*sattva*) would become Buddhas.

Lines 52–53:

ba'ysa sa pade uysdīśe narāmā hvāñū gūstye :
kau cu ttya *pajsa yanī ttya gūstye dre-vadya haiysa [40]

App. **pajsa* em. E. for MS *pa*. Cf. **pajsaṃ yuḍai* for MS *pa yuḍai* JS 23v2 (102).

The Buddha merely expounds the path. He speaks of escape and deliverance. If anyone should do honour to him, for him threefold (is) the entry into deliverance:

Note: haiysa 'entry' should possibly be emended to **vahaiysa*, cf. verse [5] above. For the threefold entry into deliverance cf. Z 6.56 *drai-padya śśāma parrīyā*.

Lines 53–54:

satsāra cu pajsa skadha : arahada hakṣa tcahaure
prracyāai jsa kharga-veṣāṇa pārāmyau kṣyau jsā ba'ysa [41]

App. -ra- in *arahada* written small below line.

'(As there are) the five elements (*skandha*) in the cycle of existence (*saṃsāra*), (so there are) the arhats (and) the four truths; the Pratyekabuddhas with the causal factors (*pratyaya*); the Buddhas with the six perfections (*pāramitā*).'

Note: [41] is from Z 10.10:
saṃtsārä cu paṃjsa skandha arahanda haṭhtḥe tcohora
pracyau jsa khaḍga-viṣāṇa kṣyau pārāmyau balysa .

Abbreviations

App.	Apparatus
B	H. W. BAILEY
Bailey, *Dict.*	H. W. BAILEY, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge, 1979.
E	R. E. EMMERICK
em.	emended by
JS	M. J. DRESDEN, *The Jātakastava or 'Praise of the Buddha's Former Births'*, Philadelphia, 1955 (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S., 45.5).
KT 1	H. W. BAILEY, *Khotanese texts I*, Cambridge, 1945 (vols 1–3 reprinted in one volume as 'second edition', Cambridge, 1969 and 1980).
suppl.	supplemented by
Z	R. E. EMMERICK, *The Book of Zambasta, a Khotanese poem on Buddhism*, London, 1968 (London Oriental Series 21).

Sanskrit Fragments from the *Saṃgītanipāta of the *Saṃyuktāgama**[*]

FUMIO ENOMOTO, Kyoto

The *Saṃgītanipāta[1] is the last section of the *Saṃyuktāgama* which probably belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivādins[2] and is extant only in Chinese translation[3]. This section corresponds to the Sagāthavagga[4] of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* of the Theravādins. Since the present edition of the Sagāthavagga is one of the most unsatisfactory editions of Pāli texts, a new edition of this text is required. It is desired that the new edition, not to speak of its translation or study, be prepared in comparison with parallel passages found in Sanskrit, Chinese or Tibetan texts belonging to various Buddhist sects or denominations, as well as in Jaina or Brahmanic literature. Recently I have published a collection of Indic passages corresponding to the Chinese translation of the *Saṃgītanipāta which are found in the Sarvāstivāda-Mūlasarvāstivāda literature[5]. Since its publication, I have found more passages corresponding to the Chinese *Saṃgītanipāta. The present paper is intended to supplement this Indic collection with a Tocharian-Sanskrit bilingual fragment found in the so-called German Turfan Collection and two fragments in the Pelliot Collection.

First the Chinese text is given and the Sanskrit text corresponding to it follows. The correspondences are put in bold letters in the Chinese text.

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[1] On the designation of the *Saṃgītanipāta, see ENOMOTO 1986, p. 24.

[2] See ENOMOTO 1986, p. 23; ENOMOTO 1994, p. XIII.

[3] T No. 99 (SĀc). The *Saṃgītanipāta consists of fascicles 4, 22, 36, 38–40, 42, 44–46, 48–50 of SĀc.

[4] SN, vol. I. For the latest survey of the contents and importance of this text, see O. VON HINÜBER, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin, 1996, p. 38.

[5] ENOMOTO 1994.

I TochSprR(A) 359–365[6]

SĀcs 86 (403b29–c3, 6–11)[7]

人生壽命促　必將付於死
衰老之所侵　無有能救者
是以應畏死　唯有入佛法
若修善法者　是則歸依處

壯盛及衰老　三時皆過去
餘命既無幾　常爲老所患
近到閻王際　婆羅門欲生
二間無住處　汝都無資糧
應作小明燈　依憑於精勤
剪除於結使　不復生老死

SĀc 1163 (310b6–10)

老死之所壞　身及所受滅
唯有惠施福　爲隨己資糧
依於善攝護　及修禪功德
隨力而行施　錢財及飲食
於群則睡覺　非爲空自活

TochSprR(A) 359,1–3. Cf. SN 1.1.3 (vol. 1, p. 2); AN 3.51 (vol. 1, p. 155).

\+ + + + + + + + + + + +
na tr[ā]ṇam[8] asti jarā + + + + /[9]
etad bha(yaṃ) + + + [pr]ekṣamāṇa[10]
upaniśrayāśu śaraṇaṃ + + + // (1)

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[6] The editors, SIEG and SIEGLING, identified the Sanskrit with the *Saṃyuktāgama*, but did not indicate any corresponding passages to the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama*. I have made more extensive restoration than the editors. The blank pāda means that the pāda was not written on the manuscript, or that it is unknown whether the pāda was not written or has been lost.

[7] The smaller Chinese version of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T No. 100) is here cited, because the relevant Sūtra 1163 cited below of the larger Chinese version of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T No. 99) hardly corresponds to the Sanskrit, possibly due to the corruption of this Sūtra. The extant Sūtra sequence of the larger version also is corrupt. SĀc 88 was originally just after SĀc 1163 (see Mukai 1985). On the fact that the smaller Chinese version is closely related to the larger Chinese version and the Mūlasarvāstivādins, but not to the Dharmaguptakas or Mahīśāsakas, see ENOMOTO 1986, pp. 24f.

[8] *trāṇamm*: ms.

[9] Cf. *jarūpanītassa na santi tāṇā*: SN.

[10] Cf. *etaṃ bhayaṃ maraṇe pekkhamāno*: SN.

TochSprR(A) 359,4–7; Abhidh-k-bh p. 123. Cf. Dhp 237; Abhidh-k-ṭ, Tu 137b1 f.

upanīta[va]yā[10a] jarātura(ḥ)
(saṃprāpto) (')si[11] yamāntikaṃ dvija /
vāso (')pi [h]i (nā)[s]t[i te] (')nta[r](ā
pā)[th](eyaṃ ca) na vidyate tava // 2

TochSprR(A) 359,7–9. Cf. Uv 16.3; Dhp 238; Abhidh-k-ṭ. Tu 137b2.

[12-]d(v)ī[paṃ ku]ruta[-12] tvam ātma(n)o
vīryaṃ saṃśraya paṇḍitān[13] [bhaja] /
nirdhā(nta)malo niraṅgaṇo[14]
na punar jātijarām upeṣyasi // (3)

SĀcs 87 (403c24–404a2)[7]

譬如失火家　焚燒於屋宅
宜急出財寶　以離無火燒
生老病死火　焚燒於衆生
宜應修惠施　賑衆於貧窮
世間金寶等　王賊水火侵
死時悉捨離　無有隨人者
施惠人不捨　猶如堅牢藏
王賊及水火　無能侵害者

TochSprR(A) 359,10–16. Cf. SN 1.5.1 (vol. 1, pp. 31 f.); AN 3.52 (vol. 1, p. 156); Jā, vol. 3, p. 471; Abhis-Dh p. 21.

+ (agā)rād agnitaptāt[15]   yat ti + + + + + + /[16]
tad dhi tasya svakaṃ bhavati   + + + + + + + + // 1
rājā harati corā vā   + + + + + + + + /
athāntakasyāsty ajayani[17]   (śa)rīraṃ[18] saparigraham /[19]
+ + + + + + + +   ahāryo nidhir ucyate //
+ + + + + + + [n]y.   bhāvanāṃ ca tathobha[y].[20] /[21]

[10a] *upanīta[va]yā*: ms.
[11] *hi*: Abhidh-k-bh.
[12-12] *d(v)ī[paṃ ku]rūta*: ms.
[13] *paṇḍitāṃ*: ms.
[14] *niraṃgaṇo*: ms.
[15] *-tāptāt*: ms.
[16] Cf. *ādittasmiṃ agārasmiṃ* ... *yaṃ nīharati bhājanaṃ*: SN.
[17] *Sic*, the reading *ajahati* or *ajayati* is also possible.
[18] *rīraṃ*: ms.
[19] Cf. *atha antena jahati* ... *sarīraṃ sapariggahaṃ*: SN.
[20] *ubha[ya]*: editor.

SĀc 89 (22c19-27)

馬祀等大會　造諸大難事
如是等邪盛　大仙不稱歎
繫縛諸衆生　殺害微細蟲
是非爲正會　大仙不隨順
若不害衆生　造作衆難者
是等名正會　大仙隨稱歎
惠施修供養　應隨法邪盛
施者清淨心　梵行良福田
如是大會者　是則羅漢會

TochSprR(A) 359,17-23. Cf. SN 3.1.9.6 (vol. 1, p. 76); AN 4.39f. (vol. 2, pp. 42-44)[22]

aśvamedho vājapeya(ḥ)　śamyāprāso nirargaḍa(ḥ) /
+ + + + (ma)hārambhān[23]　+ + + + + + + + + //[24] 1
　ijyante vidhipūrvakam[25] /
+ + + + + + + + +　sukṣe(tr). + + + + + /[26]
tad dhi tasya kṛtaṃ bhavati　(ya)d arhatsūpapāditam[27] /

SĀc 90 (23a8-12)

無惱無諸難　邪盛時清淨
如法隨順行　攝護諸梵行
聲香歸世界　超過諸凡鄙
佛於邪盛善　稱歎此邪盛
惠施修供養　邪盛隨所應

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[21] I have not succeeded in discovering the correspondence of this line to the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama*.
[22] Cf. H. FALK, "Vedische Opfer im Pali-Kanon," *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes*, 6 (1988), pp. 225-254.
[23] *hārambhāṃ*: ms.
[24] Cf. *assamedhaṃ purisamedhaṃ　sammāpāsaṃ vājapeyyaṃ /*
niraggaḷaṃ mahārambhā　na te honti mahapphalā //: SN.
[25] *-purvakam*: ms.
[26] Cf. *sukkhette brahmacārisu*: AN 4.40.3 (p. 44).
[27] *arhatsupapāditam*: ms.

TochSprR(A) 359,24–29. Cf. AN 4.40.3 (vol. 2, pp. 43f.).

+ + + + nirārambhā yajñā(ḥ) [k]ā(l).[28] + + + + /[29]
tādṛśān anusaṃyānti + + + + + + + + /
vighuṣṭaśabdā loke (')smin[30] vyativṛttāḥ pṛthaḥ[31] kalīm /
+ + + + + + + + buddhā yajñeṣu (kov)idā(ḥ) /[32]
dānaṃ vā yadi vā [hav]yaṃ

SĀc 91 (23c8–15)

方便建諸業　積集能守護
知識善男子　正命以自活
淨信戒具足　惠施離慳垢
淨除於速道　得後世安樂
若處於居家　成就於八法
審諦尊所說　等正覺所知
現法得安隱　現法喜樂住
後世喜樂住

TochSprR(A) 359,30–39. Cf. AN 8.54f., 76 (vol. 4, pp. 285, 289, 325); PDhp 370.

+ + + + + + + + bhṛtasyānurakṣaṇam[33] /
+ + + + + (puru)ṣa(ḥ) kalpayej jīvikāṃ sa(māṃ)[34] // (1)
(śra)ddhāśīlena sampa(nnaḥ) [t]yā(ga) + + + + + + /[35]
kṣipraṃ mārgaṃ viśodhayati + + + + + + + + // 2
+ + + + + + + + gṛhiṇāṃ gṛhamedhināṃ /
+ + + + + + + + saṃbuddhena + + + + //[36] (3)
+ + + + (hi)tārthāya[37] + + + + + + + + /
sāṃparā(ya)hitārthāya + + + + + + + + // 4

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[28] Thus facsimile, but [r]ā: edition.
[29] Cf. *abhisaṅkhataṃ nirārambhaṃ yaññaṃ kālena kappiyaṃ*: AN 4.40.3 (p. 43).
[30] *smiṃ*: ms.
[31] Upadhmānīya: ms.
[32] Cf. *buddhā puññassa kovidā*: AN 4.40.3 (p. 44).
[33] *Sic*, 7 syllables.
[34] Cf. *samaṃ kappeti jīvikaṃ*: AN 8.54.15 (p. 285).
[35] Cf. *saddho sīlena sampanno vadaññū vītamaccharo*: AN 8.54.15.
[36] Cf. *akkhātā saccanāmena ubhayattha sukhāvahā* : AN 8.54.15.
[37] Cf. *diṭṭhadhammahitatthāya*: AN 8.54.15.

SĀc 92 (24a7f.)

憍慢既來此　不善更增慢
向來義故來　應轉增其義

TochSprR(A) 359,40f. Cf. SN 7.2.5.8 (vol. I, p. 178).

+ + .. mānabrṃhaṇa　　ma + + + + + + + + /[38]
yenārthena tvam āyāta(ḥ)　　+ + + + + + + + + //[39]

SĀc 96 (26b28-c9)

生子心歡喜　為子聚財物
亦為娉其妻　而自捨出家
邊鄙田舍兒　違負於其父
人形羅刹心　棄捨於尊老
老馬無復用　則奪其麮麥
兒少而父老　家家行乞食
曲杖為最勝　非子為恩愛
為我防惡牛　免險地得安
能卻凶暴狗　扶我闇處行
避深坑空井　草木棘刺林
憑杖威力故　特立不墮落

TochSprR(A) 360,1-11. Cf. SN 7.2.4.5f. (vol. I, p. 176).

15 sutra[40]

+ + + + bhṛtaṃ dhanam /
te me dāreṇa + + + [41]　　[42]-svān niṣkrāmayan-[42] gṛhāt // (1)
+ + + + + + + + +　　tāta tāteti vādina(ḥ) /
+ + + putrarūpeṇa　　ye tyajanti + + + + //[43] (2)
(a)śva iva nirbhogo　　ya[va] + + + + y[e]te /[44]
taruṇānāṃ[45] pitā vṛddha(ḥ)　　parā[g]ārā + + + ti[46] // (3)

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[38] Cf. *na mānam brāhmaṇa sādhu　　atthi kassīdha brāhmaṇa*: SN.

[39] Cf. *yena atthena āgacchi　　tam evam anubrūhaye*: SN.

[40] It is possible that this number indicates the Sūtra number in a chapter in the *Saṃyuktāgama*.

[41] Cf. *te maṃ dārehi sampuccha*: SN.

[42-42] *svāṃ niṣkrāmayaṃ*: ms.

[43] Cf. *rakkhasā puttarūpena　　te jahanti vayogataṃ*: SN.

[44] Cf. *khādanā apanīyati*: SN.

[45] *tarūṇānāṃ* ms.

[46] Cf. *parāgāresu bhikkhati*: SN.

(a)yaṃ me daṇḍaka(ḥ) śreyān[47] na tu putrā nirāśravā(ḥ) /
[48](gāṃ vā)rayaty atisṛtavāṃ[48] m. + + + + + + + // 4
puro (')ndhakāre bhavati durge g[ā](dh). + + + +[49] /
daṇḍakasyānubhāvena tiṣṭhāmi[50] s. + + + + //[51] 5

SĀc 97 [add TochSprR(A) 360.11-13 (16 sutra[40]) to the text name of ENOMOTO 1994, p. 2]

SĀc 98 (27a20-b5)

門瞿曇若犂若軛若鞅若縻若鎛若鞭。而今
瞿曇說言。我亦耕田下種。以供飲食。爾時耕
田婆羅豆婆遮婆羅門。即說偈言

自說耕田者　而不見其耕
為我說耕田　令我知耕法

爾時世尊。說偈答言

信心為種子　苦行為時雨
智慧為時軛　慚愧心為轅
正念自守護　是則善御者
包藏身口業　如*食處內藏　*知: Korean ed.
真實為真乘　樂住為懈息
精進為廢荒　安隱而速進
直往不轉還　得到無憂處
如是耕田者　逮得甘露果
如是耕田者　不還受諸有

TochSprR(A) 360.13; 361.1-13; Bil p. 11. Cf. SN 7.2.1.8-10 (vol. 1, pp. 172f.); Sn p. 13f.; Ibh chap. 26 and 32.

yugaṃ vā /// /// vā varatraṃ[52] vā phālaṃ vā prāyaṇaṃ vā ///[53]
kārṣakaṃ pratijānāsi na [ca] + + + + + +[54] /

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[47] *śreyāṃ*: ms.

[48-48] See K. T. SCHMIDT, *Die Gebrauchsweisen des Mediums im Tocharischen* (Dissertation, Universität Göttingen), Göttingen, 1974, pp. 499f.; cf. *caṇḍam pi goṇaṃ vāreti*: SN; *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule*, begonnen von E. WALDSCHMIDT, herausgegeben von H. BECHERT, Band 1, Göttingen, 1994, s.v. *atisṛtavāṃ*.

[49] Cf. *gambhīre gādham edhati*: SN.

[50] *tiṣṭāmi*: ms.

[51] Cf. *khalitvā patiṭṭhati*: SN.

[52] *varaṃtra*: ms.

[53] Cf. *yugaṃ vā naṅgalaṃ vā phālaṃ vā pācanaṃ vā balivadde vā*: SN 7.2.1.8 (p. 172).

[54] Cf. *na ca passāmi te kasiṃ*: SN 7.2.1.9 (p. 172).

kṛṣiṃ me gautama brūhi[55] jānīyāṃ t. + + + +[56] //
+ + bījaṃ[57] tapo vṛṣṭi(ḥ) + + + + + + + + /
īṣā ca hrī(r) mano yoktraṃ (smṛtir āra)[kṣa]sārathi(ḥ) //[58]
kāyavāgguptir u + + ṣv[59] āhāra udare yathā /
+ + + + + + + + sauratyaṃ me pramokṣaṇam //
+ + + + + + + + yogakṣema + + + + [60] /
+ + nivartī[61] vrajati[62] + + + + + + + + //
(e)[vaṃ]vidhā kṛṣir bhavati + + + + + + + + /
evaṃvi(dhā) + + + +[63] + + + + punarbhavam[64] //

SĀc 99 (27c11-13)

此婆羅門尼 梵天極遼遠
爲求彼生故 於此<u>精祀火</u>
<u>此非梵天道</u> 何爲徒祀此

TochSprR(A) 361,14f. Cf. SN 6.1.3.8 (vol. 1, p. 141).
+ + + + + + + + + + + +
yasyāhuti(r) gṛhītā[65] + + + +[66] /
naivaṃvidho brahmalokasya mārgo

SĀc 100 [add TochSpr(A) 362 to text names of ENOMOTO 1994, p. 2. Also add (')*smi māṇava*: TochSpr(A) as a variant reading of *nirucyate*]

SĀc 102 (28c22-27)

爲己亦爲他 舉責及財與
或復順他語 <u>妄語爲他說</u>
如是妄語者 當知領群特

[55] *bruhi*: ms.
[56] Cf. *kathaṃ jānemu taṃ kasiṃ*: SN 7.2.1.9 (p. 172).
[57] *bijaṃ*: ms.
[58] *iṣā ca hrī mano yoktraṃ + + + + [kṣa]sārathi*: ms; cf. Bil p. 11 and ENOMOTO 1994, p. 2.
[59] Cf. *kāyagutto vacīgutto*: SN 7.2.1.10 (p. 172).
[60] Cf. *yogakkhemādhivāhanaṃ*: SN 7.2.1.10 (p. 173).
[61] *nivarti*: ms.
[62] Cf. *gacchati anivattantaṃ*: SN 7.2.1.10 (p. 173).
[63] Cf. *etaṃ kasiṃ kasitvāna*: SN 7.2.1.10 (p. 173).
[64] TochSprR(A) here agrees with a probably Mūlasarvāstivāda reading found in SĀc, but not with an older reading of the Sarvāstivādins. See F. ENOMOTO, "The Development of the Sarvāstivāda Scriptures" [in Japanese], *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies], XXXII.2 (1984), p. (52).
[65] *gṛhitā*: ms.
[66] Cf. *yassāhutiṃ paggaṇhāsi niccaṃ*: SN.

作惡不善業　無有人知者
隱諸覆藏惡　當知領群特
若人問其義　而答以非義

TochSprR(A) 365. Cf. Sn 122, 127, 126.

+ + + + + + + + + /
sākṣipr(ṣto[67] m)r(śā p)r(ā)ha[68]
+ + + + + + + [ka]rma[69]　+ + + + + + + + + /
yaḥ praticchannakarmānto
+ + + + + + + +　+ + + + + + (da)rṣayet[70] /

SĀc 1178 (317c23-28)[71]

今日等正覺　在彌絺羅國
菴羅樹園中　永離一切苦
演說一切苦　苦習苦寂滅
賢聖八正道　安隱趣涅槃
則是我大師　深樂其正教
我已知正法　能斷子憂苦

TochSprR(A) 363. Cf. Thī 136f., 185-187, 192-194.

+ + + + + + + + + /
+ + + + + + + +　dharmaṃ deśaya + + +[72] //
[73-]+ + + + + + + + +　+ + + + + + + + + /
āryaṃ cāṣṭāṅgikaṃ mārgaṃ　+ + + rvāṇagāminam[-73] //

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[67] *sākṣ(i) pr(ṣto)*: editor.

[68] Cf. *sakkhiputtho musā brūti*: Sn 122c.

[69] Cf. *yo katvā pāpakaṃ kammaṃ*: Sn 127a.

[70] Cf. *anattham anusāsati*: Sn 126b.

[71] Sūtra 1178 was originally just after Sūtra 102 (see Mukai 1985). Therefore TochSprR(A) 363 and 364 corresponding to Sūtra 1178 originally followed TochSprR(A) 365 corresponding to Sūtra 102.

[72] Cf. *so me dhammaṃ adesesi*: Thī 185c.

[73-73] This verse of TochSprR(A) as well as of SĀc agrees with its parallel found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, but not in the Central Asian Sarvāstivāda tradition, as follows. Cf. L. SCHMITHAUSEN, "Zu den Rezensionen des Udānavargaḥ," *WZKS*, 14 (1970), p. 86.

duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasamutpannaṃ　nirodhaṃ samatikramam /
āryaṃ cāṣṭāṅgikaṃ mārgaṃ　kṣemaṃ nirvāṇagāminam // (Mūlasarvāstivāda: Divy p. 164, regarding other texts, see ENOMOTO 1994, p. 12)

duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasamutpādaṃ　duḥkhasya samatikramam /
āryaṃ cāṣṭāṅgikaṃ mārgaṃ　duḥkhopaśamagāminam // (Central Asian Sarvāstivāda: Uv 27.34, SHT, vol. 4, No. 50)

(śā)stā bhagav[ā]ṃ + + + [74-]+ + + + + + + +·tā /
tasya + + + + + +[-74]

SĀc 1178 (318a24-29)

時優婆夷心即隨喜。語御者言。車馬賜汝。
加復賜汝金錢一千。已汝傳信言。婆羅*門在 *羅婆
闍婆。已得三明。令我歡喜故。御者白言。我
今何用車馬金錢爲。車馬金錢還優婆夷。
我今當還婆羅門所。隨彼出家。優婆夷言。
汝意如此便可速還。不久亦當如彼所得

* edition (misprint).

TochSprR(A) 364

sujātaṃ yad bravīṣi me
/// (ra)tho (')stu eṣa
na ///
/// prahvagā vayam

2 *Pelliot Sanskrit*

SĀc 1077 (281b9-27)

利刀以水石 直箭以爛火
治材以斧斤 自調以黠慧
人前行放逸 隨後能自斂
是則照世間 如雲解月現
人前放逸行 隨後能自斂
於世恩愛流 正念而超出
少壯年出家 精勤修佛教
是則照世間 如雲解月現
少壯年出家 精勤修佛教
於世恩愛流 正念以超出
若度諸惡業 正善能令滅
是則照世間 如雲解月現
人前造惡業 正善能令滅
於世恩愛流 正念能超出
我已作惡業 必向於惡趣

[74-74] Cf. *tassāhaṃ vacanaṃ sutvā* *vihariṃ sāsane ratā* ThI 187ab.

已受於惡報　宿責食已食
若彼我怨憎　聞此正法者
得清淨法眼　於我修行忍
不復興諍訟　蒙佛恩力故

Pelliot Sanskrit Bleu 1[75].

recto

1 /// [p]aṇḍitāḥ | yas tu + + + [76]
2 /// | daharo (')pi cet pravra + + [77]
3 /// r(t)ate | yasya pāpakṛtaṃ [k].[78]
4 /// + rtate[79] | k[r]tvā vai pāpakaṃ ka[80]
5 /// + .[i]vād[ī[81] | b]uddhair hi sadā[82]

SĀc 1111 (293a11-b9)

帝釋。見御者心驚毛豎。馬鞭落地。即說偈言

汝見何憂怖　馬鞭落於地
御者說偈白帝釋言
見王天帝釋　娑舍脂之夫
所以生恐怖　馬鞭落地者
常見天帝釋　一切諸大地
人天大小王　及四護世主
三十三天衆　悉皆恭敬禮
何處更有尊　尊於帝釋者
而今正東向　合掌修敬禮
爾時帝釋說偈答言

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[75] Cf. INOKUCHI 1989, p. 39. Regarding its place of discovery, Klaus WILLE of the University of Göttingen has kindly directed my attention to the label "DA cour," i.e. Duldur-āqur. It is written in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī, type a. The first transcription of the whole fragment and the identification of its parts as the Udānavarga were made by Jens-Uwe HARTMANN on the basis of its microfilm preserved in the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde, University of Göttingen.

I do not give lines 6–8 on recto and seven lines on verso, since they are written by other scribes and do not correspond to SĀc 1077.

[76] = Uv 17.10d, 16.5a.

[77] = Uv 16.7a.

[78] = Uv 16.8d–9a.

[79] = Uv 16.10d.

[80] Cf. *tādisaṃ kammaṃ katvāna*: Th 882a; MN, vol. 2, p. 105.

[81] Cf. *disā hi me khantivādānaṃ*: Th 875a; MN, vol. 2, p. 105.

[82] Cf. *disā hi me yuñjantu buddhasāsane*: Th 874; MN, vol. 2, p. 104.

我實於一切　世間大小王
及四護世王　三十三天衆
最爲其尊王　故悉來恭敬
而復有世間　隨順等正覺
名號滿天下　故我稽首禮
御者復白言
是必世間勝　故使天王釋
恭敬而合掌　東向稽首禮
我今亦當禮　天王所禮者

時天帝釋舍脂之夫。說如是偈禮佛已乘千馬車。往詣園觀。佛告諸比丘。彼天帝釋。於三十三天爲自在王。尚恭敬佛。亦復讃歎恭敬於佛。汝等比丘。正信非家出家學道。亦應如是恭敬於佛。亦當讃歎恭敬佛者。應當學。佛說此經已。諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行

SĀc 1112 (293b10ff.)[83]

（一一一二）如是我聞。一時佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾時世尊告諸比丘。過去世時。釋提桓因欲入園觀。時勅其御者。令嚴駕千馬之車詣於園觀。御者奉勅。即嚴駕千馬之車。往白帝釋。唯俱尸迦。嚴駕已竟。唯王知時。爾時帝釋下常勝殿。合掌東向敬禮尊法。爾時御者見即心驚毛竪。馬鞭落地。時天帝釋。見御者心驚毛竪。馬鞭落地。即說偈言

[83] Since in the extant text the identical part with the preceding Sūtra is abridged as follows, I have reconstructed the text by using the preceding Sūtra.

（一一一二）如是我聞。一時佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。廣說如上差別者。爾時帝釋下常勝殿，合掌東向敬禮尊法。乃至佛說此經已、諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行

Pelliot Sanskrit Bleu 38[84]. Cf. SN 11.2.8–10 (vol. 1, pp. 234–236).

recto[85]

1 .. .[t]. ..[85a] + .[n]. [ā](h)[ṛ](ṣṭaroma) + + + + [ra]śmay[o] mu[k]t[ā]ḥ [pra](to)[da]ḥ [pati]taḥ [kṣitau] .. (d)ṛ[ṣt](vā[86] ca) [87-][pūna]ḥs [ta]syā(ṃ) [vel](ā) ..[-87] + + +
2 bhā[s]e[88] · ‖
kin nu tvaṃ durma .. + + (ma)had bhayam upā[ga]taḥ
hast[ā]t t[e ra]śmayo muktāḥ prato[da]ḥ patita[ḥ] kṣītau[89] ‖
mā[ta][90] + + + +
3 ± + + [kṣye]ha maghavaOn devarājaṃ śacīpa[t]e :
hastān me raśmayo muktāḥ pra[to]daḥ [p]atita[ḥ] kṣītau[89] :
4 t[v]āṃ + + + + + ± .. [sa](rve) bhaumāś ca [p]ārthiOvāḥ
catvāraś ca mahārājās tridaśāś ca yaśasvinaḥ
5 atha ko nv a[pa]ro loke yaṃ + + + + + + se ▮[91]
śakra[ḥ] prāha ‖
māṃ [91a-]bhūtānī [na]s[yaṃ]ti[-91a] sar[v]e bhaumāś [ca] pārthi[v]āḥ
[ca]tvāraś ca mahā[r]ājās trida[ś]āś [ca yaśas](v)i(naḥ)[92]
6 + + + + + + [sa]mya[g i]maṃ lokaṃ sa[d]evakam*
.. + [n]. nāma śās[t]āraṃ [ta]ṃ [nama](sy)ā(mi) mātale .. [▮][93]
[m]ā[tali]ḥ prāhāḥ[94] ▮
śre[ṣ](ṭh).[94a] + + + + + + + +

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[84] Cf. INOKUCHI 1989, p. 51. Its place of discovery is unknown. It is written in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī, type a. The first transcription of the fragment was made by Jens-Uwe HARTMANN and Klaus WILLE on the basis of its microfilm preserved in the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde, University of Göttingen, and the indication of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya parallel was made by Klaus WILLE.

[85] The first *akṣara* of each line is underlined.

[85a] *[s].* or *[v].*

[86] Read *dṛṣṭvā*.

[87-87] Read *punas tasyāṃ velāyāṃ*.

[88] Read *babhāṣe*.

[89] Read *kṣitau*.

[90] Read *mātali*.

[91] Cf. *taṃ namassanti tevijjā sabbe bhummā ca khattiyā /*
cattāro ca Mahārājā Tidasā ca yasassino /
atha ko nāma so yakkho yaṃ tvaṃ Sakka namassasi //: SN 11.2.8.7.

[91a-91a] Read *bhūtāni namasyanti*.

[92] Cf. *maṃ namassanti tevijjā sabbe bhummā ca khattiyā /*
cattāro ca Mahārājā Tidasā ca yasassino //: SN 11.2.8.8.

[93] Cf. *so idha sammāsambuddho asmiṃ loke sadevake /*
anomanāmaṃ satthāraṃ taṃ namassāmi Mātali //: SN 11.2.9.7.

[94] Read *prāha*.

[94a] Since this word and *[e]ṣa lokānāṃ* of verse 1 most probably belong to one and the same pāda, the gap between them is too large.

verso

1 [e]ṣa lokānāṃ ya(ṃ) tva[ṃ] śakra nasya[95] +
namasyāmy aham apy e(t)[e] + [na]masyasi vāsava :·[96]
2 id. va .. + + + + + + + + śac[ī]patiḥ
buddhāya kṛtvā praṇāmam ā[ru]roha rathaṃ tata [· |][97]
sa tāvad bhakṣavaḥ[98] śakro devendro devā[n](ā)ṃ .[r]. + + + + + +
3 (ā)[dhi](pa)tyaṃ kā[ra]yan* buOddhe sagauravatāyāś ca varṇa[99] nyaratham yojayitvā yena śakro devendras ten[o] + + + + + +
4 ± + + [d](e)vendra[m] idam avoOcat* yuktas te kauśika sahasrayuktam ājanyarathaḥ yasyedānī[100] kauśika k[ā][101] + + + + +
5 tha[102] śakr[o] devendro vaijaya + + + dād[103] avataraṃ [104]prañjalikṛtaṃ[105] pūrv[ā]mukhaṃ tiṣṭhantan namasyamānaṃ dṛṣtvā*[106] ca punaḥ bhīta .. + + + +
6 .. [ā]h[ṛ](ṣta)[r]oma[k]. .. + + [c](a) raś(m)ayo (m)[u]ktā[ḥ] pratodaḥ (pat)itaḥ kṣītau[89] · adr[ākṣ](ī)c [chakr]o devendraḥ mātaliṃ saṃ .. + + + +

Abbreviations

Abhidh-k-bh = *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, ed. P. PRADHAN, rev. 2nd ed. A. HALDAR, Patna, 1975 (TSWS, 8).

Abhidh-k-ṭ = *Abhidharmakośaṭīkā Upāyikā*, Peking ed. No. 5595.

Abhis-Dh = *Abhisamācārikā*, ed. B. JINANANDA, Patna, 1969 (TSWS, 9).

AN = *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, 5 vols., ed. R. MORRIS, E. HARDY, A. K. WARDER, 1885–1961, PTS.

Bil = E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Zu einigen Bilinguen aus den Turfan-Funden*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1955, pp. 1–20 (also in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Von Ceylon bis Turfan*, Göttingen, 1967, pp. 238–257).

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[95] Read *namasyasi*.

[96] Cf. *seṭṭhā hi kira lokasmiṃ ye tvaṃ Sakka namassasi /*
aham pi te namassāmi ye namassasi Vāsava //: SN 11.2.9.8.

[97] Cf. *idaṃ vatvāna Maghavā devarājā Sujampati /*
Bhagavantaṃ namassitvā pamukho ratham āruhi //: SN 11.2.9.9.

[98] Read *bhikṣavaḥ*.

[99] After *varṇa*, a line or lines ending with the letters *āja* must have been omitted through scribal error. The next Sūtra begins within the lost line(s).

[100] Read *yasyedānīṃ*.

[101] Read *kālam*.

[102] Read *atha*.

[103] Cf. *vejayantapāsādā*: SN 11.2.8.5.

[104] A line must have been omitted through scribal error.

[105] Read *prāñjalikṛtaṃ*.

[106] Read *dṛṣṭvā*.

Dhp = *Dhammapada*, ed. O. VON HINÜBER and K. R. NORMAN, 1994, PTS.

Divy = *Divyāvadāna*, ed. E. B. COWELL and R. A. NEIL, Cambridge, 1886.

ENOMOTO 1986 = F. ENOMOTO, "On the Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas," *Buddhist Studies Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1986), pp. 19-30.

ENOMOTO 1994 = F. ENOMOTO, *A Comprehensive Study of the Chinese* Saṃyuktāgama: *Indic Texts Corresponding to the Chinese* Saṃyuktāgama *as Found in the Sarvāstivāda-Mūlasarvāstivāda Literature*, Part 1: *Saṃgītanipāta, Kyōto, 1994.

Ibh = *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, ed. W. SCHUBRING, Hamburg, 1969.

INOKUCHI 1989 = T. INOKUCHI, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Brought from Central Asia by Paul Pelliot Preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale* [Preliminary], Kyōto, 1989.

Jā = *Jātaka, together with Its Commentary*, 6 vols., ed. V. FAUSBØLL, 1877-1896, PTS.

MN = *Majjhima-Nikāya*, 3 vols., ed. V. TRENCKNER, R. CHALMERS, 1888-1899, PTS.

ms = manuscript.

MUKAI 1985 = A. MUKAI, "The Vastusaṃgrahaṇī of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Saṃyuktāgama*" [in Japanese], *Hokkaidō Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō* [Annual Report of Cultural Science, Faculty of Letters, Hokkaido University], XXXIII,2 (1985, Sapporo, Japan), pp. 1-41.

PDhp = *Patna Dharmapada*, ed. M. CONE, in: "Patna Dharmapada, Part 1: Text" *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 13 (1989), pp. 101-217.

PTS = Pali Text Society, London, Oxford.

SĀc = Chinese Version of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T No. 99, vol. 2).

SĀcs = Smaller Chinese Version of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T No. 100, vol. 2).

SHT = E. WALDSCHMIDT *et al.*, *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, 1 ff., Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, 1965ff. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 10).

SN = *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, 5 vols., ed. L. FEER, 1884-1898, PTS.

Sn = *Suttanipāta*, ed. D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH, 1913, PTS.

T = *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (*Taishō Issaikyō*), Tōkyō, 1924ff.

Th = *Theragāthā*, in: *Thera- and Therī-gāthā*, ed. K. R. NORMAN and L. ALSDORF, 1966, PTS.

Thī = *Therīgāthā*, in: *Thera- and Therī-gāthā*, ed. K. R. NORMAN and L. ALSDORF, 1966, PTS.

TochSprR(A) = E. SIEG and W. SIEGLING, *Tocharische Sprachreste*, I. Band: Die Texte, Berlin and Leipzig, 1921.

TSWS = Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series.

Uv = *Udānavarga*, 2 vols., ed. F. BERNHARD, Göttingen, 1965-1968 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 10; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 54).

WZKS = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, Wien.

Symbols in Sanskrit texts

( )	=	restored letter(s) in a lost part of a manuscript.
[ ]	=	damaged letter(s).
⟨ ⟩	=	restored letter(s) in an extant part of a manuscript.
+	=	lost letter.
..	=	illegible letter.
.	=	a single element of an illegible letter.
///	=	leaf broken off at this place.
*	=	virāma.
O	=	punch hole.
| ‖ · : :·	=	punctuation marks in the Pelliot fragments.

The Preamble at Pāṅgurāriā

HARRY FALK, Berlin

1. The general pattern of MRE sites

Several[1] visits to the relevant places in India showed that all sites of the Minor Rock Edicts (MRE) seem to follow a uniform pattern: at hills where — in some cases even today — the population gathered once a year for a *melā* we encounter the MREs either at the foot of the hill inscribed on vertical sides of boulders[2], or on the surface on top of hills.[3] Very often the inscriptions are found inside caves or rock shelters halfway up[4] or even on top[5] of the hills[6]. Aśoka obviously wanted to use these gatherings connected with popular deities to offer his way of devoted living as an alternative kind of worship. Living his style included the observation of major points of the *Śikṣāpadas* of the Buddhist laity and required "effort", *prakrama* or *parākrama*. Whoever tried to give his best this way would please the gods much more than by simply visiting a *melā*. This interpretation finds corroborating evidence in the festivities on top of hills called *giraggasamajja* in the Pāli canonical literature[7] as well as in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas.[8] Buddhist monks are forbidden to attend such festivities (Vin II,107–8), which seem to have offered all sorts of vulgar distractions — as do their present-day equivalents. It is certainly not by chance that Aśoka deals disapprovingly with such

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[1] The visit to Pāṅgurāriā was made possible by a research grant of the German Research Foundation (DFG). The first presentation at the Collège de France in November 1995 was followed by a lively and fruitful discussion. Thanks go also to my friend Prof. Paul Kent ANDERSEN for checking the English and to the editors of this volume for hinting at possibilities for improvement.

[2] Niṭṭur, Uḍegoḷam, Bairāṭ, Gujjarā.

[3] Ahraurā, Delhi, Rājulamaṇḍagiri.

[4] Maski.

[5] Sahasrām, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvaram, Phalkiguṇḍu, Gavīmath, Śiddhapur, Erraguḍi.

[6] The only exception is Rūpnāth, being a *tīrtha* at the foot of a hilly range. The places will be fully documented in my forthcoming *Photo-Atlas of Aśokan Inscriptions and Art*.

[7] Edmund HARDY, "Über den Ursprung des Samajja", *Album Kern*, Leiden 1903, pp. 61–66; F. W. THOMAS, "Notes on the Edicts of Asoka", *JRAS* 1914, pp. 383–395; Louis de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, Paris 1930, pp. 156 f.

[8] F. W. THOMAS, "Notes on the Edicts of Asoka", *JRAS* 1914, pp. 751 f.

festivals in the first Rock edict (RE) stating that *samajjas* are not praiseworthy, generally speaking.

2. *Conditions at Pāṅgurāriā*

With this interpretation in mind we encounter some difficulties when we look at the place and the text of Pāṅgurāriā, a village which lies at the southern end of the Vindhyas and close to the Narmada, 50 km east of Hoshangabad, or 50 km south of Bhopal. At first glance everything seems to fit the general pattern: we have a rock-shelter, halfway up a hill, and inside the shelter MRE1. But looking down from the cave we see something unusual: immediately below, on a second platform survive the remnants of a stūpa, plain and simple, looking as old as old parts of *Sāñcī*. The place seems to have an old Buddhist history. Looking left and right we discover more stūpas: their stones are scattered, their middle broken open from above, but they are nonetheless stūpas, about nine on the level of the rock shelter and some more on top of the ridge. Was it necessary for Aśoka to tell Buddhists about his efforts as a layman or how to please the gods best? This sounds very unlikely. So, either my general interpretation of MRE sites is wrong or Pāṅgurāriā is different.

The age of the main stūpa is ascertained by an inscription on a *chattra*-pillar, meant to be erected on top of the stūpa together with a beautifully shaped *chattra*.[9] The text was edited in *Epigraphia Indica*.[10] It records that a nun together with her three *antevāsinīs* had the pillar and *chattra* made.[11] The erection of the *chattra* never took place. When the stūpa was excavated the pillar and *chattra* were found lying on the ground, unconnected, in the debris immediately to the north of the stūpa[12]. The dedicatory text on the pillar uses the earliest forms of Brāhmī characters after Aśoka. The stūpa which is older than the pillar, can therefore with some certainty be dated at least to the 2nd century B.C.

This first survey tells us that with regard to its religious background Pāṅgurāriā is different from other MRE sites indeed. We can also determine that the text of the MRE is unusual. It starts with a sentence found nowhere else. D.C. SIRCAR edited it from black and white photographs. His readings

[9] Pillar and *chattra* are lodged in the house of the guardian. Plans seem to exist to exhibit both parts at the findspot.

[10] S. Subramonia IYER, "Panguraria Brahmi inscription", *EI* 40 (1973), pp. 119–120.

[11] Text and explanation as given by Subramonia IYER are somewhat off the mark. Read: *sagharakhitāya bhichuniya dāna koramikayo atevasinihi kārapitaṃ / pusāya ca dhamarakhitāya ca arahayā ca etā atevasiniyo kārāpikā chatasa*, "(This parasol is) the gift of the nun Saṃgharakhitā, (haling) from Kurama (?), who had it made by (her) Antevāsinīs Pusā, Dhammarakhitā and Arahā. These (three) Antevāsinīs had the parasol made."

[12] Personal communication by the local guardian.

and his interpretation have been taken for granted by all epigraphists ever since.[13]

Before checking the inscription, let us again look around. SIRCAR reproduced a site-description he got from the exploration team. According to this description the introductory sentence "is engraved in the upper half of the wall on the uneven surface of the face at a height of 4.25 m from the floor of the shelter". This is correct and we have to add that no other text apart from the pillar edicts has been inscribed at such a forbidding height. The next sentence in SIRCAR's description sounds as if the MRE proper was separated from this initial sentence only because of the peculiarities of the rock: "due to change in the alignment of the wall, the main edict faces south while this part faces the south-west". The directions given are only partially correct, since the MRE faces east. More important is that the reason given for the separation, i.e. the "change in the alignment of the wall", is SIRCAR's personal guess. In fact, the unique text of the so-called preamble is found high upon the back wall, and the MRE at ground level on a low rock separated from the wall. There is no connection of whatever nature between the preamble and the MRE. Both texts must therefore be understood as two separate units. SIRCAR's misinterpretation of a description supplied by the excavators and his poor understanding of the so-called "first sentence" led to the assumption that both parts belong together.

When inspecting the site we find the MRE itself in a relatively normal position with *akṣaras* of 3–4 cm size at a rather low eye level. However, compared to the MRE the preamble shows several peculiarities:

- The *akṣaras* are very big, about 10 cm each, so that they can be read even from a distance on the platform.
- The characters of the MRE at ground level have been chiseled the usual way with a metal instrument and a hammer producing continuous grooves. The preamble, on the other hand, is so high on the wall above a flat rock of about 2 m height that not even a tall man could have chiseled them without a pedestal.

Inspecting the *akṣaras* at close range shows that they have not been incised by chisel and hammer, but instead we see a multitude of tiny cuts in every *akṣara* resulting from a completely different procedure: the writer seems to have tied this chisel to a handle, so that he could hammer on the wall above his head.

This is truly noteworthy: nowhere else do we find a parallel to this chiseling technique. The reason for this is probably that the writer wanted to make sure that no-one could destroy the letters without using a similar device.

[13] E.g. Ajay Mitra SHASTRI, "Fifty Years of Epigraphical Studies in India: A Brief Survey", *Purātattva* 25 (1994–95), pp. 21–39, esp. p. 27.

Obviously, the text of the MRE at ground level was meant for close-up inspection, whereas the preamble was given a special sort of protection by placing it out of everyone's reach. Compared to all other texts this procedure looks more complicated than necessary. The different chiseling techniques alone are evidence enough that both texts are two different items altogether.

3. The reading

What does the text of the preamble say which was given such an extraordinary treatment? According to SIRCAR we have five lines reading[14] as follows:

> *piyadasi nāma*
> *rājā kumāra*[*sa*]
> *saṃvasa māṇe*
> *mades*[*e*] [*u*]*punitha*
> *vihāra*[*ya*] *tāy*[*e*]

This he translated as

> "The king named Priyadarśin [speaks/writes] to Kumāra Śaṃva from [his] march [of pilgrimage] to the Upunitha (or Opunitha) vihāra/monastery in Māṇema-deśa" (8/102/975).

Only G. SCHOPEN[15] regarded this interpretation as highly conjectural. Nowhere else was it seriously questioned. But it should be questioned, no doubt, because the whole construction is utterly unstable:

1 We have a very short text with three names, Saṃva (as a member of the ruling family), Māṇema and Opunitha. None of these names is known from other sources.

2 The genitive of *kumārasa saṃvasa* is understood as equivalent in meaning to a final dative in the sense of an address. K. R. NORMAN accepts it therefore as another case of a "covering letter".[16] But the dative of *a*-stems is frequent and absolutely normal in Aśoka's language. There was no need to substitute it by an ambiguous genitive. If we accept the genitive as it is, the text would require a nominal supplement, which is missing.

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[14] D. C. SIRCAR, "Panguraria inscription of Aśoka", *EI* 39 (1971–72), pp. 1–8; repr. in D. C. SIRCAR, *Aśokan Studies*, Calcutta 1979, pp. 94–103. Cf. D. C. SIRCAR, "Aśokan edict discovered at Pāngurāriā", *ABORI* 58/59 (1977/78), pp. 971–976.

[15] Gregory SCHOPEN, "Doing business for the Lord: Lending on interest and written loan contracts in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*", *JAOS* 114 (1994), pp. 527–554, particularly pp. 549b–550a.

[16] K. R. NORMAN, "Notes on the Ahraurā version of Aśoka's first Minor-Rock Edict", *IIJ* 26 (1983), p. 282 (*Coll.papers* II, 258).

3 To give a monastery a name was usual, but monasteries using the title *vihāra* are found only much later than Aśoka, as SCHOPEN has shown in the same article (p. 551 b).

4 The sentence lacks a predicate. SIRCAR supplied "speaks" or "writes" in brackets. But if already his "genitive-for-dative" assumption sounds dubious we better look for a different solution.

Seeing so many flaws in this construction, we can proceed to look at the stone itself. It appears to me that SIRCAR's interpretation is nothing but a series of mistakes starting from the first doubtful *akṣara*.

4. Inspection of the text

There is no doubt about the first line, "*piyadasi nāma*". Line 2 starts with a clear "*rājā*" and ends with "*kumāra*"[17] and a character which SIRCAR interpreted as *sa* leading to a genitive *kumarasa* with all its syntactical problems. But, does this line really end in *sa*? The sign looks like a *sa* only if we suppose that the upper hook was not executed at all. Is this possible? Yes, especially when we compare the *akṣaras* of the MRE on the spot. Here we read in line 3: *aṃ sumi saghā yayate*, faultily engraved for intended *aṃ sumi saṃghe upayīte*. The *sa* of *sagha* again has the same truncated appearance, coming with one hook and a vertical . Browsing the MRE for further instances reveals that this hook cum semi-vertical is used two more times. In line 6 we find the "small people", *khudaka ca*, and here the *ca* is given the same shape of hook and semi-vertical . A third case appears in line 7 in *vadhisiti vipule*: here the same shape is used to delineate a *va* (with *i-mātrā*) .

I conclude from this and some other mistakes[18] that the stone-mason copied a written original without being able to graphically correct some of its scribal licences.

Going back to the preamble we can now say that hook and semi-vertical could stand for *sa*, *ca* or *va*. A *sa* would be a genitive ending; a particle *ca* would require a second nominative, in this case *kumāre* instead of *kumāra*. The condition of the stone admits such an emendation: either the *e*-mātrā was

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[17] S. P. GUPTA, *The Roots of Indian Art*, Delhi 1980, p. 196, speaks about Piyadasi of this text as *mahārājakumāra* without telling where the *-ha-* comes from and how he analyses the construction. Apart from the nonexistant *mahā*, the text with its nominative *rājā* also forbids a compound **rājakumāre*.

[18] The number sign for 200 [ ] displays again that this character was still unknown to most of the engravers (cf. Harry FALK, "The Art of Writing at the Time of the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka", *Berliner Indologische Studien* 7 (1993), p. 83.

forgotten or it is hidden under the layer of sediments obliterating this part of the wall.

The third possibility is *va*, skt. *eva*, meaning "only, still, even"; stressing or restricting the value of the noun after which it stands. *va* is the most probable alternative from a graphotechnical point of view, since a fast-written *va* may most easily take the shape of a hook and semi-vertical.

Semantically, both *ca* and *va* are admissible. If we read *piyadasi nāma rājā kumāre ca* we end up with two persons as the subject of the sentence. In the second case of *piyadasi nāma rājā kumāre va* there is only one person and *kumāre va* has to be understood as a subordinate clause meaning "when he was still a *kumāra*".

5. *Who is kumāra?*

The usual translation of *kumāra* as "prince" seems to apply to the *devīkumāras* mentioned in PE 7 (DD), alongside with his sons, *dālaka*, all busy in promoting his *dharma*. Some *kumāras* are different, in that they held top posts as governors. One is known from Tosali, modern Dhaulī in Orissa.[19] The second one was posted in modern Ujjain west of Pāṅgurāriā.[20] A third one may have ruled from Takṣaśilā, modern Taxila in North Pakistan, but in this case the title *kumāra* is not used in the edicts (SepE 1, Dhau BB *takhasilāte*). The most prestigeous of these posts seems to have been the one in Ujjayinī, since Aśoka held it himself before his accession and it was there where he sent his brother Tissa as an *uparāja* or *yuvarāja*.

Since Aśoka bimself as well as others of his family bore the title *kumāra*, the readings *ca* as well as *va* might give sense.

The next problem comes with line 3. SIRCAR split the text into genitival *samvasa* and *māṇe*. But if we examine the possibilities of either *ca* or *va* we can raise doubt about the otherwise unknown *kumāra* Saṃva, whose existence is wholly dependent on the doubtful last letter of line 2. Without the assumption of a *kumāra* Saṃva, the most compelling reading would be *saṃvasamāne*, another nominative and a present participle from a rather common verb. This participle would have to be construed with the now nameless *kumāra* in the case of *ca* or with the king — when he himself was *kumāra* — in the case of *va*.

Now, what sort of meaning is *saṃvasamāne* likely to convey in our context? I see two possibilities.

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[19] SepE II (Dhau, A) *devānaṃpiyasa vacanena tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā ca vataviya.*
[20] SepE I (Dhau AA) *ujenite pi cu kumāle etāya va aṭhāye nikhāmayisa.* ,

6. *saṃvasati for Buddhists*

The first possibility is that it could mean the same as *saṃvasati* in Buddhist Vinaya texts, namely to live together with the community of the ordained monks, undergoing regular purification on *uposatha* days.[21]

Either Aśoka as a *kumāra* or the second person called *kumāra* would then have been an ordained Buddhist monk. Let us examine the alternatives.

6.1. *kumāre ca saṃvasamāne*

In the case of *ca* there are three members of Aśoka's family who were as well called *kumāra* and also known to have become Buddhist monks. The first is the younger uterine brother of Aśoka, Tissa, several times called *tissakumāra* in the Samantapāsādikā (Sp), who after Aśoka's accession to the throne held the post of *kumāra* or *uparāja* at Ujjayinī. Tissa gave up politics and joined the Buddhist order at Pāṭaliputra in Aśoka's fourth regnal year.[22]

Aggibrahmā was a nephew (*bhāgineyyo*) of Aśoka who was married to his daughter Saṅghamittā. He joined the order along with Tissa.[23]

The third person is Aśoka's son Mahinda from his first consort Vidisādevī, brother of Saṅghamittā, who joined with her the order in the sixth regnal year.[24]

So, since all three joined the order before the creation of the MRE it is possible that in the case of *ca* the text mentioned either Tissa, Aggibrahmā or Mahinda as an ordinated monk alongside the king called Piyadassi.

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[21] In some severe cases of misbehaviour the monk is expelled, "communal living" ends and he is called *asaṃvāso*, e.g. Vin III,109: *uddiṭṭhā kho āyasmanto cattāro pārājikā dhammā, yesaṃ bhikkhu aññataraṃ vā aññataraṃ vā āpajjitvā na labhati bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ, yathā pure tathā pacchā pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso.* Cp. the definition of a concordant order, Vin IV,154: *samaggo nāma saṅgho samānasaṃvāsako samānasīmāyaṃ ṭhito.*

[22] Sp I,54:10 *rañño ekamātiko bhātā tissakumāro nāma. taṃ kira rājā paṭṭābhiseko oparajje ṭhapesi.* I,55:24 *kumāro rañño catuvassābhisekakāle pabbajito.* In this and the following case I take it for granted that the *kumāras* after their apprenticeship received the *upasampadā* necessary for the participation in *uposatha* ceremonies.

[23] Sp I,55:25 *ath añño pi rañño bhāgineyyo saṃghamittāya sāmiko aggibrahmā nāma kumāro atthi... 56:1 so pi yuvarājā* [=Tissa] *pabbajito ti sutvā rājānaṃ upasaṃkamitvā aham pi deva pabbajissāmīti yāci ...*

[24] Sp I,52:3 *ubhinnaṃ pabbajitakāle rājā chavassābhiseko hoti.*

6.2. *kumāre va saṃvasamāne*

If we try the probability of *va*, the monastic use of *saṃvasati* seems unlikely because then the king would refer to himself as a monk — and it was impossible to be monk and governor at the same time.

7. *saṃvasati for couples*

The second possible meaning for *saṃvasati* is that it denotes the cohabitation of couples with an implication of sexual activities more or less pronounced — a meaning which is also well attested in the Pāli canonical literature. As an example, the case of an unusual union of hen and crow can be cited, Vin II,17: *(...) kukkuṭī kākena saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ kappesi. sā potakaṃ jānesi*, or the expelled children of King Okāka having intercourse with their sisters, DN I,92: *te jātisambhedabhayā sakāhi bhaginīhi saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ kappesuṃ*. As in the first case the next example, when the Buddha questions the brahmin Ambaṭṭha, also connects *saṃvāsaṃ kappesi* with begetting offspring, DN I,97: *taṃ kiṃ maññasi ambaṭṭha? idha khattiyakumāro brahmaṇakaññāya saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ kappeya, tesaṃ saṃvāsam anvāya putto jāyetha ...* . That *saṃvāsaṃ kappesi* is not automatically connected with sexual intercourse is demonstrated by the monks' rule, SN 283: *suddhā suddhehi saṃvāsaṃ kappayavho patissatā*, "Being pure, make your dwelling with the pure, being mindful" (Norman).

7.1. *kumāre va saṃvasamāne*

The term *saṃvāsaṃ kappesi* is not unknown from Aśoka's own biography. The Pāli chronicles use it unisono when they refer to his first consort, Vidisādevī. When Aśoka travelled to Ujjayinī to take up his post as *uparāja* he passed through the town of Vidiśā. Here, in the house of a rich merchant, he met his daughter and took her with him. The alliance was not a regular marriage. The Mahāvaṃsa 13,9-10,[25] when speaking about this alliance, uses the term *saṃvāsam kappesi*, "he practiced cohabitation", and instantly connects his arranging *saṃvāsa* with begetting offspring just like the example of hen and crow in the example cited above: *saṃvāsaṃ tāya kappesi gabbhaṃ gaṇhiya tena sā*. The Dīpavaṃsa 6,16 uses the same expression: *tassa saṃ-*

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[25] *vedise nagare vāsaṃ upagantvā tahiṃ subhuṃ, devīṃ nāma labhitvāna kumariṃ seṭṭhidhītaraṃ.9. saṃvāsaṃ tāya kappesi, gabbhaṃ gaṇhiya tena sā, ujjeniyaṃ kumāraṃ taṃ mahindaṃ janayī subhaṃ.10.*

vāsam anvāya ajāyī puttam uttamam, as does the much younger Vaṃsatthappakāsinī.[26] Definitely, *saṃvāsaṃ kalpayati* does not refer to a regular marriage. This has been seen before[27] and needs no proof other than a look into a dictionary. To practise *saṃvāsa* does not necessarily imply sexual intercourse, as seen above in the case of the monks "living together"; but in the case of Aśoka and Vidiśādevī the term certainly implies such a notion. Nowhere else in Aśoka's biography do we hear of his arranging *saṃvāsa*: it is restricted to his time in Ujjayinī. His marriage at Pāṭaliputra to his chief queen (*mahesī*) Asandhimittā is not described in the chronicles.

Later, when Aśoka went to succeed his father on the throne, Devī did not move with him to Pāṭaliputra. Her children played a role in the spread of Buddhism, but Mahinda was never brought into state politics.

So, in the case of *va* we are left with the single possibility of connecting Aśoka's time as a *kumāra* at Ujjayinī with his private life at that place spent in an alliance called *saṃvāsam* in the Pāli chronicles.

8. *opunītha?*

Up to now we see two possibilities for the subject of the sentence, but we still lack a predicate: what was Aśoka as a *kumāra* — or Aśoka and the *kumāra* — doing?

I think the answer lies in line four. Skipping its beginning for the moment, let us look at the supposed name *opunitha*. As the name of a monastery it does not express a meaning. Its ending *-itha* looks in fact much more like a verbal ending, just like the prakritic middle aorist *kāmayitthā* in the Jogimārā cave at Rāmgarh[28]. In Aśokan texts these forms are found only in *nikhamithā* in Kālsi RE 8 (C), and in the linguistically related 7th Pillar edict on the Delhi-Toprā pillar with *huthā* (D+J) and *vaḍhithā* (B+E).

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[26] Mhv-ṭ 324:30 *tāya paṭibaddhacitto mātāpitūnam kathāpetvā taṃ tehi dinnaṃ paṭilabhitvā tāya saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ kappesi*. Cf. Ananda W. P. GURUGÉ, *Aśoka, the Righteous: A Definitive Biography*, Colombo 1993, p. 40.

[27] Romila THAPAR, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 22–23. The critique by Aparna CHATTOPADHYAY ("Vidiśā devī", *JOIB* 20, 1970–71, pp. 115–120) is a unique piece of prejudice. Also GURUGÉ defends the regular marriage, having only the young Vaṃsatthappakāsinī on his side, which speaks not only of *saṃvāsaṃ kappesi*, but also of Devī being *dinnā* by her parents or being left in Ujjayinī with her children as *puttadāraṃ* (GURUGÉ, p. 40).

[28] Harry FALK, "Kunstdichtung in den Höhlen von Rāmgarh", *ASt* 45 (1991), p. 265. For parallels in Pāli see GEIGER 135, § 168; for Prākṛt PISCHEL § 517.

If at Pāṅgurāriā we were also confronted with an aorist, then *-punitha* should most likely be the end of *pāpunitha,* written for *pāpunithā.*[29] The verb *pāpunāti* (Pāli *pāpuṇāti*) occurs numerous times in the Kaliṅga Separate Edicts as an intransitive verb denoting "Kenntnis erlangen, gewahr werden",[30] "to realize, to get". This attested meaning must not necessarily be expected at Pāṅgurāriā though, since *pāpunāti* can as well be used transitively, denoting then either "to obtain (something)" or "to reach (some place)", as attested in Pāli and other Middle Indic languages.

Regarding the supposed *opunītha*, the difference amounts to one single character, i.e. initial *o-* against *pā-*. A look at the line drawing[31] shows that a regular *o-* or *u-* in itself is rather unlikely because the lowest part of the sign does not form an angle with the vertical. Instead, we see only a curve just like the lower part of a *pa*. This could in fact be a carelessly written *u-*, just as in *u-pa-sa* at Maski, long misread for *bu-*, or like the hook that led to *ya-yate*, instead of *u-pa-yite* on the spot in Pāṅgurāriā. In any case, the upper part of the character either was never chiseled or is still hidden under sediments. Even continued inspection at close range did not disclose the upper part. That means that we can choose between either a nonsensical *upunitha* or a meaningful and otherwise attested *pāpunitha*. Both readings could be defended. If we opt for *pāpunitha*, written for *pāpunithā*, we end up with a Prakrit aorist of *pāpunoti*, meaning "to reach" or "to obtain".

Having ascertained a possible predicate, we can now decide about *ca* or *va* in line 2. Since the verbal form *pāpunitha* is 3rd person, singular, it is only compatible with the reading *va*; the reading *ca* would presuppose two persons and thus would require a plural form of the verbal predicate.

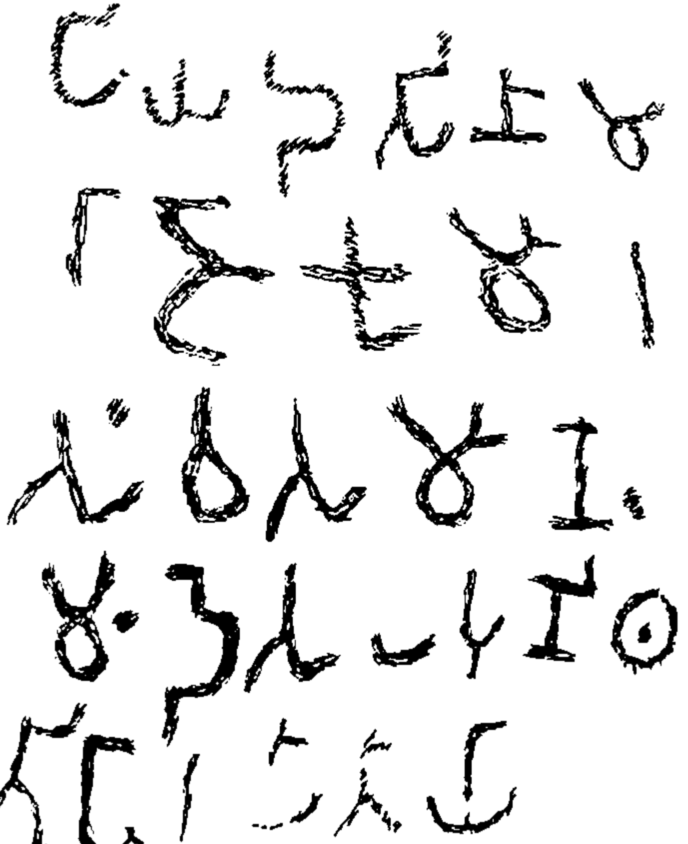
Restoring the text to *pāpunitha* also allows us to explain the rest of the text. If *piyadasi … pāpunitha* means that Aśoka reached something then we find the place he reached in *desa* just in front of the verb. There should be a dot after *sa* for the accusative *desaṃ*. A dot would have been chiseled close to the upper part of *pā* of *pāpunitha*, which is also missing or untraceable. So, either the original was defective at that place or the sediments on the wall still hide both dot and the upper part of *pā* side by side.

Before *desaṃ* we see a *ma* with a clear *anusvāra*-dot after it. This dot is so distinctly cut that any doubt of its existence is excluded, even if SIRCAR did not see it on his black-and-white photographs. So, the line starts with

[29] Theoretically, also *opunāti/opuṇāti* could provide a possible verbal form, but its meaning "throwing (grain) (into the air), to winnow", fig. "to lay bare, expose" (PED), does not make any sense in our context.

[30] Cf. Ludwig ALSDORF, *Aśokas Separatedikte von Dhauli und Jaugaḍa*, Wiesbaden 1962 (AWLM 1962,1), pp. 6f., 12.

[31] This drawing was produced by projecting the slide on a large sheet of paper and tracing the cuts with a pen. A colour reproduction will appear in my *Photo-Atlas*.



maṃ. This *maṃ* taken alone is a first person pronoun in the accusative, but a sentence *piyadasi* ... *maṃ desa(ṃ) pāpunitha* makes no sense. What we need instead is an explanation about which region, *desaṃ*, was reached. A pronoun *maṃ* does not help. So, let us check the copy again. Before *maṃ* at the beginning of line 4 we read *saṃvasamāne* at the end of line 3, itself a clear nominative masculine singular. The final dental *-ne* 𑀦𑁂 shows some white patches which would also allow SIRCAR's reading of retroflex *-ṇe* 𑀡𑁂, although for this the top horizontal which I take for the *e*-mātrā, does not protrude to the right of the vertical, as it should. But the most important thing comes after *-ne*: we perceive a dot closing line 3. SIRCAR noticed this "mark", as he called it, but was "however, inclined to believe that no *akṣara* was actually incised at the place so that the name of the territory in question is *Māṇema-desa*" (p. 975).

Now, a dot alone would indicate an *anusvāra*. After a nominative *saṃvasamāne* we need no *anusvāra*. In addition, the dot is incised close to the base line whereas an *anusvāra*-dot has its place right under the top line. What should we therefore do with a dot close to the base-line preceding an incomprehensible *maṃ*? It is certainly not too daring to explain this single dot as an insufficiently copied initial *i-*, consisting of three dots, with at least one of them close to the base-line.

With an initial *i-* we end up with a complete word *imaṃ*, i.e. accusative demonstrative pronoun, explaining *desaṃ*: this would mean that the king reports that he once reached (*pāpunītha*) this (*imaṃ*) spot (*desaṃ*) while he was still the ruling prince (*kumāre va*) and living with his chosen lady (*saṃvasamāne*).

9. *vihārayātāyā*

The last line is difficult to read. The rock is uneven at the lower end of the inscription and the letters have not been hammered with the same care as above. SIRCAR conjectured *v[i]hāra[ya]tāy[e]*. My slides prove that we should read *vihārayātāyā*, under the condition that the third sign is nothing but a vertical. The fourth sign in its deficient state looks very well like *yā*, but other possibilities are not excluded. The last two signs can be read with certainty as *tāyā*. The different reading does not change the sense: we end up with an oblique fem.sg. corresponding to Skt. *vihārayātrāyāṃ*.

SIRCAR connected *-vihāra* with the supposed proper name *opunitha-*, explaining it as the name of a monastery. However, SCHOPEN has shown that the term *vihāra* for a monastery is rather young, at least decidedly younger than Aśoka. How could Aśoka therefore use a monastic term in a definite sense which is established only centuries later? The solution is found in Rock Edict 8 (A-D) where Aśoka says: "In the past, *devānaṃpiyas* (plural) used to

go out on what was called a pleasure tour (*vihārayātraṃ nāma*). This included hunting and other similar diversions (*abhiramāni*). But now Devanaṃ Piyadasi, when he was consecrated for 10 years, went to Sambodhi. With this began the tours (in the service) of the Dharma".[32]

On the basis of this statement the last line of the preamble becomes intelligible, in that *vihārayātāyā* explains *pāpunitha*: the king came to this country while on a pleasure tour which included hunting and other "diversions".

10. The restored text

I think that in light of this statement we can now understand the whole preamble. Its reading can be restored to:[33]

piyadasi nāma
rājā kumār[e] va
saṃvasamāne (*i*)
maṃ desa[*ṃ*] (*p*)[*ā*]*punitha*
vihāra(*y*)*ātāyā*

"The king, who (now after consecration) is called Piyadassi, (once) came to this place on a pleasure tour while he was still a (ruling) prince, living together with his (unwedded) consort".

The word order makes it tempting to assume that "living together with his consort" belongs also to the predicate "came to this place". If this impression is justified, then the text says that Aśoka came to the rock-shelter of Pāṅgurāriā in the company of Vidisādevī: a genuine *abhirama* indeed.

11. The character of the area

Aśoka tells us in RE8 (A-D) that his former *vihārayātrā*s included *abhirama* and hunting. The cave of Pāṅgurāriā governs the entrance to a valley leading inside that part of the Vindhyas where the rock-art of Bhīmbeṭkā provides ample evidence for hunting expeditions already in the stone age. A hunter and deer painted in red can be found even right in the middle of the Pāṅgurāriā rock-shelter at eye-level. Today the country north of the cave is one of the last vast jungle areas in the central part of India. Tigers are still encoun-

[32] The same "pleasure tour" may also be found in Mbh 15.1.16 *vihārayātrāsu punaḥ kururājo yudhiṣṭhiraḥ, sarvān kāmān mahātejāḥ pradadāv ambikāsute*. In the Arthaśāstra the king is often *yātrāvihāragato*, "gone on a voyage (f)or hunting" (KA 5..1.23; 7..15.22), where he enjoys himself (*ramate*) 13.2.45; cf. KA 2.2.3:... *mṛgavanaṃ vihārārthaṃ rājñaḥ kārayet*.

[33] Round brackets indicate a slightly damaged character, square brackets enclose destroyed or missing *akṣaras* or parts thereof.

tered there. The jungle is bordered by the road near Pāṅgurāriā in the south, Vidisha in the North and Ujjain in the West — three places which are connected with Aśoka's activities as a *kumāra*: in Vidisha he found his consort, from Ujjain did he govern the country of Avantī, and at Pāṅgurāriā he reached the rock-shelter during a pleasure tour.

12. Pāṅgurāriā in Aśoka's career

Later, as a king, Aśoka's life did change completely. His personal name Aśoka was excluded from official parlance — except for writers like the Gujarrā/Maski and the Niṭṭūr/Uḍegoḷam envoys who wanted to be clearer than etiquette allowed.[34] By using *nāma* Aśoka hints at this chronological succession of addresses.

Unlike Maski or Gujarrā the rock-shelter of Pāṅgurāriā was personally known to Aśoka when he dispatched his MREs from Pāṭaliputra. The text came there not because be wanted to interfere with Hindu melās, but because he wanted to commemorate his presence there. At Pāṅgurāriā the preamble was the primary cause, whereas the MRE was just an afterthought. Pāṅgurāriā as a Buddhist site is therefore not a counter-example to the rule about the selection of MRE-sites, but rather it is an exception for very personal reasons. We know Aśoka as an author who stresses his conversion to Buddhism and who points at his new way of living and the advantages this has for everyone. He uses *parākrama* in every other sentence of the MREs to describe his sincerity. Compared to this, the preamble is a look back to the time long before his turn to the devotion to *parākrama*. Only here do we learn that Aśoka — after his accession to the throne and even after his conversion — sometimes remembered the good old days as a *kumāra*, i.e. when he was out on pleasure tours and living with Vidisādevī. Only at Pāṅgurāriā do we catch hold of the *bonvivant*. And the strange thing is, Aśoka is not condemning his old way of life; on the contrary, he wanted to make absolutely sure that his and most likely Vidisādevī's presence there remained known to posterity — because, after dictating the text of the preamble, he must have told the envoy to inscribe these lines at an elevated place in a manner that nobody ever can erase them.

A personal look at the site provided new readings, but it also put an end to SIRCAR's interpretation. We have to say Good-bye to prince Saṃva. Moreover, Indian geography lost the Maṇema country and the history of Buddhism must live without the Upunitha monastery. Instead we have obtained a mean-

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[34] See my "A survey of techniques to reproduce Aśokan (and other) inscriptions on rocks", forthcoming.

ingful and complete sentence and have gained insight into an otherwise unattested area of Aśoka's feelings.

It remains to be stated that the only texts which preserve historical information for comparison belong to the Singhalese Pāli tradition.

How Many People Joined the First Sannipāta of Vipaśyin?*

TAKAMICHI FUKITA, Kyoto

The *Mahāvadānasūtra* (MAV)[1] 3b contains a traditional account of the *śrāvaka-sannipāta*, or "assembly of the Buddha's disciples", of the seven past buddhas including Śākyamuni. However, as folio 116 is missing from the only existing manuscript, known as SHT 399[2] (Lü.-No. S 360), the manuscript lacks the accounts of the first two buddhas, Vipaśyin and Śikhin. The missing folio has thus presented a problem in the text critical reconstruction by E. WALDSCHMIDT as he was unable to refer to it in his reconstruction of this volume. Needless to say, WALDSCHMIDT's reconstruction poses no problem as far as linguistic considerations go; he simply appropriated the formulaic expressions from the extant portions on the other buddhas to reconstruct the missing passages. However, a problem arises with regard to the number of disciples in attendance at the assembly. The simple fact that the numbers do not tally with those in the related Pāli work, the *Mahāpadānasuttanta*[3] (MAP), should clue us to the fact that there is a problem in the actual transmission of the account. I have earlier presented my findings on the problem of the number of people who attended the first assembly of Buddha Vipaśyin in a short report published elsewhere[4]. Subsequent research has since turned

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[1] E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Das Mahāvadānasūtra. Ein kanonischer Text über die sieben letzten Buddhas*. Sanskrit, verglichen mit dem Pāli. Nebst einer Analyse der in der chinesischen Übersetzung überlieferten Parallelversionen. Auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften ed., Teil II. Berlin, 1956 (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1954 Nr. 8). Abbreviations follow the system established by H. BECHERT, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien*, Göttingen, 1989 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 3).

[2] *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil I, Unter Mitarbeit von W. CLAWITER und L. HOLZMANN hrsg. und mit einer Einleitung versehen von E. WALDSCHMIDT. Wiesbaden, 1965 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. X, 1), pp. 176 ff; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Faksimile-Wiedergaben von Sanskrithandschriften aus den Berliner Turfanfunden* I, *Handschriften zu fünf Sūtras des Dīrghāgama*, Unter Mitarbeit von W. CLAWITER, D. SCHLINGLOFF und R. L. WALDSCHMIDT herausgegeben, The Hague, 1963, Tafeln IX ff.

[3] *Dīgha Nikāya* xiv: *The Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, J. E. CARPENTER, vol. II, London, 1903 (PTS), pp. 1 ff.

[4] T. FUKITA, "Vipaśyin-Butsu ichie sanga no ninzū o megutte. – Bonbun '*Daihongyō*' dai jusshō kessonbubun no fukugen" ('On the Number of Bhikṣus at Buddha Vipaśyin's First Sangha: – A Reconstruction of the Lost Part in Chapter X of the *Mahāvadānasūtra*'), *Jōdo-shū*

up ancillary problems that need to be addressed, and so this, as well as supplements and amendments to the earlier paper, make it desirable that the subject be treated once again. In the present paper, with the exception of quotations, the transliterations of some terms both in Sanskrit and Pāli will be given in Sanskrit (e.g. Vipaśyin) so as to avoid confusion.

As shown in the Table below, with the exception of the *Shih-pu-shan*[5], an examination of MAP and the various Chinese translations[6] shows that there were three assemblies of disciples (Skt. *śrāvaka-*, Pāli *sāvaka-sannipāta*) for the Buddha Vipaśyin. Let us first look at the numbers of people in the assembly as indicated by the various texts.

	1st Assembly	2nd Assembly	3rd Assembly
MAP[7]	6,800,000	100,000	80,000
Ta pên ching[8]	168,000	100,000	80,000
Ch'i fo ching[9]	62,000	100,000	80,000
Ch'i fo fu-mu ching[10]	100,000	90,000	80,000
Shih pu-shan[11]	168,000	-------	-------

In order to determine the number of people at the assemblies as transmitted by MAV, in addition to the missing portion of the extant manuscript, it is necessary to turn to the explanation of Vipaśyin's legend itself for a concrete idea of the nature of the assemblies. For this purpose, we need to delineate first what is meant by the term *śrāvaka-sannipāta*, or the assembly of the disciples, which in the case of Vipaśyin defies our very imagination as there was not one as in the case of Śākyamuni, but three such assemblies. In early Buddhism, the term *śrāvaka* was used to refer to both the monk and the layman, hence the *śrāvaka* was a person who listened to the Buddhist teachings. For instance, *Suttanipāta* 134 reads:

Kyōgakuin Kenkyūsho-hō ('Journal of the Theological Research Institute of the Jōdo-shū Sect'), vol. 9 (1987), pp. 22–26.

[5] *Tseng-i a-han ching*, chüan 45 (chapter 48: *Shih pu-shan*), T 125, vol. 2, pp. 790ff., translated by Ch'ü-t'an seng-ch'ieh-t'i-p'o (Gautama Saṅghadeva) in C.E. 397.

[6] *Ch'ang a-han ching*, chüan 1 (chapter 1. 1, *Ta pên ching*), T 1, vol. 1, pp. 1 ff., translated by Buddhayaśas and Chu-fo-nien in C.E. 413; *Ch'i fo ching*, T 2, vol. 1, pp. 150ff., translated by Fa-t'ien in C.E. 990; *Ch'i fo fu-mu hsing-tzu ching*, T 4, vol. 1, pp. 159ff., translated between C.E. 240–254, translator unknown.

[7] DN vol. II, p. 5, ll. 6–13.

[8] T vol. 1, p. 2b, ll. 22–24.

[9] T vol. 1, p. 151c, ll. 15–18.

[10] T vol. 1, p. 160a, ll. 10–13.

[11] T vol. 2, p. 790c, l. 27.

> Whoever abuses the Buddha or his disciple who is a wanderer or a householder, one should know him as a wicked fellow[12].

We also come across instances where it refers only to the layperson[13]. However, over the course of time, the term *śrāvaka* came to take on the meaning of the homeless seeker engaged in the life of religious practice. Further, the latter part of the compound, *sannipāta*, is a general term meaning "assembly", and there is no suggestion that it was used to refer exclusively to a particular community such as the Buddhist *saṅgha*. F. EDGERTON writes that the term *sannipāta* in the language of the *Mahāvastu* and in Pāli literature already contained the meaning of "gathering, assembly of people", which is "not noted in this sense" in Sanskrit dictionaries, and that in many usages of the term, it referred to a gathering "usually of Buddhist disciples, *śrāvaka*". Further, he mentions that in the *Mahāvastu* and in Pāli literature, "any buddha is spoken of as holding three general assemblies, the number attending at each being generally stated". While this touches on the present problem of transmission, it does not explain the meaning of the term in our context[14]. Accordingly, depending on how one interprets the term *śrāvaka-sannipāta*, it is possible to understand these three assemblies in different ways[15].

Among the seven past buddhas mentioned in the MAV, the transmission of the assembly of disciples of Śākyamuni, who is the one we can most easily understand, states:

> Now for me, there is one huge assembly of disciples, which has 1250 *bhikṣus*[16].

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[12] Sn p. 23: *Yo buddhaṃ paribhāsati atha vā tassa sāvakaṃ paribbājaṃ gahaṭṭhaṃ vā, taṃ jaññā vasalo iti.* See also Sn 376 (p. 66): *pucchāmi taṃ Gotama bhūripañña, kathaṃkaro sāvako sādhu hoti, yo vā agārā anāgāram eti agārino vā pan'upāsakāse.* PTSD has "a hearer, disciple (never an *Arahant*)", s. v. *sāvaka*, p. 707. EDGERTON also utilizes this term, but is wary as to the view that the term does not have the meaning of an *Arahant* (cf. CPD *araha(t)* 2). BHSD s. v. *śrāvaka*, p. 535.

[13] Sn 389 (p. 68): *sace pi so sallape sāvakena aññena vā kenaci bhikkhunā vā, dhammaṃ paṇītaṃ taṃ udāhareyya na pesuṇaṃ no pi parūpavādaṃ*; *ibid.* 393 (p. 69): *gahaṭṭhavattaṃ pana vo vadāmi, yathākaro sāvako sādhu hoti, na h'eso labbhā sapariggahena phassetuṃ yo kevalo bhikkhudhammo.*

[14] BHSD s.v. *saṃnipāta*, p. 558.

[15] For instance, in the legend of Buddha Vipaśyin, there were three times when people gathered, which should be understood to be distinct from the three *śrāvaka-sannipāta*: first, people gathered following the event of the Bodhisattva's taking the vows of the ascetic life; second, they gathered following the event of the Bodhisattva's attainment of buddhahood; and third, six years later, they gathered to hear the Buddha declare the *Prātimokṣa*. At a glance, these three times when people gathered would seem to be identical to the three *śrāvaka-sannipāta*, but this is not the case, as the indicated numbers of persons at each gathering do not correspond to the numbers for each of the three *śrāvaka-sannipāta* in the table shown above.

[16] MAV 3b.7: *asmākam apy etarhi (śrāvakā)nām eko mahāsannipāto 'rdhatrayodaśa bhikṣuśatāni*; DN xiv.1.10 (DN vol. II, p. 6): *Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarhi eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi aḍḍha-teḷasāni bhikkhu-satāni.*

According to this transmission, the *śrāvaka-sannipāta* in Śākyamuni's case was precisely a *bhikṣu-saṅgha*. We must take note of the fact that, in the case of the three assemblies of disciples of Vipaśyin as well, according to MAP and the various Chinese translations, the numbers likewise refer to *bhikṣus*[17].

In Buddhagosa's commentary, the first assembly of Vipaśyin had the following four characteristics:

> As for the definition of "assembly of disciples", the first assembly of the Blessed One Vipassi had these four characteristics: All were monks ordained by the formula "come, monk (*ehi-bhikkhu*)"; all had bowls and robes that appeared through supernatural powers[18]; all came without having been asked; and they came to the *Uposatha* day on the fifteenth. ...
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> This is also the case for the second, the third, and likewise for all the assemblies of the remaining Buddhas[19].

As is apparent from this account, basically, the four characteristics of Vipaśyin's first assembly cited above are merely a reflection of the 1250-person *bhikṣu-saṅgha* of Śākyamuni. Buddhagosa just adopted the common characteristics of every buddha as the norm (*dharmatā*), as, for example transmitted in the MAP. In other words, although the number of *bhikṣus* is different, only the first assembly of Vipaśyin corresponds to the 1250-person *bhikṣu-saṅgha* in Śākyamuni's biography. Consequently, through the legend transmitted in MAV it is only possible to investigate the number of people attending Vipaśyin's first assembly. In the following we will examine the account of the Buddha Vipaśyin with regard to the establishment of and the number of people at the first assembly of disciples. Firstly, in the Pāli text of MAP 1.10 we find:

> Brethren, for Vipassī, the Blessed One, Arahat, Perfectly Enlightened One, there were three assemblies of disciples. One assembly of disciples numbered 6,800,000 *bhikkhus*[20].

Thus, the disciples for the first assembly were said to number 6,800,000. This figure, however, does not tally with the number of monks in the legend of Buddha Vipaśyin. The story in 2.16 is as follows:

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[17] DN xiv. 1. 10 (DN vol. II, p. 5): *Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi aṭṭha-saṭṭhi-bhikkhusata-sahassaṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi bhikkhusatasahassaṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asīti-bhikkhusahassāni.* Further, with regard to MAV, it is possible to confirm the word *bhikṣu* in the manuscript portion. For instance, the portion on the Buddha Viśvabhuj in MAV 3b.3 reads: *eko mahāsannip(ā)taḥ saptatir bhikṣusahasrāṇi | dvitīyo mahāsannipātaḥ ṣaṣṭir bhikṣusahasrāṇi |* (MAV II, p. 74).

[18] See Dhp-a vol. I, p. 207; *Samantapāsādikā* vol. I, p. 240. Also cf. Divy, p. 281.

[19] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* vol. II, p. 418: *Vipassissa Bhagavato Paṭhama-sannipāto caturaṅgiko ahosi. Sabbe ehi-bhikkhū, sabbe iddhiyā nibbatta-patta-cīvarā, sabbe anāmantirā va āgatā. Te ca kho pannarasa-uposatha-divase. ... Dutiye tatiyesu pi es' eva nayo, tathā sesa-Buddhānaṃ sabba-sannipātesu.*

[20] DN vol. II, p. 5: *vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ. eko sāvakānaṃ aṭṭhasaṭṭhi-bhikkhusatasahassaṃ.*

> Now at the capital of Bandhumatī, brethren, a huge crowd of people which was [comprised of] eighty-four thousand persons heard: "Prince Vipassī surely shaved his hair and beard, donned the yellow robes, and went forth from the house into the homeless state. ..."
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> Then, brethren, the huge crowd of people which was [comprised of] eighty-four thousand persons shaved their hair and beard, donned the yellow robes, and followed that Vipassī bodhisatta [as he] went forth from the House into the Homeless state[21].

As seen here, the number of the homeless ones who followed Vipaśyin were 84,000 persons. However, Vipaśyin thought it inappropriate to pursue the path in the company of such a large body of people, and so he set out to seek perfect enlightenment on his own. Next, at the point of his attaining perfect enlightenment, at 3. 14-17, we read:

> Now at the capital of Bandhumatī, brethren, a huge crowd of people which was [comprised of] eighty-four thousand persons heard: "Vipassī, the Blessed One, Arahat, and Perfectly Enlightened One, has surely come to the capital of Bandhumatī and is staying at the sanctuary of Migadāya. ..."
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> Then, brethren, those eighty-four thousand persons received [the initiation for] entering the ascetic life and were ordained as monks under Vipassī, the Blessed One, Arahat, and Perfectly Enlightened One[22].

Here we note that the number of seekers was another group of 84,000 people. Moreover, at 3. 18-21, we read:

> Now, brethren, those eighty-four thousand former recluses heard: "Vipassī, the Blessed One, Arahat, and Perfectly Enlightened One has surely come to the capital of Bandhumatī and is staying at the sanctuary of Migadāya, and is surely preaching the *Dhamma*. ..."
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> Then, brethren, those eighty-four thousand recluses received [the initiation for] entering the ascetic life and were [again] ordained as monks under Vipassī, the Blessed One, Arahat, and Perfectly Enlightened One[23].

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[21] *Ibid.* pp. 29-30: *Assosi kho bhikkhave bandhumatiyā rājadhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāna-sahassāni: "Vipassī kira kumāro kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito ti". ... Atha kho so bhikkhave mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāna-sahassāni kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā Vipassim bodhisattam agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitaṃ anupabbajiṃsu.*

[22] *Ibid.* pp. 42-43: *Assosi kho bhikkhave Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāna-sahassāni: "Vipassī kira bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhānim anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati. ..." Alatthuṃ kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsīti-pāna-sahassāni Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike pabbajjaṃ, alatthuṃ upasampadaṃ.*

[23] *Ibid.* pp. 44-45: *Assosuṃ kho bhikkhave tāni purimāni caturāsītiṃ pabbajita-sahassāni: "Vipassī kira bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatim rāja-dhānim anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati, dhammañ ca kira desetīti". ... Alatthuṃ kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsītiṃ pabbajita-sahassāni Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike pabbajjaṃ, alatthuṃ upasampadam.*

Here it is stated that 84,000 seekers, who were formerly ordained, were reinitiated into the Way. This would mean that the first assembly was comprised of two groups. Their total number, however, does not tally with the aforementioned figure of 6,800,000. Immediately following the above quotation we find it stated, at 3.22, that:

> Now at that time, a huge assembly of six million eight hundred thousand monks was staying at the capital Bandhumatī[24].

The figure of 6,800,000 does not quite fit, as it does not tally with the total of 168,000 persons for the two groups. We find the figure of 168,000 at least in the *Ta pên ching* and the *Shih pu-shan*, a figure which well matches the total number of disciples in the first assembly in the above account in MAP 3.14-21, and so this transmission is clearly one that would meet the requirements.

Where, then, does the MAP figure of 6,800,000 come from? This can be explained, it is proposed, by a glitch in transmission caused by the method of mathematical notation. That is, in the process of transmission, the formula *aṭṭha-saṭṭhi-sata-sahassa* (68 + 100) × 1000 was understood to mean 68 × 100 × 1000[25]. One may conjecture that the error in transmission derives from the transmitters' way of expressing the mathematical relationship; that is, instead of using the adjective *adhika-*, or 'plus', they depended on the accent to convey the meaning. Such a convention of usage is supported by the historical grammar of Sanskrit[26]. The use of accent would in some cases still be distinguished in Classical Sanskrit, but it would not be marked as in Vedic, making the distinctions impossible to notice from a written text[27]. There are actual examples of such usage in the Buddhist literature[28]. Accordingly, we may conclude that the MAP originally intended to set forth the figure of 168,000 as found in the Chinese translations, hence the numbers of persons that appear in the different accounts correspond closely to one another.

Having covered this ground, we are now prepared to examine what the MAV has to say as to the number of persons who attended the first assembly. In MAV 8h.1-4 we read:

> At the capital of Bandhumatī, eighty thousand persons heard: "Vipaśyin Bodhisattva shaved his hair and beard, donned the yellow robes, and went forth from the House into the Homeless state with the exactly right faith. ..."

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[24] *Ibid.* p. 45: *tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā mahā-bhikkhu-saṃgho paṭivasati aṭṭha-saṭṭhiṃ bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ.*

[25] W. D. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Cambridge, Mass., 1889, § 480b, p. 180.

[26] *Ibid.* § 478a, p. 179.

[27] *Ibid.* § 481a, p. 180.

[28] *Avadānaśataka*, ed. J. S. SPEYER, St. Petersburg, 1906-1909 (BBu 3), p. 228: *tena khalu samayena kuśinagaryāṃ subhadraḥ parivrājakaḥ prativasati jīrṇavṛddho mahallakaḥ | sa viṃśatiśatavayaskaḥ kauśināgarāṇāṃ mallānāṃ satkṛto gurukṛto mānitaḥ pūjito 'rhan saṃmataḥ.* See also note 3, p. 228; cf. MPS 40.1-2, CPS 24a.2.

> Then they also shaved their hair and beard, donned the yellow robes, and went forth from the House into the Homeless state with the exactly right faith[29].

From this we learn that along with Vipaśyin's entering into the homeless state, there were 80,000 persons who also took the vows of the ascetic life. The figure of 80,000 used in MAV is an abbreviation of the figure 84,000, both of which are known to be metaphorical expressions for an infinite number. However, as with MAP, it is said that Vipaśyin set out to seek the perfect enlightenment by himself.

Next, after Vipaśyin's perfect enlightenment, there is, during the course of the first assembly, a subsequent gathering where another 80,000 persons take the vows of the ascetic life. This episode can be found in 10d.1–4[30]; as it is of the same content as the passage quoted above, there is no need to cite it again.

Despite the similar content with the MAP version, WALDSCHMIDT's edition of MAV that we are presently using makes no mention of the reinitiation of the first group of 80,000 seekers. Without this episode, the MAV account indicates that there were only 80,000 people at the first assembly after Vipaśyin's perfect enlightenment. If MAV had this episode in its original manuscript, then, extrapolating from the content of MAP, this episode should follow immediately after 10e. Comparing the edited version with the manuscripts, the transmission is intact up to 10e.3 or SHT 339, folio 1(45), but is missing the portion up to 11.27 or folio 1(51). WALDSCHMIDT attempted to supplement the missing portion after 10e.3 with the manuscript SHT 602[31] (Lü.-No. M 686), which has only one folio whose content relates the establishment of the *saṅgha*. In his edition, WALDSCHMIDT's use of continuous numbering (that is, 10e.3 followed by 10f) disguises the fact that between these two manuscripts (that is, between 10e.3 of SHT 399 and 10f of SHT 602) there is a sizable gap, with no way of knowing how the account continues or how much of the story is missing. Fortunately, there is another fragmentary manuscript, SHT 685[32] (Lü.-No. X 679), that he could not consult in his edition of the MAV, which we can refer to. When we consider the portion in question, at folio 115, verso, line 2 we read:

[29] MAV pp. 130–131: *aśrauṣur bandhumatyāṃ rājadhānyām aśītiprāṇasahasrāṇi | vipaśyī bodhisattvaḥ keśaśmaśrūṇy avatārya kāṣāyāṇi vastrāṇ(y ācchā)dya samyag eva śraddhayāgārād anagārikāṃ pravraji(taḥ |) ... (atha) punas te 'pi keśaśmaśrūṇy avatārya kāṣāyāṇi vastrāṇy ācchādya samyag eva śraddhayāgārād anagārikāṃ p(r)av(r)a(j)i(tāḥ |).*

[30] MAV pp. 153–154.

[31] *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* Teil I, p. 267; *Faksimile-Wiedergaben von Sanskrithandschriften aus den Berliner Turfanfunden* I, Tafel CLXIV c–d.

[32] *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* Teil II: *Faksimile-Wiedergaben einer Auswahl von Vinaya- und Sūtrahandschriften nebst einer Bearbeitung davon noch nicht publizierter Stücke* im Verein mit W. CLAWITER und L. SANDER-HOLZMANN zusammengestellt von E. WALDSCHMIDT. Wiesbaden, 1968 (VOHD Bd. X, 2), pp. 40ff.

2 śrauṣus tāni pūrvakāṇy aśītir bhi[k]ṣusaha[sr]. ///[33]

Here we find recorded that "80,000 former bhikṣus were in attendance". From this statement we can conclude that in MAV as well, there ought to be an episode in which 80,000 bhikṣus, who took the vows at the time Vipaśyin took the vows of the ascetic life, were reinitiated. Below is given a tentative reconstruction of the portion from the manuscript fragment.

Reconstructed Text

(a)(fol. 115 v. 2)śrauṣus tāni pūrvakāṇy aśītir bhikṣusahasr(āṇi vipaśyī samyaksaṃbuddho 'nuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbuddho deśayati bandhumatyāṃ rājadhānyāṃ dharmam[34].

atha punas te 'pi yena bandhuma)(3)tī rājadhānī tena caryāṃ prakrāntā. iya(m atra dharmatā.

tasmād idam ucyate ‖)

× – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ×
× – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ × (|)
× – ⏑ – – ⏑(4)m asārasamjñina
upāgatā bandhumatyāṃ ⏑ – ⏑ × (‖)

(athāśītir bhikṣusahasrāṇi yena vipaśyī samyaksaṃbuddhas tenopajagmuḥ. upetya vipaśyinaḥ)[35] (5)samyaksaṃbuddhasya pādau śirasā vandi(tvaikānte nyaṣīdan. ekāntaniṣaṇṇāny aśītir bhikṣusahasrāṇi vipaśyī samyaksaṃbuddhas tribhiḥ prātihāryair avava)[36](6)dati, ṛddhiprātihāryeṇādeśanāprā(tihāryeṇānuśāsa)n(ā)prātih(āryeṇa. te tribhiḥ prātihāryaiḥ samyag avavadyamānās samyag anuśiṣyamāṇās tatraiva saṃ)[37](7)prāptāsravakṣayam. iyam atr(a dharmatā.

tasmād ida)m ucyate ‖

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[33] *Ibid.* p. 52, Bl. 115, R(ückseite), 2; Tafel 161.

[34] Reconstructed according to MAV 8i.5, (p. 132).

[35] Reconstructed according to MAV 8i.1, (p. 131).

[36] Reconstructed according to MAV 10c.7, (p. 152). However, at 10c.7 it reads *samyag avavadati samyag anuśāsaty*, but the manuscript does not have *samyag anuśāsaty*. According to J.-U. HARTMANN and K. WILLE, "Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Hoernle (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, II)", *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen* II, Göttingen, 1992 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 4), p. 45, an identification of Hoernle MS. Photo 184: 149/Add. 62 (bottom left) = J.-U. HARTMANN's Dīrghāgama-No. 120, recto, line 4 *///.. ry[ai]r avavadati ṛddhi [r]. + ///*, reveals that there is a similar transmission.

[37] Reconstructed according to MAV 10c.8, (p. 152).

× – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ×
× – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – × (|)
× – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ (8)pātaḥ
× – ⏑ – –ṇa bhava ⏑ – × (‖)

Translation

The former eighty thousands monks heard that Vipaśyin the Perfectly Enlightened one realized supreme perfectly enlightenment (and) was preaching the *Dharma* in the capital of Bandhumatī. Then they again started on a movement to the capital of Bandhumatī. This is now the norm.

Therefore, this is said:

(*One verse of Triṣṭubh-Jagatī is required here*).

Eighty thousands monks have gone to Vipaśyin the Perfectly Enlightened One. Approaching (him) they honoured Vipaśyin the Perfectly Enlightened One's feet with (their) heads and sat down on one side. Vipaśyin the Perfectly Enlightened One instructed the eighty thousand monks seated aside by three miraculous occurrences which are the miraculous occurrence of supernatural power, the miraculous occurrence of mind-reading, and the miraculous occurrence of admonition. When they were rightly instructed and rightly admonished by these three miraculous occurrences, extinction of the outflow (= desires) was thereby attained. This is now the norm.

Therefore, this is said:

(*One verse of Triṣṭubh-Jagatī is required here*).

The above text should be inserted between 10e and 10f of the present edition; that is, it should be clear that the MAV ought to contain an episode identical to MAP in which a group of former *bhikṣus* are reinitiated. As the MAV uses the abbreviated figure of 80,000, however, the total number of persons in the two groups of disciples who attended the first assembly of the Buddha Vipaśyin would technically have to be 160,000.

There seems to be a confusion with regard to the numbers in the transmission of the MAV, and we find in the fragmentary manuscript SHT 685, folio 117 recto[38], in the first line of the transmission, the following:

1 (m)yaksa(ṃ)buddhas tas(y). .[v].ṣaṣṭasya bhikṣ. .. .. +///

In the TRIPĀṬHI-WALDSCHMIDT romanization of this manuscript, the editors have not read a damaged akṣara .[v]. directly before *ṣaṣṭasya.* Most likely

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[38] *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* Teil II, p. 53, Bl. 117, V(orderseite); Tafel 162.

they settled on this reading, thinking it to be a corrupted form of the correct Sanskrit *ṣaṣṭhasya*. Here we may speculate that the editors of the text were influenced in their thinking by the account of the Buddha Vipaśyin's exposition of the *Prātimokṣa* in his sixth year. At this point, however, the text should be reconstructed as follows:

> (Vipaśyī sa)myaksa(ṃ)buddhas tas[y](a d)v(ā)ṣaṣṭasya bhikṣ(usahasrāṇāṃ purataḥ paryaṅke paryaṅkena niṣīdet)[39].

From this passage we can derive the figure of 62,000 *bhikṣus*. While the figures for the transmission are technically speaking not the same, they correspond with the figures given for the number of people in the *bhikṣu-saṅgha* of Buddha Vipaśyin given in the account of the previous life of Śroṇakoṭīvaṃśa in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*[40]. Further, it matches with the figures for the number of persons at the first assembly given in the previously mentioned *Ch'i fo ching*.

As to how all this confusion has come about, in the *P'i-p'o-shih fo ching*[41], which is the latter half of the translation of the *Ch'i fo ching*, we come across the first instance of the figure of 62,000 for the number of *bhikṣus* in attendance. As with MAP, immediately after the 80,000 seekers at Bandhumatī there arrives a group of 80,000 former monks[42]. The figure of 160,000 represents the Sanskrit *ṣaṣṭi-śata-sahasra*, as understood on the basis of accent. This is of course a confusion of the formula $60\times100\times1000$. We may then speculate that, as there were two groups of 80,000 people involved, there was some confusion as to what was meant by the adjective "two"[43], and that to represent it, *dvi-* was inserted, hence arriving at the formula 62 (*dvā-ṣaṣṭi*)[44]$\times100\times1000$. As to the figure 100, we may suppose that it was simply lost at some point.

It was in this way that the transmission of the number of people at the first assembly of Vipaśyin became confused. We can thus determine that, basically, the number of people should have been either 168,000 or, in its abbreviated form, 160,000. However, if we consider the recension of the

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[39] *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* Teil VII. *Die Katalognummern 1600–1799*. Herausgegeben von H. BECHERT, beschrieben von K. WILLE. Stuttgart, 1995 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. X, 7). Ergänzungen und Korrekturen zu Teil 1 bis 6, p. 245, SHT I 177, V(orderseite), c: *///.. paryaṃge paryaṃge[na n]i[ṣ]ī.e///.*

[40] RANIERO GNOLI, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, Part II, Roma, 1978, p. 147: *sa (=Vipaśyī samyaksambuddhaḥ) dvāṣaṣṭibhikṣusahasraparivāraḥ janapadacārikāṃ caran bandhumatīrājadhānīm anuprāptaḥ*. See also Divy p. 282.

[41] T 3, vol. 1, pp. 154ff., translation by Fa-t'ien in C.E. 990.

[42] T vol. I, p. 157c, ll. 13–14.

[43] The *Mahāvastu* preserves a peculiar instance of "two". Mvu I, p. 259, l. 8: *dvecaturaśīti rathasahasrāṇi*, $(2\times84\times1000)$, one hundred sixty-eight thousand chariots.

[44] *dvā-* in 42–72 and 92 it is interchangeable with *dvi-*, see W. D. Whitney, *op. cit.*, §. 476b, p. 178.

(Mūla)sarvāstivādins in light of the confusion in the transmission as to the number of persons, it is well within the range of possibility that the *Ch'i fo ching* (including the *P'i-p'o-shih fo ching*) belongs to the same textual tradition as the various texts of the MAV. Accordingly, one may well assert that, at present, the *Ch'i fo ching* offers an excellent resource with regard to the reconstruction of the missing portion on the assembly of disciples of Vipaśyin in MAV 3b. As it is of course impossible for us to know the story with regard to the second and third assemblies, there is no way for us to confirm the numbers of people for them; but as is clear from the table presented earlier, there is a good correspondence among the various texts as to the numbers of people in those assemblies, and so we may assume that there is no error in these figures. Finally, I present here a reconstruction of the passage on the assembly of the disciples of Vipaśyin for MAV 3b.

(*Vipaśyinaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya śrāvakāṇāṃ trayo mahāsannipātā babhūvaḥ. eko mahāsannipāto dvāṣaṣṭir bhikṣusahasrāṇi. dvitīyo mahāsannipāto bhikṣuśatasahasram. tṛtīyo mahāsannipāto 'śītir bhikṣusahasrāṇi*).

The Buddhist Attitude to Thaumaturgy

RICHARD GOMBRICH, Oxford

The original impetus for this paper came from Prof. Peter VAN DER VEER, who invited me to a symposium at the University of Amsterdam to discuss the relationship between Buddhism and "magical manipulation, spirit possession and healing practices" and to consider when (if at all) these practices may be called syncretistic. My research for the paper led me to formulate a rather general conclusion about Buddhism, and I hope it may thus be appropriate to publish it in honour of Prof. BECHERT, whose research has ranged widely over the Buddhist world and illuminated so many of its facets.

In western academic circles it has become fashionable to take a relativist position with regard to other societies and their value systems. However, this is done in a western language, most commonly English, and the discussion of those societies and those value systems very often uses categories derived from the cultures in which the western languages are at home. In discussing non-European cultures in our terms, we run the risk of distorting them. For all its diversity, Buddhism is a term representing a whole set of cultural traditions, one might even say a civilization. The primary task that faces those who wish to discuss that civilization, it seems to me, is to find out in what terms it sees itself. This means that we should begin by discovering and using *emic* categories. If we are *sincere* relativists, surely we have to admit that the Buddhist view of Buddhism has at least as much right to be heard as ours.

Buddhists themselves are not relativists and we do not have to be relativists either. We want to make Buddhism intelligible to westerners, and to do this we need to use a western language to translate and explain the Buddhist categories. We are certainly entitled to use *etic* categories for expounding and analysing our subject matter. But in my view the *emic* categories are an essential and basic part of that subject matter.

I want to take the Buddhist view of Buddhism as my starting point. Let me explain this, and in doing so use an example which will usefully anticipate my major conclusion. That conclusion is that Buddhism ethicises the universe and that its ethics are not a disposable part of it but fundamental. I shall later discuss how ethics organises Buddhist cosmology. Here let me just refer to a Buddhist value: non-violence. Violence against animals, even if necessary in peasant life, is always considered morally bad and regrettable. This has had the effect that in Buddhist healing rituals in which the demon

of disease requires a blood sacrifice to persuade him to leave, he is often cheated and fobbed off by Sinhala Buddhist exorcists with a vegetarian imitation (a pumpkin is stabbed) or a merely token amount of blood (a few drops from the comb of a cockerel who is brought in as if to be sacrificed). In recent years in Sri Lanka, Sinhala Buddhists have been offering real blood sacrifices, typically goats, to Kālī at the Śaiva temple of Munnēssarama and maybe elsewhere.[1] This violation of Buddhist ethical norms can reasonably be called syncretistic, though one might argue that the act alone would not constitute syncretism. If the Buddhists decided to commit this wicked act as a hedonistic calculation — that the benefits would outweigh the retribution — they would still be acting as Buddhists. What however in fact makes their behaviour syncretistic is that they seem quite unaware that what they are doing in the Śaivite arena at Munnēssarama contravenes Buddhist norms.

How does the Buddhist tradition view people who sacrifice goats? To answer this question requires that we take a brief look at how Buddhism articulates its own history. Buddhism as a historical phenomenon is in Theravāda countries called the *śāsana*; I do not know the correct term in other Buddhist languages but they are bound to have an equivalent. For all Buddhist traditions share the prediction and belief that the *śāsana* will decline by stages.[2] Three things form an ascending hierarchy: knowledge of the texts, practice (i.e., behaviour according to Buddhist rules) and realisation of the truth. Traditionalists in Theravāda countries nowadays believe that realisation is already dead, that no one in our age attains nirvana. Practice too is diminishing, and for this blood sacrifice furnishes evidence. But at least we still have the texts, so that we know it is wrong. It is when the texts have gone, so that even knowledge of the rules has disappeared, that Buddhism — the *śāsana* — will have died out in the present time-cycle.

In Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhala these three — learning, practice and realisation — constitute an alliterative formula in which each word begins with a *p*.[3] The title of my book on traditional Sinhala Buddhism[4] mimics this alliteration. Since realisation has allegedly disappeared, it is appropriate that it is missing from the title. Practice I found not yet extinct; and knowledge of the rules I called precept.

My own research has been into the Theravāda tradition. In some parts of the world Buddhist traditions are classified into two groups, Theravāda and Mahāyāna. But in Tibet and Nepal they are classified into three: the forms of

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[1] Richard GOMBRICH and Gananath OBEYESEKERE, *Buddhism Transformed*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1988, p. 34.

[2] Richard F. GOMBRICH, *Precept and Practice*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971, pp. 284ff.

[3] In Pali textual learning is *pariyatti*, practice *paṭipatti*, realization *paṭivedha*. For the Sinhala, see *Precept and Practice*, pp. 270-1.

[4] See footnote 2. A revised edition, with new pagination, has been published as *Buddhist Precept and Practice*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1991.

Mahāyāna which originated earlier, very approximately in the first half of the first millennium A.D., are called the Mahāyāna in the strict sense, and the later forms are called Vajrayāna or Tantra. For the purposes of this paper, the Tibetan tri-partition is essential, and I shall use the term Mahāyāna in the Tibetan, restricted sense.

Most of my discussion will be couched in terms of the Theravāda tradition and the Pali and Sinhala languages. But the last part of my paper aims to show that, contrary to much received opinion, my account is applicable to the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions, and may indeed help to illuminate those traditions. I have stayed briefly in Japanese and Korean monasteries and had monks from those countries as my pupils. I have also read some of the anthropological literature about Buddhism in the major Buddhist countries, including Nepal. I started with no preconceptions about the matter, but this smattering has been enough to convince me that despite the very different character of the Mahāyāna *sūtras* and the Vajrayāna Tantras from the Pali Canon, early Buddhism set a pattern which influenced all later forms of Buddhism, and that to ignore this is not to see the wood for the trees. I shall illustrate this mainly by references to a very interesting recent book on the anthropology of Buddhism: *Civilized Shamans* by Geoffrey SAMUEL.[5]

My analysis will have two major themes. I have already mentioned one of them: ethicisation. The other will be the demarcation between the religious and the secular. To this I now turn.

In the Theravādin tradition, there are two words in common use which may translate "Buddhism". On the one hand, Buddhism can be referred to as a set of eternal verities, a doctrine which exists whether anyone knows it or not; on the other hand it exists empirically among us, as a potential object of study for historians and anthropologists. All Buddhists believe that the doctrine, the *dharma*, exists eternally, but has to be periodically rediscovered and promulgated by someone who has "awoken" to it, a Buddha. A Buddha thus reinstitutes Buddhism, which in this sense is called the *śāsana*. We live during the *śāsana* of Gotama Buddha, but he is only one in an infinite series of Buddhas. In the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna Buddhas are further multiplied, but not in a way that affects this view of human history: that we are very fortunate to be living in a period when the teaching is available, that it is in decline and will die out on earth by the stages I have already summarised, and that there will then be a long period of spiritual darkness in this world until the next Buddha wakes up to the *dharma* and preaches it. Since the scriptures also contain predictions about how long our *śāsana* will last, this explains why Buddhists tend to be interested in chronology and in dating Gotama Buddha.

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[5] Geoffrey SAMUEL, *Civilized Shamans*, Smithsonian Institute, Washington and London, 1993.

The *dharma* is a set of truths; not trivial, contingent truths, but eternal truths about reality. These truths have an inherent prescriptive force, and to know and understand them fully is tantamount to Enlightenment, and hence the supreme good. Although in some later forms of Buddhism the *dharma* came in addition to have a more mystical significance, I think that it is fair to say that in the Pali Canon and the Theravāda tradition the *dharma* is coterminous with a set of propositions taught by the Buddha, and is to all intents and purposes embodied in the *Buddha-vacana*, literally "the words of the Buddha".

The subject matter of the Buddha's words is firmly restricted in scope. He himself, according to the texts, was keen to emphasise this fact: he said that what he had explained compared to what he had not was like a handful of leaves compared to a whole forest.[6] Several passages in the Pali Canon[7] record that he refused to answer a list of apparently rather basic metaphysical questions, such as whether the world is eternal. He was concerned only to teach people how to attain nirvana, Enlightenment, by blowing out the fires of passion, hatred and delusion. To put it in more western terms, he was concerned only with how to attain salvation[8]: he preached a pure soteriology. In Buddhist terms, the *dharma* is supramundane (*lokuttara* in Pali) as against worldly (*lokiya*). Thus there is a Buddhist distinction which corresponds well to ours between the religious and the secular, but the line is drawn in a different place.

The Buddha explained the world as a system governed by moral causation, and accordingly how one should behave in it, but he did not focus on the problems of life in the world. (His teaching provides the secular world with no periodic rituals, whether for calendrical events or for the individual life cycle, since ritual is a matter of moral and hence soteriological indifference. Death is a partial exception to this, since it has been taken as a fitting occasion for preaching the *dharma*.) Nor, by and large, does the Buddha offer any remedies for worldly misfortune — though we shall have to go into that a little further. This lack of interest in the needs of worldly life means that traditional Buddhism has always and everywhere been accretive.[9] Probably no society can exist without a system to solemnize life crises — and speakers of European languages call such a system religious. Pre-modern societies also require systems by which people can appeal to what we regard as supernatural help to deal with ill health and other worldly misfortunes when means

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[6] SN V, 437–8.

[7] E.g. MN I, 426–432.

[8] "All teachings have liberation as their essence" (AN IV, 339). "As the ocean tastes only of salt, this doctrine and discipline taste only of liberation" (AN IV, 203).

[9] *Precept and Practice*, p. 49. I have been able to argue this point at greater length in my *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, Routledge, London and New York, 1988, pp. 23–30.

directly within their control are ineffective. The monotheistic religions such as Christianity try, with varying success, to fulfil all these functions. Thus, to what is called "spiritual prayer" ("Lead us not into temptation") the Lord's prayer juxtaposes "petitionary prayer" ("Give us this day our daily bread"); and a believer in Christian doctrine is supposed to be, and until recently always was, married and buried by Christian rituals.

Though the Buddha preached also to laity, he made it clear that those who took his message seriously should renounce the world and become monks or nuns. His teaching did indeed offer a panacea for lack of worldly happiness or success, but that panacea was not to desire them. The term for material goods which the Pali texts use in a variety of contexts is an extremely derogatory one: *āmisa* literally means "raw meat". The Buddha preached the middle way between asceticism and self-indulgence, but this was so that the needs of the body should not create distractions from the spiritual quest.

Even in the Pali texts, as will be shown below, the picture is a little more complicated and not quite so stark as I have just painted it. But it is essential for western scholars to understand that for Buddhists their "religion", that which gives them their identity as Buddhists, is of far more restricted scope than is the religion of Christians. Buddhists have worldly needs like everyone else, and have been no less prone than other people to try to enlist supernatural beings, gods and spirits, to meet those needs. But I was told in Sri Lanka that "gods have nothing to do with religion".[10] The speaker, a Buddhist monk, took "religion" to refer to *dharma*. According to that *dharma*, the gods can help only with material, not with spiritual matters: a god cannot help a Buddhist to advance towards his religious goal. As a Sinhala Buddhist, he was also aware that people of a different religion, namely Śaiva Hindus, worship some of the same gods. This leads me on to two new topics: Buddhist cultural diffusion, and the distinctiveness of Buddhist gods.

The agents who have spread the Buddhist *dharma* have been Buddhist monks and nuns. Along with the *dharma*, they have inevitably spread other cultural items. A monk bringing a relic or a scripture from one country to another could at the same time bring a story, an agricultural technique, or a recipe for a dish. If people learnt and understood the texts that he brought, things mentioned in those texts were particularly likely to be diffused: belief in the existence of certain gods and spirits is an obvious example.

As far afield as Japan, to which Buddhism of course diffused only by stages, not directly from India, Buddhism brought such Indian cultural items as a syllabic script and the treatment of a hereditary social group as outcastes because of their association with what were seen as unclean professions, such as butchery, tanning and performing executions. The last is a striking

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[10] *Precept and Practice*, p. 46.

example, because thus to stigmatize a social group is not merely no part of the Buddha's teaching but clearly opposed to its spirit; yet the Japanese must have learnt of this Indian custom from Buddhist texts. Like many traditional societies, the Japanese tended to have hereditary occupations. And the idea that blood is polluting, which is also rather widespread, was in Japan before Buddhism. But I hypothesize that treating the *eta* as outcastes are treated in India was determined or at least reinforced by learning of the latter through Buddhist texts.

From the Buddhist point of view healing rituals are a secular technology, as is, say, agriculture. All Buddhist societies have healing rituals and various spirit cults, just as all were until recently based on agriculture — most of them traditionally on rice cultivation. Even the agriculture requires not only what appear to the westerner as rational procedures but also rituals and spirit cults. Because western anthropologists incline to a somewhat holistic view of culture, they might be surprised to find that, say, in the Muslim parts of continental south-east Asia the healing rituals were very like those in the Buddhist parts; but for the Buddhist it would be as unsurprising to find that his Muslim neighbours used similar healing rituals as to find that they used similar agricultural implements. Whether such things as spirit possession and healing practices have been diffused through a particular Buddhist country by Buddhist agency is for me an open question; every case needs to be investigated on its own merits.

This brings me to the distinctiveness of Buddhist gods. The diffusion of the *dharma* does involve the diffusion of one feature of a very high order of generality: the ethicisation of the universe.

According to the *dharma*, every act is morally good, bad or indifferent. Sooner or later good acts are rewarded and bad acts are punished. But what counts as an act? The word *karma* means "act", but its obvious reference is to an overt, i.e., a physical action. Indeed, in the brahminical religion to which the Buddha was reacting, *karma* referred primarily to ritual action. In Buddhism, on the other hand, *karma* good or bad may be an act of body, speech or mind. Its moral quality lies in the intention behind it, and in nothing else.

Hindu traditions have never entirely differentiated ritual from ethics. Ancient brahminism did become ethicised to a considerable extent, largely under Buddhist influence, but people still had ritual duties which differed according to their social status. Moreover, the Hindu world remains incompletely ethicised: for example, Śaivas consider Śiva omnipotent, but he comprises both good and evil — he transcends that duality — so that he may act in our world in a way which to us appears wrong.

The Buddha taught that everything that really matters happens in the mind. What we call "spiritual progress" is mental progress; there is no separate category corresponding to our "spirit". Attaining nirvana is a mental

event and nirvana is a mental condition, an experience. The path to nirvana consists of morality, meditation and understanding; these constitute a progression precisely in so far as they consist of mental progress — purification is a favourite metaphor. The first stage, without which further progress is impossible, is morality. The rules of Buddhist morality apply indifferently to all sentient beings, and their current position in the world reflects how well they have kept those rules — what moral progress they have made in the past.

It is often said that the Buddha inherited the theory of *karma* from his background; but this is less than a half-truth. Brahminical texts before the Buddha introduce the idea of continual rebirth, and that this has something to do with the quality of your acts on earth. But those acts, I repeat, were primarily ritual acts. A careful consideration of the mere words show what a revolutionary move the Buddha made when he said, "By act, O monks, I mean intention".[11] The language is virtually paradoxical. This move, of course, is also profoundly egalitarian: since the quality of an intention can only be morally good or bad, what is good in a woman is good in a man, and brahmins and outcastes are subject to the same moral laws.

The Buddhist theory of *karma* forms part of its soteriology and is of a piece with its teaching about how to attain nirvana. Certain excellent anthropologists of Buddhism have accepted that Buddhists see Buddhism as a soteriology with supramundane concerns, but have nevertheless made a dichotomy within that soteriology for their own analytical purposes. Melford SPIRO, writing on Burma, differentiated between what he called nibbanic Buddhism and kammatic Buddhism.[12] He has recently been followed by Geoffrey SAMUEL, who in writing on Tibet differentiates in the same way between what he calls the "Bodhi Orientation" and the "*Karma* Orientation".[13] This distinction is not cross-culturally applicable — it is not *etic*; but I am afraid that it is not *emic* either, but in my view rests on a misunderstanding. SAMUEL, who has an admirable awareness of the importance of history, writes in broad and interesting terms about the origins and early development of Buddhism, but unfortunately makes the historical error I have just alluded to: he does not realise that the Buddhist theory of *karma* originated with the Buddha.[14] This error of historical fact would perhaps not matter very much if it were not that it blinded him to the centrality of ethics to the *dharma* and thus led him, in my view, to a flawed *analysis* of Buddhism. I shall return to this below.

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[11] AN III, 415.

[12] Melford SPIRO, *Buddhism and Society; A Great Tradition and its Burmese Vicissitudes*, New York, 1970, p. 12.

[13] *Civilized Shamans*, pp. 5–6.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 378.

The ethicisation of the cosmos applies to all Buddhist societies, though it has worked itself out in slightly different forms. In Theravāda tradition the cults of gods and spirits have been integrated into the Buddhist world by the theory of the transfer of merit. Acts of Buddhist piety, such as feeding monks or making offerings to Buddhist images, are considered to bring merit to the performer, and the performer then offers this merit to the gods and in return asks for their protection. This is a transaction fraught with ambiguity. In doctrinal terms, as understood by most monks and by the sophisticated laity, the exchange is purely metaphorical. The pious Buddhist's merit is nothing but the state of mind, the joyous serenity, induced by her act (which is typically public); and when she invites the gods to share it she is really just drawing their attention to the occasion and inviting them to empathise with her. (Compare, perhaps, the way Japanese clap at Shinto shrines to draw the attention of the gods.) For the less sophisticated, however, this is a real transaction: merit is reified and treated like cash, and the gods are offered some of that cash as a *quid pro quo*.

It is important to note, however, that merit is normally offered to the gods in return for general protection and blessings. If one wants something specific, one communicates with a specific god or spirit through a ritual officiant; this involves making material offerings, sometimes even according to a tariff, and for major requests one may make a vow to behave in a certain way and/or to make a major offering if the request is granted. In the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions, this tendency for the merit accruing from Buddhist piety to operate in a general, unspecific way is perhaps even more marked, for in those traditions it is the custom to offer the merit of a religious act not just to the gods but to all living beings, with the hope that it will enhance their progress towards Enlightenment.

This non-specificity of the worldly benefits to be derived from acts and institutions that are unambiguously Buddhist seems important. It strikingly recalls Malinowski's suggested demarcation between magic and religion: that magical practice aims at more specific results than religious practice. Even in Theravādin societies, Buddhist sacralia can traditionally be turned to worldly account and Buddhist monks can officiate in rites to bring good fortune, but there is a strong tendency for the benefits envisaged to be unspecific. The same pattern emerges from SAMUEL's account of the Vajrayāna in Tibet. Just as SPIRO wrote of "apotropaic" Buddhism in Burma[15], SAMUEL writes of the "Pragmatic Orientation" of Buddhism in Tibet[16]; both refer to the use of Buddhist actions and personnel for worldly benefits. However, when I looked in SAMUEL's book for healing rites, I found only the following:

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[15] SPIRO, *loc. cit.*

[16] SAMUEL, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

"A special class of rituals, the life-empowerment or life-consecration rituals (*ts'e wang*), is specifically devoted to the general conferral of blessings and empowerment to the recipient with the aim of conferring good health and long life."[17] "One should wish to gain long life and health so as to be able to practice the teachings with the proper Mahāyāna motivation of desiring to gain Enlightenment so as to relieve the sufferings of others. The basic idea behind the ritual, however, is that the lama uses his Tantric powers to confer long life and health ... The participants are free to take the ritual at whichever level they wish."[18]

Mutatis mutandis, this could have been written about a Theravādin society. Much has been written about what the Sinhalese call *pirit* (*paritta* in Pali), the chanting of certain Pali canonical texts, usually by monks but sometimes also by laity, for apotropaic purposes, i.e., to keep harm away from the sponsors of the ceremony and others who participate and empathise.[19] Evidence for this custom goes back to the Pali commentaries, i.e. to the early centuries A.D.[20] The chanting is used to empower thread which lay participants then wear as an amulet. The empowerment of amulets by Thai monks seems to be an elaboration of the same custom.

From the Buddhist point of view, the important issue is the motivation of the participants. If his motive is entirely benign and unselfish, there is no reason why a monk should not contribute to the welfare of his supporters by chanting *pirit*. He himself is not supposed to be interested in any worldly benefits — though of course many monks are — but he does not expect the laity to be so indifferent. There are a few monks who take a strong line and do not participate in *pirit* ceremonies because they wish to be entirely cut off from the world, but normally chanting *pirit* is seen as part of the village monk's role. Doctrine expresses the exchange as follows: the lay supporters give the monk raw meat (*āmisa*), and in return he gives them the far greater gift of the *dharma* by reciting sacred texts to them.

Ethics also organize pragmatic dealings with gods and spirits. In Theravādin societies, a really sublime being, a high god, has no interest in worldly affairs and so is of no practical use to us.[21] The beings with whom one treats for secular goals are on a moral — and hence cosmic — level much like that of human beings: a god who can get you a good job is much like a man who can do the same. If I want such a favour, I approach someone who can get it for me and offer a *quid pro quo*, whether he is human or divine. In

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

[19] See most recently Peter HARVEY, "The Dynamics of Paritta Chanting in Southern Buddhism", in Karel WERNER (ed.): *Love Divine: Studies in Bhakti and Devotional Mysticism*, Richmond Surrey, 1993, pp. 53–84. HARVEY divides the purposes of *pirit* into prophylactic and benedictive.

[20] *Precept and Practice*, p. 204.

[21] For "upward mobility" in the pantheon, see *Buddhism Transformed*, pp. 31–2.

either case I am likely to use an intermediary. The transaction is ethically close to neutral, but if I really need a job and he gets it for me it was a kind act and he gets some merit. On the other hand, if I am after someone else's job the act is immoral, and the agent whom it is appropriate for me to approach is a bad man or a bad god — some kind of demon.

One Buddhist ethical value which affects the spirit cults is non-violence. Another is self-control. Here I have a difficulty with SAMUEL's book. He defines shamanism as "the regulation and transformation of human life and human society through the use (or purported use) of alternate states of consciousness"[22]; and he conflates the meditative states which Buddhists aim at on the way to Enlightenment with such alternate states of consciousness as possession. How these relate scientifically or *etic*ally I do not know, but *emic*ally this will not do. Theravāda Buddhists regard possession states, in which all seif-control is lost, as antithetical to Buddhist meditation, which represents enhanced control of one's own consciousness. This antithesis is traditionally institutionalised: on *poya* days, the once-weekly day of enhanced Buddhist activity, traditional shrines in which the officiant fulfils his role by getting possessed do not operate. In our book *Buddhism Transformed* Gananath OBEYESEKERE and I have argued that the more positive valuation of possession, especially in its less institutionalised forms, is a sign of the breakdown of traditional Buddhism[23] — what one can call syncretism.

So far my analysis has focused on two points: Buddhist ethicisation and the demarcation between the religious and the secular. I now want to consider how the categories "magical manipulation, spirit possession and healing practices" relate to the *emic* categories of Buddhist societies. Thaumaturgy — the use of supernatural intervention to remedy specific worldly ills — may seem to involve all those things; but how do Buddhists see it?

In Sinhala culture the classes of non-human beings and the systems and institutions for interacting with them are quite numerous and have already been well described. So instead of re-covering that ground I shall go back to the Pali Canon, and try to summarise what we can learn from that ancient Indian source about magical manipulation, spirit possession and healing practices, and their relation to Buddhism. From that, finally, I shall be able to move forward to give my view of the development of Buddhism as it diffused across Asia.

As so often, we find out most about what people were up to, or might have been up to, from texts telling them what they were not allowed to be up

[22] In the text I have quoted only half the definition: it goes on: "... by means of which specialist practitioners are held to communicate with a mode of reality alternative to, and more fundamental than, the world of everyday experience." *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

[23] Pp. 36 ff.; see also s.v. "possession" in the Index.

to. In the *Dīgha Nikāya* there is an enormous list of practices, about a hundred and fifty of them, called the *Mahā-sīla*[24], concerning which the text reiterates: "Some ascetics and brahmins wrongly make a living out of beastly arts of this kind by eating the food given in faith, but the ascetic Gotama abstains from them." This is a bit ambiguous. The main point is that it is wrong to make a living out of these practices, to do them for profit. But the fact that the food is specifically referred to as "given in faith" implies, perhaps, scepticism about whether the practices work. Included in the list are several medical practices, and we know from other parts of the Canon[25] that the monks took considerable interest in medicine. I found in Sri Lanka a tradition that it was all right for monks to practise certain types of medicine, in particular ophthalmology, so long as they did not charge their patients — though naturally this did not preclude the making of offerings in gratitude.

But medical practices form only a minority of the "beastly arts". They include many kinds of prognostication, magic charms both black and white, and interaction with deities. Unfortunately most of the condemned practices are referred to by just single words or brief phrases, and for their interpretation we have to rely on the commentary by Buddhaghosa, which may not be entirely reliable. Let me quote one small section of the list[26], literally translated: "mirror-questioning, virgin-questioning, god-questioning, waiting on the sun, waiting on the great one, blazing up, invoking Fortune." Buddhaghosa explains[27] that "mirror-questioning" means making a deity appear in a mirror to answer questions; that "virgin-questioning" refers to questioning a deity through the medium of a high-status virgin; that god-questioning refers to the same through the medium of a temple prostitute (*deva-dāsī*); that "blazing up" refers to producing flames from one's mouth by a spell; and that "invoking Fortune" refers to invoking the well-known goddess who represents fortune personified — her Sanskrit name is Śrī. "Waiting on the sun" is sun worship; Buddhaghosa thinks that "waiting on the great one" refers to the worship of Brahmā, but he may well be wrong. He may also be wrong about the temple prostitute: why should "god-questioning" refer to that? Not only would it be surprising if temple prostitution went back to the time of the Buddha or even nearly so far. It is a general principle that in institutionalised possession the status of the spirit relates closely to the relative purity of the person possessed. A high-caste virgin, which refers to a girl who has not yet begun to menstruate, is a very pure vehicle, as is well

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[24] DN I, 9–12.

[25] Notably *Mahāvagga* chapter 6 = Vin I, pp. 199 ff. See also Jinadasa LIYANARATNE, "A Pāli Canonical Passage of Importance for the History of Indian Medicine", *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XXII, 1996, pp. 59–72.

[26] DN I, 11.

[27] DA I, 97.

known from the religion of the Kathmandu valley. The next two items listed[28] are explained by Buddhaghosa, no doubt correctly, as promising a god in a shrine certain offerings in return for benefits, and fulfilling such vows. To sum up, we have here indications that a wide range of the magical practices and interactions with supernaturals which can still be found in Sri Lanka were to be found in the society where the Buddha preached, and he condemned renouncers who took an active part in them, at any rate for gain.

We hear very little in the Canon of involuntary spirit possession, the condition which calls for exorcism, but we have no reason to doubt that it existed. In one rather quaint text[29] the monk Moggallāna, who is renowned for his supernormal powers, feels a great weight in his stomach. He finds that a Māra, an evil spirit, is inside him; he gets into conversation with the Māra and persuades him to leave — a kind of self-exorcism.[30] Presumably monks and nuns did not get involved with exorcism because an exorcist generally gets possessed, and this, as explained above, conflicts with Buddhist values.

One could well devote an entire paper to the supernormal powers of the Buddha and his monks: what they were, and the attitudes towards them. The English vocabulary is a little difficult to establish, for the texts distinguish two sets of powers which were believed to accrue automatically to anyone who achieved Enlightenment. The lowest of these powers — the first to be acquired — were called *iddhi*. This literally means "success" or "accomplishment". There is a standard list of them, often repeated, and they include levitation, walking on water and becoming invisible. They involve creating a second body with one's mind: one pulls it from one's normal, gross body like a reed from its sheath, a snake from its slough or a sword from its scabbard. There is much textual evidence that this mind-created body was not conceived of as merely imagined; it is as real as a normal body but made of a subtler kind of matter.

The *iddhi*, taken collectively, are the first item in a list of six *abhiññā*, which I translate "super-knowledges". These include clairaudience and various kinds of clairvoyance, such as perceiving where beings are being reborn, i.e., witnessing the operation of *karma*.[31]

As SAMUEL has pointed out, these powers are standard items of a shaman's repertoire. What strikes me about them is that they are all what one might call display items: they do not include healing, let alone raising from the dead, or anything else likely to be of use to others. The ability to see

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[28] DN I, 12.

[29] MN *sutta* 50, *Māratajjaniya Sutta*.

[30] MN I, 332–3.

[31] For the *iddhi* and *abhiññā*, see DN I, 77–84.

people reaping the results of their *karma* can be used for homiletic purposes, but this is marginal.

Several texts concern the Buddha's attitude to these powers, and they are not entirely consistent. In one text, the *Kevaddha Sutta*[32], a householder asks the Buddha to make converts by telling a monk to display supernormal power. The Buddha replies that he does not tell monks to perform such marvels for householders. If a Buddhist believer tried to impress a non-believer by saying that he saw a Buddhist monk performing such wonders, the non-believer could reply that there was a certain knowledge — evidently a spell — which gave one such powers. "As I see this risk in the marvels of supernormal powers," says the Buddha, "I am upset and embarrassed and disgusted by those marvels." He goes on to say the same about mind-reading. Finally he declares that the true marvel lies in religious instruction.[33]

Most of this part of the *Kevaddha Sutta* also occurs in another text, the *Sangārava Sutta*[34], which begins with a brahmin criticising the Buddha and his followers for allegedly doing good only to themselves.[35] The Buddha rebuts this on more than one count, and the context makes it clear that Buddhist religious instruction is better than the *iddhi* or mind-reading precisely because it benefits other people whereas the other marvels do not. Ethical considerations are paramount.

Nevertheless, the Buddha unequivocally states that he and many of his monks do possess the supernormal powers.[36] He even appears annoyed when people deny that he has them.[37] In one text he engages in a contest with a brahminical god called Baka Brahmā and beats him at disappearing.[38] Evidently the Buddha and those around him believed in the reality of supernormal powers, but thought that they could be achieved by secular means.

The texts cited so far are in the collections of the Buddha's sermons, the four *Nikāyas*. The book of monastic discipline, the *Vinaya*, which I think must have been composed a generation or two later than most of the sermons, presents a slightly different picture. Here we find both the Buddha and a few individual monks exercising supernormal powers, including several not listed among the *iddhi* or super-knowledges. The Buddha's attitude towards these displays seems to depend on circumstances. He strongly condemns a monk's public display of levitation, comparing it to a woman's displaying her geni-

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[32] DN, *sutta* xi.

[33] DN I, 211–4.

[34] AN I, 168–173.

[35] This criticism, sometimes couched partly in the same words, was to be repeated by Mahāyāna texts with reference to the older Buddhism.

[36] AN I, 172.

[37] MN I, 69.

[38] MN I, 330.

tals in public.[39] In a similar spirit, he ruled that a false claim to supernormal knowledge was one of the four offences[40] which automatically disbar a monk from his role.[41] On the other hand, the Buddha performs various miracles in order to convert three brahmin ascetics and their followers[42], and the marvellous powers exercised by monks are not always condemned.[43]

Hardly ever, however, are those powers used for healing. One case of healing concerns the Buddha himself, but is a highly atypical piece of thaumaturgy. The story is the one which explains how the rule that monks may not eat human flesh came to be formulated. A very pious lay couple live in Benares. The wife, Suppiyā, visits a monk who is ill; he needs meat broth. She sends her servant out to buy meat but there is none to be had; it happens to be a day on which the slaughter of animals is prohibited. So she cuts some flesh from her own thigh and has the broth cooked with it and sent to the monk. When her husband hears what she has done he is so pleased that he invites the Buddha to lunch the next day. The Buddha comes, and asks to meet Suppiyā, but is told she is ill and lying down. He says she is to be carried in, and as soon as she arrives in his presence her wound is healed. The Buddha then reprimands the sick monk for not asking where the meat came from.[44]

This is an exceptional case. Otherwise, so far as I know, there is only one story of the Buddha doing any healing. I shall return to it after discussing the only canonical story of which I am aware of a monk's doing healing. This, unlike Suppiyā's case, had an effect on later practice. The story is not in the *Vinaya* but among the sermons, in the *Angulimāla Sutta*.[45]

In this text a terrible brigand called Angulimāla kills people, apparently at random, and wears a necklace made of the fingers of his victims. When he approaches the Buddha to kill him, the Buddha converts him. After he has become a monk, he is on his alms round one day in a village when he comes on a woman who is having a difficult labour. He tells the Buddha, who advises him to make an act of truth: he should go and say to the woman, "Since I was born, sister, I have never purposely killed a living being. As that is true, may you and the child be safe." Angulimāla protests that it would not be true. To clarify his meaning, the Buddha then emends the

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[39] Vin II, 112.

[40] Eight in the case of nuns.

[41] Vin III, 90–91. The story about how the rule came to be made shows that the main point was that the monks were making such claims to impress the laity and so get better offerings; the Buddha condemned them as thieves. Making the same claims when they are true is also an offence, but a relatively minor one (*pācittiya* 8, Vin IV, 25).

[42] Vin I, 24–34.

[43] E.g. Dabba at Vin III, 159, Pilindavaccha at Vin III, 67 and Vin III, 248.

[44] Vin I, 216–8.

[45] MN *sutta* 86.

statement to begin "Since I was born in this noble birth", meaning in the Sangha. The act of truth works and the labour ends successfully.[46]

The point of this story lies largely in the contrast: that the worst mass murderer, once he has become a Buddhist monk, is totally harmless. The text is very famous and has continued to be used in Theravādin countries for easing women's labour. It is the only such specific use of Buddhist chanting that I am aware of. It is there simply because it is in the sacred text, even though it has no parallel and in most respects stands outside the general pattern of rituals and healing practices.

In one respect, however, it does fit in as a healing ritual. As SAMUEL wisely wrote of the *ts'ewang* rituals in Tibet, "the participants are free to take the ritual at whatever level they wish". Buddhists often interpret *pirit*, including the *Angulimāla pirita*, as *mantra*, magically potent speech. I believe that within the Indian cultural tradition healing rituals normally involve the use of *mantra*. This puts them in a different category from the supernormal powers of a Buddhist monk. According to Indian theory, a *mantra* is the sonic-form of a deity, so that to control a *mantra* is to control the corresponding deity. This cannot be literally applied to Buddhism until we come to Tantric Buddhism, but the feeling lingers in Theravādin societies that the powers of the Buddha can be harnessed through the recital of sacred texts, *Buddha-vacana*. We should also remember that in the Theravādin countries the clerical establishment have somewhat censored their religious history; all of them in ancient or mediaeval times had some contact with Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna influences from India — a subject which cries out for systematic research.

Finally, to attempt completeness, I must mention that in another canonical text (Udāna 15–16), in formulaic prose, there is a story that the Buddha too eased a woman's labour.[47] A woman called Suppavāsā carries a child for several years and is agonisingly unable to give birth. She sends her husband to tell the Buddha of this and to declare her faith in his teaching. As soon as the husband does so, the Buddha says, "Let Suppavāsā the Koliyan be well and in health give birth to a healthy child," whereupon that happens. The seven-year labour is a commonplace of post-canonical hagiography, and it seems a safe deduction that some pious redactor has decided that it would be unseemly if only a disciple of the Buddha's were recorded to have produced a safe childbirth, and the Buddha himself had better be similarly credited.

Let me now conclude by giving my view of the progress of Buddhist history, a progress through both time and space. My view is that Buddhism's demarcation between the religious and the secular was under constant attack and tended to sag, but that the Buddhist response was to ethicise whatever came

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[46] MN II, 102–3.

[47] I owe this reference to Peter HARVEY, personal communication.

within its sphere. Though monks could hold to scriptural purity and disavow all interest in the secular, the potentates who invited them into their territories were at least as likely to be interested in acquiring a powerful magic as in learning a soteriology. Since Buddhism is a *śāsana*, an institution in the real world, it has to cope with that world even when it disapproves of it. This naturally begins early. In one text in the Pali Canon the Buddha says that fewer monks are now attaining realisation because the Sangha is growing large and prosperous.[48] The theme of inevitable decline is there at the outset.

But the *śāsana* strikes back. It cannot stop people from being concerned with the world; but it ethicises that world. Let me now apply that to the Mahāyāna and, especially, to the Vajrayāna.

I think it has been adequately demonstrated in recent years by Gregory SCHOPEN[49], Paul HARRISON[50] and others that the theory that the Mahāyāna began as a lay movement is completely false.[51]

On the contrary, it was probably started by forest-dwelling monks, meditators rather than scholars, who cultivated the supernatural powers. Examining the *sūtras* which were translated into Chinese c. 180 A.D. and thus constitute our earliest *dated* evidence for the Mahāyāna, Paul HARRISON shows that they stress miraculous powers, such as the power to travel through both space and time at something like the speed of light. These are visionary texts, and the marvels they record are display items like the canonical *iddhi*, only even more spectacular. These early Mahāyānists seem to be measuring themselves against the *iddhi* and claiming to surpass them. But their marvels still do not seem to be of any practical use.

This changes with the *Lotus Sūtra*, which can only be dated from the fact that it was first translated into Chinese in 255 A.D. It has been one of the most important texts in Chinese Buddhism, and though it is not equally important for all sects (notably for the Zen), it has probably been the most important single text in forming Japanese Buddhism. It is no less full of spectacular miracles, and thus seems to continue the intra-Buddhist contest. But two other features of the text are perhaps even more important. The 24th chapter[52] is an invocation to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and says that in all kinds of worldly crises one has only to think of him and he will save one: he can save one from poison and execution, and make black magic

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[48] MN I, 445.

[49] In several articles, notably "Archaeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism", *History of Religions* 31, 1, 1991, pp. 1–23.

[50] "Who Gets to Ride in the Great Vehicle? Self-Image and Identity among the Followers of the Early Mahāyāna", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10, 1, 1987, pp. 67–89.

[51] See also my "Organized Bodhisattvas: a Blind Alley in Buddhist Historiography", forthcoming in the Festschrift for K. K. DASGUPTA (submitted 1994).

[52] The 25th in Kumārajīva's Chinese translation.

recoil upon its doer.[53] In other words, he acts as a Buddhist god who intervenes in this world. But his power extends even further: he will allay birth, decrepitude and disease for animals, ghosts and hell beings, though the text[54] does not specify how. No less startling, from the Buddhist perspective, is a passage in chapter 2 which virtually contradicts the Buddhist doctrine of *karma*. Those who have offered a single flower, or said "Homage to the Buddha" just once, even if they did those things with distracted thoughts, all have reached Enlightenment; so have those who have heard even the name of the *dharma*.[55] According to this text, not only is ritual effective even when intention is more or less lacking; even salvation, Enlightenment, is conveyed by an event for which one is not responsible. Those who cause one to hear the *dharma* are of course Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

This line of thought leads to the Japanese doctrine of *tariki*, that one is saved by a superior power, which dominates in the Pure Land sect, and I think that it has led to a weakening of ethicisation in Japan and made Japanese Buddhism somewhat distinctive in that respect. On the other hand, the ethical tradition of earlier Buddhism was evidently strong enough, despite such texts, to keep most forms of Buddhism in the mainstream. Buddhism entered Korea in the 4th century A.D. from China, and the Chan (Zen) school has dominated there. With regard to the issues that concern me today — the role of ethics, the division between the *dharma* and secular concerns, and the position of the Sangha in that division — Korean Buddhism appears to me indistinguishable from the Theravāda traditions. The same goes for the Chinese Buddhism described by Holmes WELCH[56]. In Tibet, the pre-Vajrayāna Mahāyāna is even called the Pāramitā-yāna; the *pāramitā* are the supreme virtues of the bodhisattva, which it is incumbent on every Buddhist to cultivate. Probably the favourite Mahāyāna text in Tibet is the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*[57], a text on the *pāramitā* which may well be the noblest and most impressive account of Buddhist ethics ever composed.

What about the Vajrayāna, Buddhist tantra? Tantra was a movement common to all Indian religious traditions. Direct evidence for it hardly goes back further than the middle of the first millennium A.D., but its roots are evidently in shamanism and possession cults. In Tantra, the practitioner identifies with deities and hence acquires their power. This is clearly based on possession. The tantric is initiated by the teacher, and in this initiation the teacher puts his own soul, which is identified with the deity, inside the

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[53] XXIV, verses 10-12.

[54] XXIV, verse 19.

[55] II, verses 94, 96, 97.

[56] *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., 1967.

[57] Peter ROBERTS, personal communication, confirmed by SAMUEL, *op. cit.*, p.394.

pupil.[58] In one school, immediately after initiation the pupil undertakes an observance to achieve mastery of the *mantra* he has been given, and concludes it by asking Bhairava, a form of Śiva, to enter his body. "Open your mouth", says Bhairava and goes in with all his retinue.[59]

Tantra originates as the cult and cultivation of power. In Tantric theology, a god's power is personified as his wife, his *śakti*. *Śakti* in Sanskrit means power, potency, potentiality. Every god has a *śakti*, but the *śakti* par excellence is the wife of Śiva. Her devotees are called Śāktas. Similarly, the tantric tradition par excellence is the cult of Śiva and Śakti.

Early shamanism was amoral, completely unethicised. Under the influence of brahminical norms tantra developed an antinomian side and strength was acquired through a cult of impurity, for example the ingestion of impure bodily substances. Tantra also developed into a soteriology: its practice could be used for worldly power or diverted to deliver salvation instead. Since salvation consisted in total identification with the supreme God, this soteriology retained a clear connection with its shamanic roots.

Tantra offers a stark contrast to the features of Buddhism I have been stressing. The same practices can be used for secular or religious ends by the same practitioners. As mentioned above, Hinduism is not completely ethicised, and tantric magic may be black or white. Moreover, early Buddhism and Theravāda are about gaining self-control, and in that sense too antithetical to a cult of possession.

My colleague Alexis SANDERSON has proved that the early Buddhist tantras are based on Śaiva tantras; that the Vajrayāna is based on texts and employs practices wholly of Hindu (Śaiva-Śakta) origin. *Prima facie* this looks like massive syncretism.[60] What is left that is truly Buddhist?

SAMUEL divides the Tibetan religious field into three complexes: what he calls "the ancient matrix" of indigenous shamanism; Vajrayāna or "shamanic Buddhism"; and "clerical Buddhism". Of Vajrayāna he writes:

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[58] "Soul" = *jīva*.

[59] I am grateful for this reference to Prof. Alexis SANDERSON. I have slightly simplified what he wrote to me: " ... the initiated Sādhaka asks Bhairava to enter him (*praviśa mama vigraham*) at the completion of his *vidyāvratam*, the observance that a Sādhaka undertakes immediately after his initiation and consecration in order to achieve mastery of the *mantra* received in that initiation (*mantra-siddhiḥ*). The passage occurs in the 21st *paṭala* (*vratapaṭala*) [of the Picumata]."

"Open your mouth" translates *vaktraṃ prasārayasva*.

[60] Tantra also introduces into Buddhism from Hinduism a new status system. In Theravāda and Mahāyāna the crucial distinction is between the ordained (monks and nuns) and the laity, and one enters the Sangha by a public ceremony after qualifying according to public criteria. In tantra, by contrast, succession is particularistic; initiation is secret, or at least private, and passes from teacher to pupil, so that in contrast to the universal Sangha there are any number of tantric lineages. The Tibetans have both systems. See Heinz BECHERT and Richard GOMBRICH (edd.), *The World of Buddhism*, Thames and Hudson, London and New York, 1984, p. 14.

"A Tibetan lama ... will normally describe it ... as a technique for attaining Enlightenment or Buddhahood. The spiritual power generated by Vajrayāna practice and used for the benefit of the lama's lay following is a by-product. If lamas employ the power of Vajrayāna ritual for the benefit of their lay followers, this is held to be an expression of their compassion or their skill in means, a way of drawing their followers on towards the ultimate goal of liberation from suffering ..."[61]

In a word, Vajrayāna has been ethicised. That is why it is identifiably Buddhist, and separable from the shamanism of folk religion. SAMUEL calls the Tibetans "Civilized Shamans". They are civilized by Buddhism, and civilized not because of the great intellectual tradition behind a few scholars but because, as Buddhists, they are thoroughly ethicised.

Even if he did not express it in identical terms, I think the same conclusion has already been reached by the late Stan MUMFORD.[62] In his brilliant account of the interaction between Tibetan Nying-ma Buddhists and Gurung shamans in Gyasumdo, a remote region of Nepal near the Tibetan border, he explains how the Tibetan lamas see their involvement in worldly rituals. He first (p. 27) quotes Atiśa (982–1055), who revived Buddhism in Tibet in the eleventh century:

"In that they are Inferior, or Mediocre or Superior, persons should be understood as three:

1. One who by every means he finds seeks but the pleasure of samsara and cares but for himself alone, that one is known as the Inferior Person.
2. One who puts life's pleasures behind and turns himself from deeds of sin, yet cares only about his own peace, that person should be called Mediocre.
3. One who wholly seeks a complete end to the entire suffering of others because their suffering belongs to his own consciousness stream, that person is a Superior."[63]

On this MUMFORD comments (p. 28):

"The lamas' ritual sequence thus becomes a means by which persons may be brought gradually from the inferior condition into the second and then into the third type, by stages. It is a process of transmutation in so far as first-type motivations are acknowledged as valid worldly concern that must be ritually addressed and then incorporated into the higher levels. Tibetan rituals can thus serve functions of abundance, protection, and healing as they do in the shamanic

[61] *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

[62] Stan Royal MUMFORD, *Himalayan Dialogue: Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1989.

[63] Quoted from Atiśa, trans. R. SHERBURNE, *A Lamp for the Enlightenment Path and Commentary*, Allen and Unwin, Winchester, 1983, p. 5. Note that exactly the same classification is to be found in the *Visuddhi-magga* (ed. KOSAMBI, Harvard Oriental Series, p. 12 = book 1, para. 33) by the Theravādin Buddhaghosa.

system, but for the lamas these mundane needs are not the final ends served. Ritual practice becomes an occasion for introducing higher human purposes ... The Gyasumdo lamas are quite explicit in defining their rites as having higher teaching functions, and even classify certain rituals, such as demon exorcism and the death rite, as being particularly useful for this end."

Doctrine and Poetry
Śivasvāmin's Essentials of Buddhism
Text and Translation of Canto xx of His *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*[*]

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Śivasvāmin's *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*[1] has so far not been given much attention[2], which is not surprising given the poor quality of the published text.[3] Any attempt at a complete or partial translation of this challenging *mahākāvya* has to be based on a careful study of the new material which has recently become accessible through the work of the *Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*[4] (NGMPP) and a Japanese publication[5]. Well-founded rumour has it that two more palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* have survived the unfortunate events of the recent history of Tibet. However, no one familiar with the actual conditions in this poor country can nourish the unrealistic hope that the permission to study them will be granted to any serious student of the work in the near future.

For those not familiar with the manuscript material of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* I would like to summarize the basic facts. GAURI SHANKAR's *editio princeps* is based on three manuscripts: M, M3 and N. M and M3 are in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library (GOML) in Madras whereas N

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1 For the reprint of the *editio princeps* of this work (Lahore 1937) see: *Śivasvāmin's Kapphiṇābhyudaya. The Exaltation of King Kapphiṇa*. Ed. with an introduction by GAURI SHANKAR, with an appendix and romanized version of cantos i–viii and xix by Michael HAHN. Delhi: Aditya Prakashan 1989, 432 pp.

2 In addition to the four publications mentioned on pp. iii (footnote 2) and vi of the appendix to the reprint there is only one paper by the present writer: "Śivasvāmins Kapphiṇābhyudaya". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement VIII, XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 23. bis 29. September 1988 in Köln, Ausgewählte Vorträge*, hrsg. von Werner DIEM und Abdoldjavad FALATURI, Wiesbaden, 1990, pp. 459–70.

3 This is not to be taken as a criticism of the abilities of the first editor of the work but only of the poor material on which he had to base his edition. For more details cf. the "Appendix" of the reprint mentioned in footnote 1, § 7, pp. xiii–xix.

4 For the details see the descriptions of the manuscripts N and N2 below.

5 For the details see the description of the manuscript N below.

belongs to the collections of the National Archives of HMG Department of Archeology, Kathmandu.

M [shelf-mark: 11460] is a palm-leaf manuscript of 91 pages in Uṛiyā characters. It is complete as a manuscript, but not as far as the the text is concerned: it contains 522 stanzas less than N.[6] This is the only manuscript which could be studied by GAURI SHANKAR in its original form.[7] In December 1994 I was permitted to see M and found that it is still complete and in perfect condition.[8]

M3 [shelf-mark: 11461] is the Devanāgarī transcript of a palm-leaf manuscript in Uṛiyā characters from the Muktimaṇḍapa Library of the Jagannātha Temple in Puri, Orissa. Through the good offices of Prof. emeritus Dr. Kunjunni Raja, honorary director of the Adyar Library, I could get a photostat of M3 a few years ago. Its readings are not fully in accordance with those reported by GAURI SHANKAR who could use neither the original manuscript nor the Devanāgarī transcript but only a transcript of the latter, then belonging to Prof. F. W. THOMAS. As for the text, M3 is of poorer quality than M. Moreover it has 111 stanzas less than M.

N is a fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript which now belongs to the collections of the National Archives, Kathmandu. It bears the shelf-mark *ca* 213, *vi kāvyam*, and was microfilmed by the NGMPP under reel number A 24/12. Only 34 of the 55 folios of which it originally consisted are still preserved in Kathmandu. GAURI SHANKAR could not use this original manuscript either but only a Devanāgarī transcript which was sent to him by the then owner of N, Rājaguru Hemarāja Paṇḍita.[9]

In 1987 I discovered that 17 of the 21 missing folios of N are still available in the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the Ryukoku Library, Kyoto. This discovery led to the reprint of GAURI SHANKAR's *editio princeps* in 1989, appended by the revised text of cantos i–viii and xix. The 17 folios from Kyoto (which are unfortunately partially damaged) were meanwhile reproduced in a facsimile edition.[10]

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[6] The 520 stanzas which GAURI SHANKAR lists on p. v of his introduction plus the two stanzas iv.30 and vii.30 which are available only in the Japanese portion of N. Cf. p. xxv of my "Appendix".

[7] Two transcripts of this manuscript are in the GOML Madras: one in Telugu characters [shelf-mark: 11462], the other in Devanāgarī [shelf-mark: 11463], done from the Telugu transcript. With M available, they can be neglected.

[8] In the meantime it has been microfilmed by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.

[9] I do not know the present whereabouts of this transcript. It was no longer with GAURI SHANKAR when I visited him in 1989 and 1991 in Delhi. There are at least two more Devanāgarī transcripts of N. One is in the National Archives, Kathmandu [shelf-mark: *pa* 3155, *vi kāvyam* 30] and was microfilmed by the NGMPP under reel number A 377/9. The other one is in the *Institut de civilisation indienne*: Collection Sylvain Lévi No. 26.

[10] *Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Buddhist Sūtras from Nepal*, ed. by Taijun INOKUCHI, Kyoto 1990 (Facsimile Series of Rare Texts in the Library of the Ryukoku University. 9.), pp. 328–336.

N2 is a second palm-leaf manuscript from the National Archives. It consists of 113 folios and bears the shelf-mark *ca* 1668, *vi kāvyam* 3. Its date is given as *saṃvat* 648 = 1528 AD and it was microfilmed by the NGMPP under reel number B 18/14. It was copied from N when N was still complete.

In the years following the publication of the reprint of the *editio princeps* I have tried, as painstakingly as possible, to establish the text of the work as it is preserved in N and to include in my transcript all the precious hints of the scribe of N. Although I have already described his marking system in the appendix to the reprint,[11] further studies of N convinced me that its value can hardly be overestimated. A diplomatic transcript of all the 51 extant leaves of N, preserving all the information given by the scribe of N and accompanied by a facsimile reproduction of the two parts of N, would indeed be the ideal first step towards a new critical edition of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* and also an indispensable primary source for any future student of the work.[12]

As I have already indicated earlier, I think that the second edition of Śivasvāmin's text should be accompanied either by a full translation or at least by a very detailed commentary. Any other solution would be unfair to the reader. However, without the discovery of a classical commentary I believe that cantos vi (the *yamaka* canto), xviii (the *citrakāvya* canto) and xix (the bilingual canto) will resist the efforts of a single editor/translator and – eventually – yield only to the combined efforts of generations of specialists. For the time being, though, they have to be excluded from the project of a complete translation. My own provisional translation of the cantos i through v, vii through xiii and xx, done between 1988 and 1993, has convinced me that the task to translate the remaining seventeen cantos is not a hopeless one, albeit requiring a great amount of diligence and patience, and an extensive reading of related texts.

The present paper attempts to illustrate what the task would entail by presenting the translation of a full canto. In the introduction to his edition of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* GAURI SHANKAR has provided us with the translations of 50 complete and 38 incomplete stanzas taken from all but two cantos (xvii and xix) of the work. Despite its merit, it does not enable us to recognize (and appreciate) the coherent structure of a canto as a whole. It has to be admitted that with the many unclear or defective portions in his manuscripts GAURI SHANKAR had no other alternative. Since 1985 we do have the English rendering of a whole canto in George GIBBONS' paper "A Translation of

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[11] pp. xix–xxi.

[12] In October 1995 I had the opportunity to study the Ryukoku Ms. in Kyoto and to prepare a diplomatic transcript of its 17 leaves, to be published in a journal edited by the Ryukoku University.

canto xx of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya."[13] This first attempt to render a whole canto into a modern language has to be judged mildly because it would be unfair to be harsh. As can be seen from my critical apparatus, especially the two sets of variant readings, the text as printed in GAURI SHANKAR's book is marred by several gaps, by unclear and faulty passages which makes the task of translation formidable, even for a specialist. GIBBONS' translation, on the other hand, makes it evident that he is unexperienced in the *mahākāvya* genre, so that for him the task became almost hopeless. Nevertheless, he grasped the general idea of the canto correctly and several stanzas are reproduced accurately in a readable translation.

The first draft of my translation was written in Canada in 1991 when I got a copy of the book containing GIBBONS' version. Only thereafter was I able to consult N and establish a more reliable text. My colleagues and friends Prof. emeritus Dr. Wilhelm RAU and Dr. Sarveshvara Sharma PERI were so kind as to read an improved version of the translation and make a few very valuable suggestions. In the summer-term of 1993 cantos xi and xx were read and discussed in a class on the *mahākāvya* genre in Marburg, Germany. I greatly benefitted from the critical questions of my students and also from the comments of my friend and colleague Prof. Dr. Kameshwar Nath MISHRA (Sarnath) who at that time was in Marburg as a DAAD fellow. Finally Prof. Alexis SANDERSON (Oxford) greatly obliged me by reading the third revision of the translation at the end of 1993 and cracking some of the hardest nuts. Without all this help I am afraid several awkward blunders would have remained in my translation.

As for the contents of canto xx presented here, it is both simple and elaborate at the same time. King Kapphiṇa who had set out to invade and conquer the realm of King Prasenajit of Kosala is defeated in the decisive battle because of the assistance the Buddha had extended to Prasenajit (canto xviii). Impressed by the miraculous power of the Buddha, King Kapphiṇa praises him in two languages simultaneously (canto xix). Stanzas 1-10 of canto xx describe the reaction of the Buddha to this eulogy. In the next twelve stanzas (11-22) the Buddha summarizes the essentials of his doctrine. Thereupon King Kapphiṇa requests the Buddha for permission to become a monk and his disciple (24-28). The Buddha, however, recommends that he fulfil his wordly duties and then disappears (30-40). King Kapphiṇa accepts this advise and returns to his capital Līlāvatī where he keeps his faith in the Buddha's teaching (41-42). Stanzas 43-45 contain the concluding section of the poem.

As has already been observed by GAURI SHANKAR and GIBBONS, it is in this canto that Śivasvāmin most closely follows his source, legend lxxxviii of the *Avadānaśataka*. All the preceding cantos are more or less oriented to-

[13] *New Paths in Buddhist Research*, ed. by Anthony K. WARDER, Durham 1985, pp. 1-8.

wards the requirements of a *mahākāvya*. Some portions of this canto (stanzas 15–17, 19) directly refer to passages in the *Avadānaśataka*, while in others ideas similar to those in Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* or in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* occur. I cannot dwell here further on the poetical and doctrinal structures of this canto and how they are interwoven. It has to be left to the reader to detect and enjoy them for himself. Like many of his predecessors, Śivasvāmin takes great pleasure in transforming important canonical utterings of the Buddha into a most elegant and refined *kāvya* style. I would like to single out his presentation of the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula in two solemn Śālinī stanzas (15 and 16) in which several members of this formula are ingeniously used twice: once in their technical meaning, once in their ordinary meaning: *vidyād avidyām*; *tanyetâsya sparśataḥ sparśa-sattā*; *sparśâvedyā vedanā*; *tṛṣṇā sôpādāna-sattā-nidānam*, *janmôpādānād bhāvo 'py ādadānaḥ sūte jātiṃ* etc. In other parts of the Buddha's speech beautiful *yamakas* and *anuprāsas* enhance the weight of his statement rather then distract from it.

The Sanskrit text presented here basically represents the manuscript N whose superiority has been described and illustrated in the appendix to the reprint. In canto xx I have not found a single case where M or M3 represent a genuine independent recension. N2 is mentioned only where N is broken off, illegible or ambiguous. For the sake of completeness I have added two sets of variant readings, the first containing those of N2 in full detail, the second all the variant readings of GAURI SHANKAR's text plus his critical apparatus. From these apparatuses two things can be seen: N2 hardly contains a single reading which deserves serious consideration; and only seventeen stanzas (out of a total of 45) of GAURI SHANKAR's edition offer a completely correct text: 1–5, 8–9, 16, 25–27, 29, 31, 35, 38, 40–41. Four stanzas contain minor mistakes (10b, 19c, v.l. ad 24a, 45a) and twenty-four are marred by more serious mistakes which in most cases render the original meaning unintelligible (6ab, 7d, 11b, 12d, 13c, 14ac, 15ab, 17bcd, 18abcd, 20bcd, 21bd, 22bd, 23a, 28bd, 30d, 32c, 33abc, 34d, 36ab, 37ac, 39cd, 42bd, 43cd, 44a). For the symbols and abbreviations used here refer to the table on p. 100 of the "Appendix" to the reprint.

XX. *Abhyudayalābhaḥ*

arcā-carcāṃ cāṭu-caryābhi(53b 2)*r uccaiḥ*
kṛtvêty āji-jyāni-janyāṃ jinasya |
ājñā-dākṣyād dākṣiṇātye kṣitīśe
prahvī-bhūte śākhinîvânilena | 1 ||

Having completed the recitation of (stanzas
expressing) the worship of the Victorious One[14]
which had been done in an extremely sweet manner[15]
and which was occasioned by the cessation of hostilities,
the southern king, Kapphiṇa, bent down humbly
because of the skill of the (Buddha's) command,
like a tree under the influence of the wind.[16]

tat-sainyeṣu prāg iva prākaṭeṣv apy
ojo-rūḍhair ūḍha-sampatsu satsu |
bauddhyā ga(3)*cchatsûgram antardhim ṛddhyā*
bradhna-jyotir-bṛṃhayêva graheṣu || 2 ||

His army, which, although consisting of ordinary people[17],
had formerly[18] exhibited excellence
by its development of strength
(now) became completely invisible
by the miraculous power of the Buddha,
like the planets, (which, although (?) publicly visible,
had formerly exhibited excellence
by their development of splendour[19]
become invisible) by the power of the sun's light.

[14] *Jinasya* obviously refers to *arcācarcāṃ*, not to *ājñādākṣyād* which seems to belong to the second half of the stanza, as the parallel expression of *anilena*.

[15] Or: loudly in (various) flattering manners.

[16] The first ten stanzas form a so-called *kulaka*, i.e., one coherent sentence split up into minor grammatical units, the individual stanzas. They have been translated as independent sentences.

[17] *prākaṭa* is attested only in BHS as "vulgar, low, common (for *prākṛta*)" (BHSD). Here, however, it seems to be a variant of *prakaṭa*.

[18] *prāg iva* seems to be a variant of *prāg eva* "formerly".

[19] *rūḍhair* in *ojo-rūḍhair* has to be a substantive since there is no other word it refers to. It qualifies the following expression °*ūḍhasampatsu*. There are two possibilities of interpreting *rūḍha-* as a substantive. First, we may take *rūḍha-* as a synonym of *jāta-* in all its possible meanings and functions, e.g., as a neuter noun meaning "kind, sort, class, species, a collection of things forming a class". *ojo-rūḍhair* would then mean "by all kinds of strength". Second, in accordance with the rule *bhāve ktaḥ*, we may take *rūḍha-* as a synonym of *roha-* or *rūḍhi-*. I have translated the latter possibility.

spṛṣṭvā spandaṃ saugataiḥ prātihāryaiḥ
śrāvastīya-kṣmāpater vāhinīṣu |
varṣā-varṣa-prāpta-pūra-plavābhiḥ
samyak sāmyaṃ ni(4)mnagābhir gatāsu ‖ 3 ‖

The armies of Prasenajit, the king of Śrāvastī,
experienced a vibrant feeling
because of the miraculous deeds of the Buddha,
and (herein) they became quite similar to rivers
swelling from the floods on account of the monsoon rain.

mauli-śliṣṭâkliṣṭa-sevâñjalīnām
uṣṇaṃ pūṣṇo muṣṇatāṃ saṃhatatvāt |
siñcaty uccaiś cakrake khecarāṇāṃ
dharmyaṃ dharma-svāminaṃ puṣpa-vṛṣṭyā ‖ 4 ‖

A circle[20] of celestial beings showered the Buddha,
the rightful master of the Dharma, with a rain of flowers;
their hands, folded in unwearied (undefiled) worship,
touched the crowns of their heads;
because they were densely crowded together
they warded off the heat of the sun.

ārta-trāsa-dhvānta-(5)bheda-prabhātaṃ
saṃdhyâmbhodābhyujjihānêndu-bhaṅgyā |
tāmra-snigdhaṃ lakṣma-lakṣmī-praśastaṃ
hastaṃ kāṣāyâmbarâgrād udasya ‖ 5 ‖

From the seams of his ochre robe
(the Buddha) raised his hand
which was copper-red and gently shining,
blessed by the beauty of its auspicious marks[21],
and similar to the dawn which dispels the darkness,
the fear of those in distress;
it resembled the moon,
copper-red and gently shining,
praiseworthy by the beauty of its characteristic spots,
(causing) a dawn which dispels the darkness
and the fear of those in distress
when rising through the clouds of the evening twilight
from the peak of the ochre vault of the sky.

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[20] The function of *-ka* in the unattested word *cakraka-* may imply either diminutivity or collectivity; cf. WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik* II,2 Die Nominalsuffixe, Göttingen 1954, pp. 514/5 and 529.

[21] *lakṣma* obviously refers to those three *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas* which describe the hands of great beings; cf. BHSD s.v. *lakṣaṇa*.

acchâcchābhir mukti-muktā-latābhir
hāsa-śrībhir vāk-sari(6)t-sārasībhiḥ |
varṣan vidyā-vaijayantībhir oṣṭhaṃ
madhye medhā-kaumudī-candrikābhiḥ | 6 ||

He inundated his lips at their centre
with the beauty of his smile, clear as crystal[22],
adorned with a necklace of pearls, liberation;
with white female cranes at the river, his eloquence;
with the white banners, his knowledge;
and with the white splendour of the moonshine, his intelligence.

kāṣāyâṃśu-śrībhir ālohinībhis
tattva-jyotir-bhā-sabhā-saṃnibhābhiḥ[23] |
vṛddhe vargasyôpa(7)sargasya sarge
śāntyai kṛtvêvâji-nīrājanêjyām || 7 ||

With the reddish splendour of his ochre robe
which resembled an accumulation of the lustre of the light of truth[24]
he performed, as it were, the sacrifice
of the lustration of arms for the sake of peace
when the advance of the masses of afflictions had increased.[25]

kālindy-ambho-veṇikâliṅgitâṅga-
tvaṅgad-gaṅgā-bhaṅga-bhaṅgī-samānām |
bibhrāṇo bhrū-mañjarī-kānti-kīrṇām
ūrṇām arṇaḥ-śīkarô(8)dgāra-gaurīm[26] | 8 ||

The circle of his hair between the eyebrows (*ūrṇā*),
covered by the radiant beauty of his tendril-like eyebrows,
resembled the breaking of the billowing waves of the Ganges
which were partly embraced by the braid-like water of the Yamunā
and white like the outburst of the fine water of a stream.

śāntaiḥ kāntair dīpti-vaidagdhya-digdhaiḥ
snigdha-snigdhair mugdha-mugdhair adugdhaiḥ |

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[22] *acchâccha-* can, of course, also be interpreted as an Āmreḍita compound: "very clear".

[23] *sabhā* is inserted in the lower margin in N; mark of omission in the main text.

[24] *bhā-sabhā* seems to be only a synonym of *tārā-gaṇa* "a multitude of stars".

[25] There is a possible alternative translation of the last line: "when the creation of the misfortune of the society had increased" (MISHRA). However, this is much less likely in the context of the stanza. I think that Śivasvāmin speaks about the afflictions caused by the fighting.

[26] *°m arṇaḥ°* is omitted in the main text. It was obviously inserted in the lower margin in N (now broken off); mark of omission in the main text. N2 reads *ūrṇṇām arṇṇaḥśīkaro°*.

dṛṣṭair iṣṭair vigrahiṇyā vimukter
āvartyêvôdagram agre 'vatāram | 9 ‖

By his glances which were peaceful, pleasant,
permeated with brightness and skill (sharpness)[27],
affectionate like a friend and charming like innocent youths[28],
unexhausted[29] and dear, he caused, as it were,
a noble descent of liberation in physical form before (them).[30]

preddhāṃ rāddhāṃ rundhatīm andha(54a)*kāraṃ*
śastāṃ śāstâstikya-vastv-eka-vāstu |
bhadrāṃ bhāsvān bhām ivâbhyetya tuṅgāṃ
gāṃ gāmbhīryôdgāriṇīm ujjagāra | 10 ‖

Shining as if he had become a blazing light,
fortunate, dispelling the darkness, praiseworthy and good,
Buddha, the teacher, uttered a lofty speech full of profundity
which was exciting, pleasant, excellent,
and dispelling the darkness (of ignorance),
the only abode of the topics
of faith in the fruits of religious life (*āstikya*).[31]

sādho sādhu tvaṃ pṛthaṅ māna-doṣād
eṣo 'smy asmad-bhakti-saṃtuṣṭa-tuṣṭaḥ |
bhā(2)*gī*[32] *bhūter āyatau tvaṃ hi*[33] *yasyāḥ*
paśyāmy asyāḥ śyāmikāṃ vṛttim etām | 11 ‖

"O good man, in a good manner you are free of the fault of arrogance.
As for me, I am pleased by those who are content with worshipping me.
I see (this as) that spotted form of life
of that prosperity which you will enjoy in future.[34]

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[27] *dīpti-vaidagdhya°* can be both a Dvandva and a Tatpuruṣa compound. I prefer the first possibility.

[28] I believe that *snigdha-snigdhaiḥ* and *mugdha-mugdhair* are rather Karmadhāraya compounds than Āmreḍita compounds because the repetition of two Āmreḍita compounds can hardly be justified from the poetical point of view. Cf. also *acchâcchābhir* in stanza 20.6 which allows for two interpretations.

[29] This is only a tentative translation of *adugdhaiḥ*.

[30] Or "(at) first"?

[31] For this translation of the term *āstikya-* I am indebted to Prof. Alexis SANDERSON, Oxford. Cf. the definitions of *astitā-* and *nāstitā-* in Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* i.43 and 44: *nāstitādṛṣṭiḥ phalaṃ nāstîti karmaṇām* | *apuṇyāpāyikī caiṣā mithyādṛṣṭir iti smṛtā* | 43 | and *samāsād astitādṛṣṭiḥ phalaṃ cāstîti karmaṇām* | *puṇyā sugatiniṣyandā samyagdṛṣṭir iti smṛtā* | 44 ‖.

[32] | *bhā°* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[33] *hi* is added to in the upper margin in N; mark of omission in the main text. N2 reads *tu*!

[34] N clearly separates *sādhu tvam!* – The meaning of the stanza in its present translation is neither very clear nor coherent, especially for the exact meaning of *śyāmikāṃ vṛttim*.

arhām arhattvasya manye tavâmūṃ
mūrtiṃ martyo 'smīti mā mānya maṃsthāḥ |
śrīmattāṃ tāṃ vakṣyato mokṣa-gantrīṃ
gantrī[35] (3) *bhaṅgaṃ rājatā rājate kim* | 12 ||

I think that this body of yours deserves the status of an arhat.
Worthy one, do not think that you are an (ordinary) mortal being!
Does sovereignty which is bound to be destroyed shine for him
who will possess that splendour which leads to liberation?

bhuktvâpy uccair yām asaṃsṛpta-tṛptir[36]
bhraśyaty[37] *ante 'tyanta-sāṃkarya-kāryaḥ*[38] |
nirvāṇânnaṃ svādu muktvā manasvī
pūrvôcchiṣṭāṃ kaḥ śriyaṃ tāṃ pratīpset || 13 ||

Which sensible being would abandon the sweet food 'nirvāṇa'
and long for that kind of prosperity, tasted earlier and left unfinished,
which does not yield satisfaction, even after enjoying it intensively,
and on account of which one will eventually fall down,[39]
one's own deeds marked by excessive confusion?

yebhyo lubhyaṃ(4)*l*[40] *labhyam artham pratīyāt*
te 'pi skandhāḥ saṃnirodhânubandhāḥ |[41]
sāpāyenâpāyi vastv āharet kaḥ
kalyāṇibhyaḥ projjhya lobhaṃ pathibhyaḥ | 14 ||

Even those groups result in complete obstruction
longing for which one reaches an attainable object.
Who would give up his longing for wholesome paths
and in a dangerous manner turn to a dangerous thing?[42]

saṃskārāṇāṃ sthāma vidyād avidyāṃ
saṃ(5)*vittyai*[43] *te nāma-rūpāya sâlam* |
rūpaṃ tasmād eti ṣāḍāyatanyaṃ
tanyetâsya sparśataḥ sparśa-sattā | 15 ||

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[35] *ntrī* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[36] *tṛpti* is inserted in the upper margin in N; mark of omission in the main text.

[37] *bhraṣyaty* N, N2. Read *bhraśyaty*, as in GS!

[38] *'tyanta* is inserted in the upper margin in N; mark of omission in the main text.

[39] *bhraśyaty* is, of course, present tense.

[40] *lubhya(ṃ)* is broken off in N; *lubhyan nabhya°* N2.

[41] The daṇḍa is omitted in N, but available in N2.

[42] "Who would give up greed and in spite of danger bring a finite object from his travels for gracious ladies?" (GIBBONS) This is an illustration of what kind of speculations a faulty text (*kalyāṇībhyaḥ*) might lead to.

[43] *(dy)āṃ saṃ* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

One should know that *ignorance* is the cause of the *predispositions*;
they are sufficient (to produce) *perception*
which (in turn produces) *name and form*;
therefrom arises the form which relates to *the six organs of the senses*;
from their contact (with the world) *contact* comes into being.

sparśâvedyā vedanâtaś ca tṛṣṇā
tṛṣṇā sôpādāna-sattā-nidānam[44] |
(6) *janmôpādānād bhavo 'py ādadānaḥ*
sūte jātiṃ sā jarâdyaṃ ca duḥkham | 16 ||

Sensation is to be known (as originating) from contact,
and *desire* (originates) therefrom;
this desire is the reason that *grasping* comes into being;
from grasping *being* is produced,
which (in turn produces) old age and the other forms of *sorrow*.[45]

duḥkha-skandhe sāmudāyaṃ gate 'rthaṃ
nairodhī dhīr atra siddhyai nidheyā |
unmūlyêmāṃ hetu-mālām[46] (7) *bhajed yad*[47] (?)
dhārmā sattā tasya sattā susattā || 17 ||

After the groups of sorrow have (thus) been enumerated (completely)
one should, for one's own well-being, direct on them
the notion how they can be obstructed.
After having eradicated this chain of causes
one should adhere to what is an existence based on the dharma;
its being is real ('good') being.[48]

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[44] *dāna* (in °*nidānam*) is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[45] N indicates the Sandhi in *sôpādāna*° and *janmôpādānād* by the usual tiny strokes below the akṣaras. – *janma ... ādadānaḥ* "taking birth" is a poetical circumscription of *utpadyate*!

[46] *mālām* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[47] This is my tentative emendation for *yen* (N). *yaṃ* (as a Sandhi form of *yan*) would be more likely, however the masculine form is difficult to construe. Cf. the discussion in the following footnote.

[48] In the first half of the stanza GS reads *dhīrair* i.o. *siddhyai* which is also meaningful and moreover yields a nice alliteration. The textual problems of the second half of the stanza could not be solved satisfactorily. N: (?) *bhajed yen dhārmā sattā tasya sattā susattā*. N_2: *bhajed yatvāmā satvā susattā*. N_2 omits the two words *tasya sattā*. GAURI SHANKAR has: *bhajedaṃ dharmāt sattvaṃ tasya sattā susattā*. – Stanzas 15 through 17 summarize the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula which runs as follows in *Avadānaśataka* lxxxviii: ... *yad utāvidyāpratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ* | *saṃskārapratyayaṃ vijñānam* | *vijñānapratyayaṃ nāmarūpam* | *nāmarūpapratyayaṃ ṣaḍāyatanyam* | *ṣaḍāyatanyapratyayaḥ sparśaḥ* | *sparśapratyayā vedanā* | *vedanāpratyayā tṛṣṇā* | *tṛṣṇāpratyayam upādānam* | *upādānapratyayo bhavaḥ* | *bhavapratyayā jātiḥ* | *jātipratyayā jarāmaraṇaśokaparidevaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāsāḥ saṃbhavanti* | *evaṃ asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya samudayo bhavati* | (SPEYER, vol. ii, pp. 105.16–106.4). 17cd condenses into two lines the inversion of the formula which follows in the *Avadānaśataka*. For metrical and poetical reasons *vijñānam* is replaced by *saṃvitti*. In five instances the key-term

uttāno 'yaṃ na cchidāvān na cânyaiś
channaś chinna-plotiko viplavâriḥ |
vaivṛtyenâvṛtti-kṛt suprakāśaḥ[49]
svākhyāto me sāṃkhyadharmeṣu dha(8)*rmaḥ*[50] ‖ 18 ‖

This teaching of mine is easily comprehensible,
it does not divide and it cannot be hidden by others,
it has cut the bonds and is an enemy of confusion,
by its openness it invites repeated study,
it is quite clear and is well expounded
among the doctrines based on reasoning.[51]

niṣkrāmâsmāj jālakād ārabhasva
skandha-tyāgaṃ dhāmni yujyasva bauddhe |
bhaṅgaṃ bhūbhṛt-kuñjaraḥ prāpayôgraṃ
mṛtyoḥ sainyaṃ tvaṃ naḍāgāravṛttyā | 19 ‖

Step out of this net, set out to abandon the agglomerations,
concentrate on the stage of a Buddha,
as an elephant among the kings
destroy the wild and mighty army of the god of death
in the manner (an elephant destroys) a hut made of reed![52]

yogāyâlaṃ yo 'pramādāya yo 'laṃ
yo[53] (54b) *'laṃ śāstuḥ śāsane dharmam āptum* |
sāṃkleśikyās tasya paunarbhavikyā
bhūmer bhaṅge 'dhyeti dhīpāripūriḥ ‖ 20 ‖

has determined the selection of another word: *vidyād* was selected because of *avidyāṃ*, *sparśataḥ* because of *sparśa°*, *°āvedyā* because of *vedanā*, *ādadānaḥ* because of *upādānād*, and *janma* ... *ādadānaḥ* because of *jātiṃ*.

[49] Mark of separation after *kṛt! su* or *sva* N; N2 reads *sa°*! Cf., however, the text of the *Avadānaśataka* as given in the note on the translation.

[50] *ṣu dha* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[51] Analoguous to the construction of line 3 one could also interpret *sāṃkhyadharmeṣu* as a bahuvrīhi compound and translate in the following manner: "and it is well expounded among those who adhere to philosophical doctrines". – The stanza is a transformation and expansion of the following sentence from *Avadānaśataka* lxxxviii: *svākhyāto me bhikṣavo dharma uttāno vivṛtaś chinna-plotiko yāvad deva-manuṣyebhyaḥ samyaksuprakāśitaḥ* | (*op. cit.*, p. 106.10–12).

[52] Here Śivasvāmin has reworked the following famous canonical stanza which can also be found in *Avadānaśataka* lxxxviii (*loc. cit.*, p. 105.7–8): *ārabhadhvaṃ niṣkrāmata yujyadhvaṃ buddhaśāsane* | *dhunīta mṛtyunaḥ sainyaṃ naḍāgāram iva kuñjaraḥ* ‖. The replacement of *śāsana-* (i.e., *dharma-*) by *dhāman-* seems to be intentional; cf. the usage of *bhūmi-* in stanza 20d.

[53] (')*lam yo* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

If one is able to concentrate, to be heedful,
and to attain nirvāṇa[54] in the teaching of the Buddha,
then the accomplishment of mind will take place (?)
as soon as one's sinful and rebirth-oriented
stage (of existence) has been destroyed.[55]

nityânitye 'netya nityâbhimānaṃ
bhittvânātmany ātmavān ātmavattām |
yā(2)ty[56] *ātmīyâsthām anātmīyake 'syan*
saukhyaṃ saukhya-khyāti-khānād asaukhye | 21 ||

The prudent one does not adopt the misconception of permanence
with regard to what is absolutely[57] impermanent
and (likewise) the idea of a self in something which has no self;
he discards the persistent (belief) in the idea of 'mine'
with regard to something which cannot be characterized as 'mine'
and attains happiness because (he is able to) destroy
the (wrong) notion of happiness with regard to unhappiness.[58]

śreyo 'sya syāt satya-dṛṣṭer avaśyaṃ
vaśyaṃ viśvânanda-nandī-prahāṇe |
nandī-māndyān naîti rāgo 'nurāgaṃ[59]
rā(3)ga-tyāgān muktir astânya-kāryā | 22 ||

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[54] In interpreting *dharma-* here as "nirvāṇa" I follow the suggestion of Prof. Alexis SANDERSON.

[55] In this stanza Śivasvāmin has put together words from two different passages of *Avadānaśataka* lxxxviii: ... *śraddhāpravrajitena kulaputrena alam yogāya alam apramadāya alam śāstuḥ śāsane yogam āpattum* ... (*loc. cit.*, p. 106.14–5) and *ārabdhavīryas tu sukhaṃ viharaty avyavakīrṇaḥ pāpakair akuśalair dharmaiḥ sāṃkleśikaiḥ paunarbhavikaiḥ sajvarair duḥkhavipākair āyatyāṃ jātijarāmaraṇīyakair mahataś cārthasya pāripūrir bhavati* | (*loc. cit.*, p. 107.5–6). The usage of *adhi-i* "to turn the mind towards, observe, understand; to know, know by heart; to go over, study" in this context is strange. The parallel passage quoted above makes it quite clear that the verb form is nothing but a more sophisticated expression for *bhavati* in the *Avadānaśataka* and that is has to mean something like "takes place, comes into being". Therefore the reading of GS, *abhyeti*, makes much more sense. It is very strange that the faulty mss. used by GAURI SHANKAR should have preserved the correct reading in a place where N is wrong. Very reluctantly I translate *'dhyeti* as if it were *'bhyeti*.

[56] | *yā* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[57] Literally: 'permanently' (because of the linguistic pun).

[58] *ātmīya-* "belong to a self" is certainly nothing but a circumscription of *mama*, motivated by poetical reasons.

[59] *gaṃ rā* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

He who sees the truth will necessarily attain that bliss
which has the power[60] to abandon the joy in all forms of pleasure.
Because of the cessation of joy passion will not become attached (to him)
and from the abandonment of passion results liberation
in which all other commitments cease to exist."

ity āvṛttiṃ śāstari srasta-vācye
vācām uccair ūciṣi cyāvitārtim |
proce rājā jāta-citta-prasādo
dīkṣā-dākṣye dakṣiṇo dākṣiṇā(4)tyaḥ[61] | 23 ||

After the teacher who is free of all blemishes
had loudly spoken this series of words which remove anguish
Kapphiṇa, the southern king, an expert in the skill of dedication,
answered, his mind completely purified:

adyôdīrṇaṃ dīrṇam āndhyaṃ mamâkṣṇor
adyâkasmād asmi supta-prabuddhaḥ |
ābhir bhartur bhāratībhis tavâhaṃ
magno magnaḥ samyag abhyuddhṛto 'dya || 24 ||

"Now the intense darkness that afflicted my eyes has been dispelled,
now I have suddenly woken up from my sleep.
By these your eloquent words, o Master,
I who had again and again sunk into deepest misfortune
have now been completely elevated.[62]

tityakṣāmi[63] *kṣema-rakṣī*[64] (5) *titikṣur*
bhogīvâṅgāt kañcukaṃ bhoga-jālam |
kṣāma-kṣāme me 'tra gātre 'grya-gotra
pravrajyâjyaṃ prājyam ukṣer mumukṣoḥ | 25 ||

With forbearance and intent on my well-being
I wish to abandon the mass of enjoyments
like a snake sloughing off the old skin from its body.[65]
O High-born One, may you sprinkle

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[60] Here I have to assume the so far unattested meaning "capable, able" for *vaśya* instead of its usual meaning "capable of being subdued, controllable, governable".

[61] *ṇā* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[62] The uncompounded form *magno magnaḥ* is remarkable in view of *snigdha-snigdhair* and *mugdha-mugdhair* in 9b) and *kṣāma-kṣāme* in 25c), however this may be due to metrical requirements.

[63] Both N and N2 read *tityakṣyāmi*. For grammatical as well as euphonic reasons we have to emend this as *tityakṣāmi*.

[64] *kṣī* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[65] Most likely *bhoga-jālam* should be translated a second time, as an attribute of *kañcukaṃ*: "... sloughing off from its body an old skin which contains the net of its hood".

the abundant ghee-offering of taking the robe
on this completely scorched body of mine,
I who am desirous of liberation.

āpṛcche kṣmāṃ rakṣaṇīyā kṣamā me
jyok tejobhyaḥ śāntir abhye(6)*tu*[66] *sādhvī* |
bhikṣaîvâstu svasti lakṣmyai tadā tvaṃ[67]
seve 'raṇyāny añjaliḥ sadmane 'yam | 26 ||

I bid farewell to the earth. I have to protect my forbearance.
May noble tranquility instead of majesty approach me for a long time!
Alms alone will be my welfare.
You then will be (responsible for my) happiness.
I will turn to the forests. These folded hands are for my palace.[68]

labdhvā dṛbdhiṃ tvat-praṇāmâñjalīnāṃ
maulir mauli-śrī-spṛhāṃ muñcatāṃ me |
runddhāṃ sa(7)*mdhyêvôjjvalaîṣā*[69] *pradoṣaṃ*
kāṣāya-śrīr drāg dukūlâdaraṃ ca | 27 ||

Having felt the arrangement of my hands
which are repeatedly folded in worshipping you
may my head abandon the longing for the splendour of a crown.
May the beauty of my ochre robe instantly stop
my faults and my regard for silk-garments,
as the brilliant evening twilight holds off the onset of the night.[70]

saṃvid-varmā smṛtyupasthāna-śastro
yogyaṃ yugyaṃ[71] *prāpya samyakprahāṇam* |
āryâṣṭâṅgôttuṅga-mārgâgra-sainyaḥ
kliśnan kleśā(8)*rīn*[72] *navo 'smy adya rājā* | 28 ||

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[66] *bhye* is brokeo off io N, but available in N2. — *ti* corrected as *tu* in N, *abhyeti* N2.

[67] Single mark of separation after *svasti*, double mark of separation after *lakṣmyai*. — No mark of separation between *tadā* and *tvaṃ*!

[68] The last two lines are difficult to understand. Prof. Alexis SANDERSON suggests reading *tadā tvāṃ* and translating "Then alms alone shall provide my livelihood. You I shall serve. The forests will be my home. Behold, I join my hands [in obeisance]." Another possibility would be also to split *svasti-lakṣmyai* ioto two words: "Alms alone will be my welfare. You then will be (responsible for my) happiness." I prefer this solution. — *añjaliḥ sadmane 'yam* "These folded hands are for my seat" seems to be a circumscription for "I bid farewell to my seat, i.e., my palace."

[69] *(ddh)āṃ sa* is broken off io N, but available in N2.

[70] One would expect a second meaning for *dukūlâdaraṃ* as something which is warded off by the evening twilight.

[71] *yugyaṃ* is inserted in the lower margin of N; mark of omission in the main text.

[72] *śā* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

Endowed with knowledge as my armour
and application of awareness as my weapon
I have attained complete renunciation as my proper chariot.
Suppressing the enemies 'defilements'
with the noble and lofty eight-fold path as my vanguard
I am now a completely new (kind of) king."

ity abhyarthya kṣmāpatau bhikṣubhāvaṃ
buddhânujñaîka-pratīkṣe sthite 'tha |
kāla-prekṣī damya-dīkṣā-damasya
svāmī viśva-vyājahā vyājahāra | 29 ||

When with these words the king had asked to be a monk
he stood there, waiting only for the permission of the Buddha.
The master, the remover of all kinds of deceit,
knew the right time for the subduing of a novice by the act of initiation
and spoke thus:

satyaṃ satyāṃ satya-dṛṣṭau[73] (55a) *sudṛṣṭe*
pātraṃ putra tvaṃ bhṛśaṃ bhikṣu-vṛtteḥ |
kālas tv asyās te pratīkṣyaḥ kiyān apy
āyātîcchā prāpta-kālā hi siddhim | 30 ||

"As you have indeed seen the truth, you man of right views,
you are definitely worthy of the life of a monk, my son.
However, you will still have to wait for it for a little while,
for desires are successful [only] when their time is right.

ye saṃskārāḥ prāk prajā-kāryam āryāḥ
kāryaṃ sūtās te 'tra rājya-dhvajena |
teṣāṃ[74] (2) *śeṣaṃ bhadra bhuktvā phalāṃśaṃ*
smartavyo 'haṃ vidviṣāṃ kāla kāle | 31 ||

The noble predispositions (of yours)
which formerly (resulted) in the duty to be a subject
they now resulted the duty
(to be done) with the banner of royalty.
Good man, having experienced the small remaining fruition
of those [conditioned existences, i.e., the transmigrating self]
you should remember me in time,
you who are the death to your enemies!

[73] *dṛṣṭau* is broken off in N, but available in N2.

[74] The upper part of *dhvajena* | *teṣāṃ* is broken off in N. N2 clearly reads °*dhvajena* | *teṣāṃ*.

mā bhogebhyo bhaṅgurebhyaḥ prakṛtyā
mā prāṇebhyo mā śriye mā yaśobhyaḥ |
śrāddhaḥ śuddhi-śraddhayā śādhi sādho
pṛthvīṃ pṛ(3)thvī-ratna ratna-trayārthe | 32 ||

Good man, gem of the earth, rule the earth with faith
and with respect for purity for the sake of the Three Jewels,
not for enjoyments which are fickle by nature,
not for life, not for wealth, not for fame!

buddhe buddhiṃ dhatsva bodhāya bodhes
tiṣṭhāniṣṭhe bhakti-dharmeṇa dharme |
śrī-saṃghātaṃ prāpaya svārya-saṃghaṃ
drāghīyasyāḥ saṃpado hy eṣa panthāḥ || 33 ||

Apply your mind to the Buddha for the awakening of your enlightenment,
abide by the Dharma which is without foundation
by following the path of devotion,
provide (my) own noble community of monks and nuns
with plenty of wealth,
for this is the path of long-lasting glory.[75]

jāty-andho (4) *'nya-strījanāloka-laulye*
dṛśyaṃ draṣṭuṃ devavad divya-dṛṣṭiḥ |
urvīm urvīm āpya kīrtiṃ praśāsat
srastāyastir[76] *yo 'sti so 'sty asti nānyaḥ* | 34 |

He who is born blind to the lustful passion
of gazing at other men's wives,
who like a god has the divine eye
to behold what is worthy to be seen,
and who is without fatigue when he rules the earth
after having attained great fame –
that man lives, others do not.[77]

rāgo maitryāṃ dveṣapoṣaḥ pramatte
lobho dha(5)rme satya-māne 'bhimānaḥ |

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[75] I understand *aniṣṭhe dharme* as *anāśraye dharme*. For the underlying idea cf. Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* III.23 where he speaks of *rten med pa'i śes pa* = **anāśrayaṃ jñānam*. – N clearly separates *prāpaya svārya-saṃghaṃ*, "(my) own noble community of monks and nuns".

[76] *strastāyastir* N, *śrastā°* N2, *srastāpattir* GS.

[77] It is noteworthy – to say the least – that Śivasvāmin here uses the epic or Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit form *āpya* instead of *āptvā*. This irregular form can also be found in iv.20, vii.40, viii.41, x.33, xi.3, xvii.38b and xviii.16a. This formation is mentioned neither in Adolf HOLTZMANN, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*. Ein Anhang zu William Dwight Whitney's Indischer Grammatik, Leipzig 1884 (cf. his additions to § 990) nor in Franklin EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. I: Grammar, New Haven 1953, § 35.9.

yeṣām ete teṣu bhānty eva bhāvāḥ
sthānâveśenêha doṣo 'py adoṣaḥ ‖ 35 ‖

Their passion is directed towards love,
they nurture hatred (only) towards the careless,[78]
their greed towards the dharma,
their pride towards honouring truth –
for all these people in whom only such feelings shine
even a fault here loses its quality as a fault
because it is devoted to a worthy object.

yasyâdattâdānam ādyaṃ nidānaṃ
prāṇāḥ prāṇi-prāṇitavyâtipātaḥ |
rakṣā kā(6)maṃ kāma-mithyā-pracāras
tasmāt pāpāt te virāmo 'bhirāmaḥ ‖ 36 ‖

Taking what has not been given is its first cause,
its vitality is the breach of the right to live of living beings,
its protection is the unrestrained practice of perverse sensual pleasures –
it is pleasing that you cease from this evil.[79]

kṛtvânyāsāṃ sparśa-mātraṃ kriyāṇāṃ
yaḥ puṣṇāti prematah puṇya-pālīm |
sā ślāghyâśā vāsara-śrīr[80] *ivârkāt*
ta(7)smād bhedaṃ naîti lokântare 'pi ‖ 37 ‖

If somebody only touches the acts of an opposite nature
and thereafter increases the row of virtues (starting) with love,
then the prospect of fame will never be separated from him,
not even in the next world,
just as the beauty of the day will never be separated from the sun.

dharme śraddhā saṃmatiḥ satya-sāre
dāne dārḍhyaṃ sampradāyo dayāyām |
kṣāntau kṣodaḥ prema puṇye dame dṛg
yeṣām muktās te gṛhasthâśrame 'pi ‖ 38 ‖

Even in the stage of a householder those people are liberated
who have faith in the dharma, esteem for the essence of truth,
firmness in generosity, a well-established tradition in compassion,

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[78] One expects rather *pramāde* "towards carelessness" instead of *pramatte*, as already stated by GS. One could again quote the rule *bhāve ktaḥ*, however, why should Śivasvāmin have used the ambiguous form *pramatte* without any purpose? *pramāde* would also have suited the metre.

[79] Line b) is literally: "its vitality is the neglect (or transgression) of the fact that living beings should live." – Each line contains a beautiful pun: *ādāna* and *nidāna* in a), *prāṇāḥ prāṇi-prāṇitavya* in b), *kāmaṃ kāma°* in c), and *virāmo 'bhirāmaḥ* in d).

[80] N2 reads *vāsava°* i. o. *vāsara°*, N seems to read *vāsaraṃ*.

persistence in forbearance, love for meritorious deeds,
and the right view with regard to restraint.[81]

dhanvin dhinvan puṇya-pa(8)ṇyaṃ puṣāṇa
dveṣyaṃ dveṣonmeṣam uṣṇaṃ muṣāṇa |
dhī-kāluṣyaṃ kānti-koṣaṃ kuṣāṇa
śreyo hy agre dharma-nimna-kriyāṇām | 39 || (55b)

Bowman, delightfully exhibit the merchandise 'merit'
and passionately remove the despicable arising of hatred,
tear out the impurity of mind which is a storehouse of desire,
because bliss lies in front of those deeds
which are bent towards the dharma.[82]

man-māyātas te samuttīrṇam ābhiḥ
saṃgacchasva svābhir uccaiś camūbhiḥ |
itthaṃ śāstā taṃ praśāsya praśasyaṃ
bhūtôttāre tāra-bhūtis tiro 'bhūt || 40 ||

"By these (deeds bliss) has come forth for you
from my supernatural power,
join (now) with your own strong troops!"
After the master had instructed the excellent king with these words
he disappeared, exhibiting the majesty of a saviour
in rescuing the living beings.

sambuddhasyânugraha-pratyavekṣā-
pakṣa-prāpte kośale(2)śo 'pi tasmin |
poṣāyênduḥ pūṣaṇîvôpalilye
bhartur bhāvo yatra bhṛtyasya so 'dhvā || 41 ||

After he (Kapphiṇa) had joined ranks
with the favour and caring of the Fully Enlightened One,
Prasenajit, the ruler of Kośala,
also clung to (the Buddha) for his welfare
as does the moon to the sun in order to wax.
The servant's path is where the master's inclination is directed to.

ṛddhyā bauddhyā so 'tha sambhūya bhūyaḥ
svairī svaiś cānyaiś ca sainyaiḥ śivôtthaiḥ |

[81] For the meaning of *kṣodaḥ* cf. *kṣuṇṇa-* "reflected, thought over again and again". - Note the fine alliterations in all the expressions except the first.

[82] *kānti-* is to be understood here in the sense of *kāma-*.

līlāvatyām etya līlāḥ pracakre
cakre (3) *dhārme saṃgalan*[83] *maṅgalāya* | 42 ||

By the miraculous power of the Buddha he then became united again
with his own troops as well as the other troops
which are based on final beatitude, in full control of his own will.
He returned to his capital Līlāvatī and did pleasant deeds,
descending[84] (?) to the sphere of the dharma for (his own) welfare.

vidyā-śālī śīla-śobhā-subhikṣo
bhikṣv-ācāryaś candramitrâbhidho[85] *'bhūt* |
bauddhī buddhir yaṃ śritā śuddhi-sādhuṃ
saudhaṃ[86] *cāndrī candrikêvôccacāra* | 43 ||

There was a teacher, a Buddhist monk by the name of Candramitra.
He was learned and rich in the splendour of morality.
Reaching him who was noble in his purity the Buddhist wisdom rose
like the moonlight of the bright half of the month
when falling on a (white) palace.

preṣṭhād goṣṭhī-dharma-ha(4)*rmyeṇa dharmyām*
dhīman-madhye 'dhyeṣaṇāṃ prāpya tasmāt |
bhaṭṭārka-svāmy-ātmajena praṇinye
sūktiḥ sakta-śrīḥ śivasvāminêyam || 44 |

Having received the requested religious instruction from this dearest man
in the middle of learned people, Śivasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭārkasvāmin,
whose abode are learned discussions and the dharma,
composed this poem which is adorned with lasting beauty.

madhyekaśmīraṃ śuddhim āhlādakatvaṃ
prāptāt prāleya-(5)*spardhayêvâtha vṛddhim* |
kāvyāt kḷpto 'smāt kalpatāṃ puṇya-rāśiḥ
prāṇi-prāṇānāṃ prīṇanaśrīḥ śivāya | 45 ||

In the midst of Kashmir this poetic composition has attained purity,
the power of giving delight and success as if in rivalry with snow.
May the accumulation of merit which is produced from it

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[83] *saṅgalan maṅgalāya* N, *karmmaṇā maṃgalāya* N2, *sādhubhiḥ sānulāpaḥ* GS.

[84] *sam-√gal* is not attested in the Sanskrit dictionaries known to me. It once more occurs in the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, in xviii.10: *cikitsārtitayā gatyā sāda-dāyī dhṛtiṃ haran* | *śanakair ana-(ra)nyā(?)ṅge dadṛśe saṅ*[3]*galan* [no sandhi!] *gadaḥ* |. It can also be found in Rāmadāsa's *Ṭīkā* on Pravarasena's *Rāvaṇavaho* or *Setubandha*, x.34. There the compound *kesarasaumāra-saṃgalantamaūham* is explained as *kesaravat sukumārāḥ sukhasparśāḥ saṃgalantaḥ patanto mayūkhā yasya*. Both occurrences suggest "to fall down" as its meaning.

[85] *canda°* N, *caṃdra°* N2, *candra°* GS.

[86] *dhaṃ* is inserted in the upper margin in N; mark of omission in the main text.

and which marvellously gladdens the lives of living beings
grant final beatitude![87]

| *stotrāhnikāṅkasya kāśmīrakasya bhaṭṭaśrīśivasvā*(6)*minaḥ kṛtau kapphiṇābhyudaye mahākāvye śivāṅke 'bhyudayalābho nāma viṃśatimaḥ*[88] sargaḥ |

|| *samāptaṃ ca kāvyam idam* ||

This was the twentieth canto called »The Attainment of Exaltation« in the great poetical composition Kapphiṇābhyudaya which is marked by the word »final beatitude« (at the end of each canto) and which is the work of the Kashmirian Bhaṭṭaśrī Śivasvāmin known as Stotrāhnika.

And (thus) this poem is completed.

[87] That for the later Buddhists *śiva-* was a synonym of *nirvāṇa-* can be seen from Śākyarakṣita's interpretation of the compound *kāntiśivāḥ* in stanza 49c of Jñānaśrīmitra's *Vṛttamālāstuti*: *kimbhūtāḥ kāntam iṣṭam śivam nirvāṇam yeṣāṃ tathā santaḥ* |. Already much earlier *śiva* is listed as one of the synonyms of *nirvāṇa* in the *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya*; cf. Peter SKILLING's very useful paper "The synonyms of Nirvāṇa according to Prajñāvarman, Vasubandhu and Asaṅga", *Buddhist Studies Review* 11 (1994), pp. 29–49, especially Table 3 on p. 48.

[88] *viṃśatitamaḥ* N2.

Appendix

vidita-bahu-kathârthaś citra-kāvyō(7)padeṣṭā
yamaka-kavir agamyaś cāru-saṃdāna-bhāṇī |
anukṛta-raghu-kāro 'bhyasta-menṭha-pracāro
jayati kavir udāro daṇḍi-daṇḍaḥ śivāṅkaḥ ‖ 46 ‖

May the noble poet whose name is marked by śiva,
final beatitude, flourish!
He knows the meaning of many stories,
he is a teacher of figurative poetry,
an unsurpassable composer of yamakas
and master of charming concatenations.
He has emulated the composer of the Raghuvaṃśa,
he has practiced the methods of Meṇṭha and outdone Daṇḍin.

granthaḥ sahasram ekaṃ
sapta-śa(8)tāṅy adhikam adhika-dhīmadbhiḥ |
api varṇāḥ ṣaḍviṃśatir
iti gaṇitaḥ kapphiṇābhyudayaḥ ‖ 47 ‖

People of superior intelligence have calculated
the length of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya
as 1,700 granthas, units of 32 syllables,
plus 26 syllables: 54.426 syllables.[89]

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[89] For the figure which very exactly determines the size of the poem cf. the "Appendix", pp. xxv–xxxv. — The printed text has one more stanza which is given between stanzas 45 and 46:

yadvāṇī śruti-mātrakeṇa sudhiyāṃ cetaś-camatkāriṇī
yenâmudri virodhināṃ mukha-kulaṃ svôdgāra-kautūhalaiḥ |
tenâjñāna-ghanândhakāra-paṭala-prakṣepa-dīpâṅkuraṃ
vyātene kṛtināṃ kṛte sukṛtinā kāvyaṃ śivasvāminā ‖ *45a ‖

"This poem was composed for connoisseurs by the skilled poet Śivasvâmin.
His speech gladdens the mind of the learned as soon as they hear it,
and he marks the faces of his opponents with the eager desire for his utterings.
His poem is a small lamp for dispelling the masses of the dense darkness of ignorance."

Although written in the style of Śivasvâmin, the textual evidence speaks against his authorship of this stanza. Likewise, stanzas 46 and 47 seem to be composed by a different person. *śivāya* at the end of stanza 45 is obviously the end of the original composition. It is very unlikely that Śivasvâmin would have repeated this device in two more stanzas.

The variant readings of the manuscript N2 for canto xx of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya

1a *arccacarccācārucarccābhir* N2.
1b *janyā* N2.
2a *tatsainyeṣu* | N2.
2b *rūdher* N2.
2c *gacchatsugram am*[109b]*tarddhim* N2.
3a *syaṃdam* N2.
3b *patervvāva(n/m)tīṣu* N2.
4a *sevāṃjalīlām* N2.
4b *muṣṇatām sahatām saṃ*[3]*hatatvāt* N2.
4c *saṃcity uccaiś cakreke* N2.
4d *dhanyā dharmma* N2.
5a *prabhābham* N2.
5d *hasta°* N2.
6c *oṣṇaṃ* N2.
7a *kāṣāyāsu* N2.
7b *(s)tambejyotibhāsamāsaṃnabhābhiḥ* N2.
7c *baddhe vargge* N2.
7d *janārjjām* N2.
8ab *liṃgitātuṃgāṃgābhaṃgabhaṃgāsa°* N2.
8d *ūrṇnām arṇnaḥ sīka*[2]*ro*
9a *māṃkhaiḥ kāntair ddīpti* N2.
9c *vi*[3]*muktair* N2.
10b *śastām śastāstikṣa* N2.
10c *bhāsvām tā*[4]*m ivoryetya* N2.
10d *tuṅgām gāmbhīryorccā* N2.
11c *tu* instead of *hi* N2.
11d *vṛṃdim etām* N2.
12c *śrūmantām* N2.
13b *śāṃkarya* N2.
13c *nirvvāṇāntam* N2.
14a *lubhyan nabhyam* N2.
14d *lokam* N2.
15d *santā* N2.
16a *sparśo; tṛṣṇa* N2.
16b *bhṛṣṇā (s)o(v)adānasantā* N2.
16c *bhāvo* N2.
17a *gate ṛthe* N2.
17cd *yatvāmā satvā susattā* N2.
18b *channacchinnāpnotiko* N2.
18c *sa{(m)}prakāśaḥ* N2.
18d *sā{(kṣa)}khya* N2.
19c *kaṃjaraḥ* N2.
19d *sainya* N2.
21a *netyanityābhimānam* N2.
21c *yāyotmīyāsthāthanātmīyake sya*[5]*-na* N2.
21d *saukhyam* om. N2; *asaukhe* N2.
22a *śreyo sya syā metya°* N2.
22c *neti rāgo* N2.
23a *śrastavācye* N2.
23b *ūcivi* N2.
24a *ādhyam* N2.
25c *netra gātre gragotra* N2.
25d *ujyapramokṣāḥ* N2.
26b *abhyeti* N2.
26d *sadma*[5]*lo yam* N2.
27a *labdhyā ddhṛthi* [!] *tvatpramāṇāṃjali°* N2.
27c *ruddhām saṃdhyevojjvaleśā pradoṣa* N2.
28a *saṃvimdurmmā; śāstro* N2.
28b *tyāgyam yugyam* N2.
28c *āryāgottuṃga* N2.
28d *kliśyan* N2.
29a *ity abhyarccya* N2.
29b *pratīkṣye sthite dhva* N2.
29d *svāmi* N2.
30b *putram; vṛttaiḥ* N2.
31c *śeṣam tatra bhuktvā phalāśaṃ* N2.
31d *vidviṣā* N2.
32a *pra*[5]*ṣṭhatyā* N2.
32d *pṛthvīṃ ratnaṃ ratna parārthe* N2 (*pṛthvī°* before *ratna* is omitted!)
33a *rodhāya* [!] N2.
33b *tiṣṭ(h)āniṣṭ(h)e* N2.
33d *saṃghado* N2.
34a *jātyaṃdho tyastrījanālolye* N2.
34c *praśāsa* N2.
34d *śrastāyastir* N2.
35a *pramatto* N2.
36a *yasyādanta* N2.
36b *prīnitavyātipātaḥ* N2.
36c *nithyāpracāras* N2.
37c *vāsavaśrīr* N2.
38b *saṃ*[6]*pradāno* N2.
39a *paṇyapuṇyam* N2.
40a *manmāyāvas* N2.
40b *saṃyacchasva; uccaiccamūbhiḥ* N2.
40c *ittha śāstā ta* N2.
40d *bhūtontāre* N2.
41a *saṃyuddhasyā* N2.
41b *kāleso pi* N2.
41c *pūṣaṇāvopalilye* N2.
42a *so dha* N2.
42b *svairā* N2.
42d *cakre dharmme ka*[5]*rmmaṇā maṃgalāya* N2.
43c *buddhisaṃśritā suddhisādhuṃ* N2.
44a *preṣṭhā; harmmyeṇa dharmmā* N2.

45+ *vimśatitamaḥ; bhaṭṭasya śrī; śivāṃko* N2.
46b *bhāṇā* N2.
46c *maiṭha* N2.
47 is omitted in N2!
46+ *śreyo stu saṃvat 648 āṣāḍhaśukla aṣṭamyān tithau citrānakṣatre bṛhaspativāsare likhita sampūrṇṇam iti śubham astu* |

The variant readings and footnotes in GAURI SHANKAR*'s edition of canto xx of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya*

1a Fn: "M *addhā* for *arcā*".
2b Fn. "M *ojo* for *apy ojo*".
2c Fn. "M *teṣvā°* for *bauddhyā°*"; "M *mūrdhnā* for *°mṛddhyā*".
3c Fn. "M *varṣapūrastapta* for *varṣāvarṣaprāpta*".
3d Fn. "M *sampatkāmyam* for *samyaksāmyam*".
4a Fn. "M *āśliṣṭa* for *ākliṣṭa*".
4b Fn. "M is very corrupt."
4c Fn. "M *saṃcitya* for *siñcati*". [Cf. N2!]
5a Fn. "M *ārtiśvāsa* for *ārtatrāsa*"; "M *bhedyapratāpam* for *bhedaprabhā-.tam*".
5c Fn. "M *prayastam* for *praśastam*".
6a *muktamuktābhir* GS.
6b *°sārasābhiḥ* GS.
6d Fn. "M *manye* for *madhye*".
7c Fn. "M *baddhe* for *vṛddhe*" [Cf. N2!]; *°syopavargasya sarge* GS.
7d *kṛtvā vāji°* GS.
9a Fn. "M *śrāntaiḥ* for *śāntaiḥ*"; M *dīpta* for *dīpti*".
9d Fn. "M *vimuktaiḥ* for *vimukteḥ*". [Cf. N2!]
10b *°vāstum* GS.
10d Fn. "M *yo babhāra* for *ujjagāra*"; after stanza 10 GS adds: (*iti daśabhiḥ kulakam*).
11b *eṣo'smābhir bhaktisaṃtuṣṭatuṣṭeḥ°* GS.
11d Fn. "M *svāmikā* for *śyāmikām*".
12a Fn. "M *tathāsau* for *tathāmūm*".
12b Fn. "M *mandaḥ* for *mānyā*".
12d *mokṣagantrīm – – bhaṅgam* GS; fn. "M *arkam* for *kim*".
13a Fn. "M *sṛṣṭa* for *sṛpta*".
13c *nirvāṇāntam* GS. [Cf. N2!]
13d Fn. "M *pratīcchet* for *pratīpset*".
14a *yebhyo labhyam – ⏑ martham pratīyāt* GS.
14c *kalyāṇībhyaḥ* GS.
15a *avidyā* GS.
15b *vittyaite – nā marūpāya° sālam* GS.
14-5 Fn. "M omits; 14 has lacuna in a and 15 is fragmentary in b".
16a Fn. "M *dṛṣṭyā* for *tṛṣṇā*".
16b Fn. "M *tṛptyā* for *tṛṣṇā*; N shows lacuna for *dāna* in *nidānam*".
16d Fn. "M *sūtre* for *sūte*".
17a Fn. "M *sampradāyam* for *sāmudāyam*".
17b *dhīrair nidheyā* GS; fn. "N *siddhyai* for *dhīraiḥ*".
17c *bhajedam* GS.
17d *dharmāt sattvam* GS.
18a *cānyaiḥ* GS.
18b *chinnaś chinna°* GS.
18c *°kṛtsu prakāśaḥ* GS.
18d *°dharmeṇa* GS.
19c *°kuñjara* GS.
18-9 Fn. "M omits".
20b *śāntaḥ śāstuḥ* GS; fn. "M *āptam* for *āptum*".
20c Fn. "M *śānteḥ śikṣā* for *sāṃkleśikyāḥ*"; *paunarbhaviṣyā°* GS.
20d *'bhyeti dhīḥ pāripūriḥ* GS.
21a *nityānitye 'nityanityābhimānam* GS. Fn. "N *°netya°* for *anitya*".
21b *ātmanān* GS.
21c Fn. " *asau* for *asyan*".
21d *mānādisaukhye* GS.
22b *viśvam* (for *vaśyam*) GS.
22d *ahnāya kāryā* GS; fn. "N *astānya* for *ahnāya*".

23a *prastuvāne* GS; fn. "N *srastavācye* for *prastuvāne*".
23b Fn. "M *uccicīṣām ivārtim*".
23d Fn. "M *dīkṣādakṣo* for *dīkṣādākṣye*".
24a Fn. "M *atra* for *adya*"; "N *māndyam* for *āndhyam*". [Not correct for N!]
24b Fn. "M *api* for *adya*".
24d *°ddhṛto'smi* GS; fn. "N *adya* for *asmi*".
25 Fn. "M is very corrupt".
25a *titYakṣāmi* GS. [Correct!]
25c Fn. "M *tasya* for *me'tra*".
26 Fn. "M omits".
26c *svasti lakṣmyai tadā tvām* GS.
27c Fn. "M *śrī* for *eṣā*".
28b *sampatprahāṇam* GS.
28d *(mārā)rīn* GS.
28 Fn. "M omits. N shows lacuna for *mārā* which is suggested."
29a Fn. "M *abhyarcya* for *abhyarthya*". [Cf. N2!]
30b Fn. "M *pūta* for *putra*"; "*tvādṛśo* for *tvam bhṛśam*".
30d *āyātīcchāprāptakālā hi siddhiḥ* GS; Fn. "M and M3 *iṣṭa* for *icchā*"; *kālādi* for *kālāhi*".
31a Fn. "M *prāktanā* for *prākprajā°*".
31c Fn. "M *śeṣām* for *śesam*"; "M *muktvā* for *bhuktvā*"; "M *phalāśām* for *phalāmśam*". [Cf. N2!]
32c *śrāddhaḥ śuddhaḥ* GS.
32d Fn. "M *pṛthvīratna prājyaratnatrayārthe*".
33a *bodher* GS; fn. "M *bodhe'py akhaṇḍe* for *bodhāya bodheḥ*"; "Numbering in M is wrong".
33b *niṣṭhām iṣṭe* GS.
33c *prāpayasvāryasaṃgham* GS.
34a Fn. "M *yaḥ* for *anyaḥ*".
34d *srastāpattir* GS.
35a Fn. "M *dveṣamokṣapramatto* for *dveṣapoṣaḥ pramatte*"; "*pramāde* for *pramatte* seems better."
36a *yasmād dattā°* GS.
36b *prāṇiprāṇaprāṇi°* GS; fn. "N *vyānipātaḥ* for *vyatipātaḥ*".
37a *kṛtvā nyāsam* GS.
37c *sa ślāghyo'sau* GS.
37 Fn. "M omits cd, hence the mistake after 33b in numbering."
38c Fn. "M *ca yeṣām* for *dame dṛg*".
38d Fn. "M *nūnam* for *yeṣām*".
39c *klāntikoṣam* GS.
39d *dharmanighna°* GS.
39 Fn. "M omits."
40c Fn. "M *praśamsya* for *praśasyam*".
40d Fn. "M *ity ācakṣya* for *bhūtottāre*"; "M *tasya dūtaḥsthito* for *tārabhūtis tiro°*".
41 Fn. "M omits."
42a Fn. "M *sambhāṣyaivam* for *ṛddhyā bauddhyā*"; *so'pya* for *so'tha*".
42b *svairī svīyaiḥ sainyaśabdaiḥ śivo°* GS;
fn. "M *svīyaiḥ svīyaśabdaiḥ*", "N *svaiś cānyaiś ca sainyaiḥ*; "M3, breaks off here. The remark is *śeṣaḥ khaṇḍitaḥ*".
42d *dharme saktaḥ sādhubhiḥ sānulāpaḥ* GS; fn. "N omits *saktaḥ*"; "N *saṅgalan maṅgalāya* for *sādhubhiḥ sānulāpaḥ*".
42+ GS inserts here: (*granthakartuḥ praśastiḥ*).
43c *śuddhisaudham* GS, fn. "M *sādhusaudham* for *śuddhisaudham*".
43d *saudham sādhvī* GS, fn. "N *cāndrī* for *sādhvī*".
44a *°dharmyeṇa* GS, fn. "N *harmyena dhārmyāt* for *dharmyeṇa dharmyām*".
44b Fn. "M *madhye* for *dhīman*; M repeats *madhye*"; "M *preṣaṇam* for *adhyeṣaṇām*".
44c Fn. "M *bhaṭṭācāryasvāmijena* for *bhaṭṭārkasvāmyātmajena*".
45a *°kāśmīram* GS, fn. "M *akasmāt* for *kāśmīram*; *buddhiḥ* for *śuddhim*".
45b Fn. "M *prāptā kāle* for *prāptāt prāleya*".
45c Fn. "M *satām* for *kalpatām*"; "M *prāṇiprāṇāḥ prāṇinaḥ* for the above."
After stanza 45 GS presents a Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanza on which he remarks: "46, N omits. In M it is written before the colophon."
45+ GS has *iti* before *stotrā°*. - *viṃśatitamaḥ* GS. — Instead of *samāptam ca kāvyam idam* he reads *samāpto'yam granthaḥ* ‖, most likely the reading of M. Cf. the following note.
46 This is numbered as 47 in GS and printed before the colophon. GS comments in his footnote: "47 M omits. In N it is written after the colophon which ends with *samāptam kāvyam idam* | See the note

on the works of the author in the Introduction."

47 This stanza is given in the footnote on the preceding stanza. GS writes: "The following stanza comes after the colophon in M and N [!] and gives the volume of the poem in the language of the scribes:— *granthaḥ sahasram ekaṃ saptaśatābhyadhikam adhikadhīmadbhiḥ | api varṇāḥ ṣaḍviṃśatir iti gaṇitaḥ kapphiṇābhyudayaḥ* ‖".

A Note on the Buddha's Asceticism
The Liu du ji jing (Six Pāramitā-sūtra) 53*

MINORU HARA, Tokyo

I

Those who are familiar with Hindu asceticism are surprised by that undertaken by the Buddha, for, as his biography tells us,[1] he first engaged himself in severe asceticism[2] for six[3] years,[4] in the place called Uruvelā but, seeing that it was futile,[5] he later gave it up.[6] The Hindus attached a special importance to asceticism as it promises its practitioners attainment of their desired objects,[7] but Buddhists did not value it as much.[8] Those who read both

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[1] For a comparative textual study of the Buddha's asceticism, see J. Dutoit, *Die duṣkaracaryā des Bodhisattva in der buddhistischen Tradition*, Strassburg, 1905.

[2] His asceticism was so severe that all his veins became visible all over his body. For the phrase *kṛṣo dhamani-saṃtataḥ*, see O. von HINÜBER, *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten*, Stuttgart, 1993, pp. 38ff. and M. HARA, "A Note on the phrase kṛśo dhamani-saṃtata", *AS* XLIX (1995), pp. 377–389, especially p. 383, n. 11.

[3] Occasionally, six years is replaced by seven years. As regards these numbers of years, cf. DUTOIT, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[4] Ordinarily, asceticism is placed between his encounter with the two sages (Āḷāra Kālama and Uddaka Rāma-putta) and the final enlightenment. But some texts (Ariyapariyesana sutta, MN I, pp. 164–165, and Taisho I, p. 777b) dispense with his asceticism. Cf. DUTOIT, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[5] Cf. *mahāsattassa chabbassāni dukkarakāriyaṃ karontassa ākāse ganthi-karaṇa-kālo viya ahosi. So "ayaṃ dukkara-kārikā nāma bodhāya maggo na hotīti"* (J vol. 1, p. 67).

[6] Readers of Epic literature are aware of the fact that the concept of *tapas* is originally incompatible with the concepts of *mokṣa* and *nirvāṇa*. A philological analysis of *tapas*-contexts shows that the instrumental case *tapasā* is rarely construed with *mokṣa* and *nirvāṇa* which stand in the accusative case. That means one cannot reach them by means of *tapas*. Ordinarily, Hindu ascetics start their asceticism with desire (*kāma*) to obtain something in their mind which is mostly of a secular nature such as a son (*putra*), victory (*jaya*), revenge, heaven (*svarga*) etc. On the other hand, such religious ideals as *mokṣa* and *nirvāṇa* are characterized by the absence of desire (*niṣkāma*).

[7] For the omnipotence of *tapas* we have various expressions in Epic literature. A few examples suffice to illustrate this.

sarvaṃ tat tapasā śakyam (MBh 12.155.5), … *sādhyam* (13.35.11)
tapasā labhyate sarvam (MBh 12.149.30), … *sarvam āpnuyāt* (12.184.2)
tapo-mūlam idaṃ sarvam (MBh 3.202.16)
sarvam etat tapo-mūlam (MBh 12.155.1)
tapaso hi paraṃ nāsti (MBh 3.89.18)

Hindu and Buddhist texts will be soon aware of the fact that the terminology used for asceticism in these texts is not always the same, that is, whereas ordinarily the word *tapas* appears in Hindu texts, Buddhists tend to use the term *duṣkara-caryā*. Furthermore, the semantic content of *tapas* itself seems to have undergone a considerable change in Buddhist texts (Ethisierung).[9]

However, in order to ascertain the meaning of the Buddha's asceticism as it stands in Buddhist texts, it is necessary to look at the position it occupies in his life-history, particularly as characterized by his abandonment of asceticism and the subsequent attainment of enlightenment. The successive occurrence of asceticism and enlightenment in his biography naturally puts these two events into contrast. The contrast seems to become more and more striking, as the second, that is his final enlightenment, becomes invested with greater importance. As a result, the asceticism which precedes the enlightenment, the most auspicious event in his life, is destined to be treated negatively and regarded even as inauspicious. Viewed from the frame-work of Hindu asceticism, in the case of the Buddha, it was, so to speak, quite ill-starred, simply because it stands in the penultimate position to the final enlightenment.

Under such circumstances, some authors of the Buddha's biography seem to have been inclined to interpret his asceticism as the last expiation of evil deeds, which he had committed in his previous births. That is to say, being exempt of the last bit of defilement by his act of undergoing asceticism, he was finally entitled to attain his Buddhahood.

This tradition of viewing the Buddha's asceticism as a way to deliver him from defilement is traced in the passages of the Pali Apadāna and Anavatapta-gāthā which have been elucidated by Professor Bechert,[10] who made a monumental contribution to its textual study. It is, then, out of great respect for his scholarship that the present writer here chooses a problem relevant to a passage of the Apadāna and Anavatapta-gāthā[11] and dedicates it to his Festschrift.

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na tapasām asādhyam nāma kimcana (MBh 13.41.26)
nāprāpyam tapasā kimcit (MBh 12.284.23)
nāsādhyam tapasaḥ kimcit (MBh 3.245.16)

[8] Non-Buddhist sects, including the Ājīvikas, considered Buddhists to be "easy-going." Cf. A. L. BASHAM, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, London, 1954, pp. 137 ff., E. W. HOPKINS, *Ethics of India*, New Haven, 1924, pp. 148–9, and J. DUTOIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 88, 97 (with apologetic tendency).

[9] Cf. P. HACKER, *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 344 and A. WEZLER, "Śamīka und Śṛṅgin," *WZKS* 23 (1979), pp. 54–7. See, also, my paper to be published in *Festschrift F. Staal*.

[10] H. BECHERT, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Versammlungen aus zentralasiatischen Sanskrithandschriften, I. Die Anavataptagāthā und die Sthaviragāthā*, Berlin, 1961.

[11] One may refer to his impressive Bibliography prepared by his pupils in *Indica et Tibetica* 22 (Bonn, 1993), pp. 4–50. Among them here special mention must be made of nos. 13, 15, 42, 94, 118, 297.

II

In the chapter of the Pali Apadāna entitled *pubba-kamma-piloti*[12]*-avadāna* (387), the Buddha tells us of a series of evil deeds he has committed in his previous life. As a result (*kamma-vipāka*), he had to suffer from numerous rebirths in hells (*niraya*), but its remainder (*kammāvasesa*) further brought him various sorts of unpleasant experiences (Leiden Buddhas) even in his last existence.[13] Referring to the last of these deeds, he says,

> *avacāhaṃ jotipālo sugataṃ kassapaṃ tadā*
> *kuto nu bodhi muṇḍassa bodhi parama-dullabhā* (29)
> *tena kamma-vipākena acariṃ dukkaraṃ bahuṃ*
> *chab-bassān' Uruvelāyaṃ tato bodhim apāpuṇiṃ* (30)

"At that time I, as Jotipāla,[14] spoke to the blessed Kassapa: 'how is enlightenment (possible) for a shaveling, for enlightenment is the most difficult thing to be obtained.' Because of the ripening of this (verbal) deed, I (had to) perform great hardship for six years in Uruvelā. (Only) afterward I attained enlightenment."[15]

As has been elucidated by Professor Bechert, the verse in question belongs to the portion of the Apadāna which was originally incorporated into one of the early recensions of the Anavatapta-gāthā and was eventually taken over into Pali.[16] Besides other parallels, in addition to the Pali passage above quoted, we have another similar story given in Sanskrit.

According to the story of Nandipāla the potter as related in the Saṅghabheda-vastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, the Buddha in his previous birth with the name of Uttara[17] once rebuked Kāśyapa, despite the advice of his friend Nandipāla.[18] Though given in prose, the wording of the rebuke reminds us of that of the Apadāna.

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[12] For the word *piloti*, cf. H. BECHERT, *op.cit.*, p. 19, note 2.

[13] Cf. K. R. NORMAN, *Pali Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 91.

[14] Cf. H. BECHERT, *op.cit.*, p. 247 (710–712). The story of Jotipāla and Ghaṭīkāra is repeated throughout Buddhist literature. Cf. G. P. MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, ²1960, p. 971, s.v. Jotipāla 2.

[15] Cf. H. BECHERT, *op.cit.*, pp. 238–9, where the verse is presented in a comparative table. The text of the Turfanhandschrift reads as follows,

> ... *(an)ubhūtaṃ mahad duḥkhaṃ ca (bahu)du(ska)rāṇi me*
> *ṣaḍ va(rṣāny U)ruvil(āyām)* ... (BECHERT, p. 59).

[16] Cf. H. BECHERT, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 42, and "Über das Apadānabuch", *WZKSO* 2 (1958), pp. 11–12.

[17] The process of the transmission of this story (Jotipāla and Ghaṭīkāra on one hand, and Uttara and Nandipāla) is so multifarious that another monograph needs to be written on the subject.

[18] At last, Nandipāla held his hair and took him to the sage's presence. As for the act of holding the hair, cf. M. HARA, "The Holding of the Hair (*keśagrahaṇa*)," *AO* 47 (1986), pp. 67–92.

kutas tasmin muṇḍake śramaṇake bodhiḥ, bodhir hi paramaduṣkarā.

"How is enlightenment (possible) for this bald Śramaṇaka, because enlightenment is (to be obtained by) the highest hardship."[19]

As the result of this slight[20] to the Śramaṇaka in his previous birth, he, as a Śramaṇaka in this life, had to endure the highest hardship prior to the attainment of the same enlightenment.

Attribution to an evil deed in his previous birth of the asceticism that the Buddha performed in the form of enduring thirst and hunger in this life is met throughout Buddhist literature.[21] Thus, for example, in the ninth chapter of the Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa,[22] his asceticism is mentioned as the eighth of the nine misfortunes (navāpatti-vipāka)[23] that the Buddha had to suffer in his life-time.[24] A more systematic list of ten[25] misfortunes is found also in the Chinese (Fo shuo) xing qi xing jing.[26]

An extention of the similar retribution-story is also found in the 53rd chapter of the *Liu du ji jing* (the Six pāramitā-sūtra) here to be discussed. The sūtra is preserved only in the Chinese Tripiṭaka[27] and the title of this story is "the sūtra of (the Bodhisattva) expiating sin (that he had committed in his previous birth) by enduring hunger for six years."[28] As is evident from this title, it was necessary for the Buddha to atone for his sin in order that he might attain the final enlightenment.

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[19] Cf. R. GNOLI, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, Part 2, Roma, 1978, pp. 22–30, especially p. 23. Cf. Taisho 4, p. 172 last line and p. 173, line 23–4. Cf. also W. W. ROCKHILL, "Tibetan Buddhist Birthstories: Extracts and Translations from the Kandjur," *JAOS* 18 (1897), pp. 2–3, and J. L. PANGLUNG, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, Tokyo, 1981, p. 96.

[20] The wording of the rebuke varies from one version to another. For example, *kiṃ pana tena muṇḍakena samaṇakena diṭṭhena* (MN 2, pp. 45 ff.); *jotipāla-māṇavo-samāno Kassapaṃ ... muṇḍakavādena samaṇaka-vādena asabbhāhi pharusāhi vācāhi akkosi paribhāsi* (Milindapañha 221); *kiṃ me bhaṇe ghaṭikāra tehi muṇḍehi śramaṇehi darśanāya upasaṃkrāntehi paryupāsanāye* (Mahāvastu I, p. 320).

[21] For the problem of *karma-Wirkung*, which governs even the Buddha's life, and the Buddha's *Überweltlichkeit*, see H. BECHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[22] Cf. E. LAMOTTE, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, Tome I, Louvain, 1966 reimp., pp. 506–517, especially p. 510 (Taisho 25, p. 121).

[23] The number of these misfortunes is not always fixed. Cf. H. BECHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 247 note 3. E. LAMOTTE, *op. cit.*, pp. 509 ff. and 1779. A. HIRAKAWA, *Ritsuzō no Kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1960, p. 401.

[24] Among these, the malicious attack by Devadatta and the ungrounded accusations of adultery with courtesans (Sundarī, Ciñcā) are well-known. Cf. also BECHERT, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–18.

[25] Cf. R. MITRA, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Indian Reprint, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 57–58. Cf. also BECHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[26] Taisho 197, Vol. 4, pp. 164–174.

[27] Cf. E. LAMOTTE, *op. cit.*, p. 1006, note 1 and M. HOFINGER, *Le Congrès du lac Anavatapta*, Louvain, 1954, p. 261, note 4 b.5.

[28] Taisho 152, vol. 3, p. 30.

Here, however, the motif of *verbal* abuse, as made by Jotipāla and Uttara against Kassapa disappears, but, instead, *physical* maltreatment of a Brahmin mendicant is responsible for the *karma-vipāka* in the form of thirst and hunger. Though the text was admirably translated into French by Ed. CHAVANNES as early as in 1895,[29] in view of the unique position it occupies in Buddhist literature and its structural similarity with Hindu mythological stories, we shall give below an English rendering of the Chinese text and discuss relevant problems.

III

"Once, the Bodhisattva was a king of great power. He was converted to the three venerables and entirely devoted himself to the practice of the ten excellent actions. (A 11)
His virtue spread (over his kingdom) far and near, and there was nobody who did not come under his influence. No (violent) sword-edge was ever applied and prison was always empty. (A 12)
Wind and rain arrived in exact accordance with the seasons. His kingdom was prosperous and people enjoyed welfare. All the world was sound and tranquil, and in the streets a grudge-cry was never heard of. (A 13)
Of meagre scriptures (of heretics), ornate but false, nobody ever spoke all over his kingdom. The six *pāramitās* were truly embodied (all over in his kingdom), and there was nobody who did not praise them. (A 14)
At that time, there lived alone in a mountain-forest a Brahmin, who was pure because he adopted an austere life. (A 15)
He was never tinged by secular flavour, but devoted himself solely to (the practice of religious) virtues.
One night, however, being thirsty he went out to drink water and by mistake he took water from a pond, (A 16)
where somebody in this kingdom planted and cultivated lotus-flowers. Having drunk, he realized and said (to himself): "The man, who purchased this pond, (A 17)
(may) make an offering of the flowers to the Buddha's shrine, and by this the fruits are also offered. Despite this, I have drunk his water without telling the owner. (A 18)
This is nothing but theft. (The process of) the theft bringing about calamity (is as follows): (after death) one first enters (the hell called ?) the great mountain. (A 19)
Then one is born as an animal, is slaughtered and sold in the market. By this, one repays the debt he owed in his previous life. Even when one is born as a human being, (A 20)

[29] Ed. CHAVANNES, *Cinq cents contes et apologues, extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, Paris, reprint, 1962, tome I, pp. 197-201.

he merely becomes a slave. The best thing for me to do (now) is to atone as soon as possible for this (sin of theft) in the present life, so that nothing may be left for further suffering in the future." (A 21)
(With this thought in his mind) he went to the royal palace and accused himself of the crime of theft, saying, "O king, I entreat you (A 22)
to punish me in accordance with the law, so that I may expiate for this (crime) in the present life and incur nothing in the future."
The king replied, (A 23) "This is simply natural water, and nobody treasures it (as his own property). Then, is there any crime here (even if you took it)?"
(Despite these words of the king) he (the Brahmin) insisted as follows, (A 24)
"He who purchases a house has (the right to use) a well (in his precinct), and he who possesses a field has (the right to cultivate and pluck) herbs (in his field). (A 25)
If one wishes to take water from a well or to cut herbs (in the field), he should not take them without telling the owner. But I have drunk water without telling. Is it not a theft? (A 26) I request you, o king, to judge me (properly)."
The king answered "Now, I have too many state-affairs (to deal with). Would you please take a seat and wait for some time in our garden?" (A 27)
The eldest son of the king took him, then, to the depth of the garden. But, due to the royal business which occupied him, he carelessly forgot (him) for six days. (A 28)
Suddenly, he realized and said: "Where is the Brahmin mendicant? Call him to come here immediately." Meanwhile, the Brahmin led an austere life (A 29)
and for six days he took neither food nor drink. Coming in front of the king, he stood. But his thin body was further emaciated and hurt. He (tried to) stand up, but soon fell down on the ground. (B 1)
Seeing this, the king shed tears and said: "My fault was grave." Meanwhile, the queen laughed at him. (B 2)
The king ordered people to give the Brahmin a bath and to prepare for him excellent dishes, which the king in person served for him. (B 3)
Striking his head, he repented of his faults and said: "I am the king of people. If people suffer from hunger, I (am expected to) suffer myself from hunger. If people feel cold, my own clothes should be thin. (B 4)
How much more should I suffer, when the sufferer is a noble man who is of upright conduct and a practitioner of virtues. The merit which is accumulated by good people all over the kingdom (B 5)
is not equal to the virtue which a single man of noble conduct and wisdom would produce by himself alone.
The kingdom is peaceful and people enjoy welfare. (B 6)
The four seasons follow their course regularly. Grain is abundant. Who else could bring about all these (favourable conditions) other than (a person of) great virtue of austerity?" (B 7)
(At this point) The king spoke to the (Brahmin) mendicant as follows: "If the punishment for drinking water without telling (its owner) is such (that it torments you), how grave would be the suffering for the actual theft? (B 8)
For this reason I pardon you. There will be no torment in future." The Brahmin said: (B 9)

"Very well. I accept the king's great favour."
Since that time, the king (=Bodhisattva) repeated endless cycles of birth and death. (B 10)
On the verge of attaining Buddhahood, (it was destined that) he would not eat for six years. (At the end of six years) retribution of his evil was completed and enlightenment took place. (B 11)
(Similarly) Gopī was delivered, and Rāhula was born.

The heir prince abandoned the kingdom and devoted himself (to the practice of austerity) in the mountain-forest. (B 12)
All the followers of heretics said that he had become mad, and their defamation was multiplied. The heir prince heard this, (B 13)
but endured their insulting defamation with patience. Instead, he returned salutary compassion to them. (In so doing,) his merit increased profusely, and enlightenment was accomplished. Gods assembled like clouds. (B 14)
Prostrating themselves in front of him, they accepted his instructions. King and people without exception resorted to him. (B 15)

(At this stage,) the Buddha told his Bhikṣus as follows. "The king at that time was nobody but myself, and the queen was Gopī, (B 16)
the eldest son of the king was Rāhula. (By) indulging in evil, calamity (necessarily) follows. (By) practising good, welfare comes to hand! (B 17)
Should not one be attentive?"

Since the king forgot about the (Brahmin) mendicant and left him starved for six days, he was punished for six years. (B 18)
It was only then (at the end of six years) that hunger and thirst ceased for him (when he stopped severe asceticism). But because the king served him in person six days later, now (in this life) suffering came to end after six years (B 19) and enlightenment was accomplished.
Since Gopī laughed at him, now (in this present life) she had to be seriously ill for six years, being pregnant with Rāhula. (B 20)
Since the eldest son of the king left the Brahmin behind in the depth of the garden, he had to stay in obscure darkness (of his mother's womb) for six years. (B 21)
An ignorant man, being blind, does not distinguish between what is right (to be done) and what is not. He approaches the Buddha and Śramaṇas with malice. (B 22)
He who cuts a Brahmin's hands and roots his tongue out, suffers from (torment) during his life-time only. But he who unnecessarily beats (the Buddha and Śramaṇas) with his hands (B 23)
and with his mouth falsely accuses them (is destined to) enter (the hell called?) the great mountain. The demons of the great mountain root his tongue out after his death (B 24)
and place it on burning sand. Later, they plough it with bulls. Or, they nail his five limbs with burning nails. (B 25)
He seeks death in vain. Such are the torments. One must behave himself properly with no fault. (B 26)

The manner by which the Bodhisattva performs "the perfection (*pāramitā*) with regard to patience" is boundless. Such is the practice of patience (of the Bodhisattva) toward censure and maltreatment (by others). (B 27)

IV

As is evident, this avadāna-like sūtra, tinged with mahāyānistic flavour (Bodhisattva, pāramitā) is itself of composite construction, consisting of several portions, but here we are only concerned with the first part (A 11–B 12).

To begin with, those who are familiar with Buddhist literature will be aware of the similarity of this story with the *Rāhulabhadrasya pūrva yoga* as related in the Mahāvastu-avadāna (vol. 3, pp. 172–175).[30] Here, in the Buddhist Sanskrit text, is described the reason why Prince Rāhula had to stay in his mother's womb for six years. The gist of the story runs as follows.

"Once upon a time, in the country of Videha there lived a Brahmin king, whose two sons were Sūrya and Candra.[31] After their father's death, the elder son Sūrya anointed Candra as king, and himself took up the wandering life as a sage (*ṛṣi*). Later he resolved not to drink water which had not been given to him however little it might be. But, on one occasion, delusion of mindfulness (*smṛti-saṃmoha*) led him to drink water from another sage's jar which had not been given to him. Reflecting upon what he had done, he accused himself of being a thief (*caura*) and was annoyed by his own wrong-doing (*kaukṛtya*). He went to the royal court and saw king Candra, saying,

'I am a thief, O great king, because I partook of water which had not been given. (Thus,) impose upon me the punishment for this, as is made for a thief.'

King Candra assured him of his innocence, but Sūrya was not convinced and insisted as follows.

'O great king, I cannot shake off the feeling of guilt. Punishment should properly be imposed upon me, as is made for a thief.'

The son of king Candra, the nephew of Sūrya, suggested to his father that he impose a penalty upon his uncle so that the latter might shake off his guilty feeling.

The king, then, let the sage dwell in his Aśoka garden whicb was luxuriously equipped. Sūrya stayed there for six nights. On the seventh day king Candra made a proclamation of a general amnesty, which was duly reported to Sūrya through the mouth of ministers. Thus, rid of his guilty feeling, Sūrya returned to his own hermitage.

In connecting the past and present, the Buddha said that Sūrya the sage was he himself, and king Candra was prince Rāhula. Because Sūrya was confined in the

[30] All the relevant passages have been collected in M. HOFINGER, *op.cit.*, p. 260 note 4 and E. LAMOTTE, *op.cit.*, p. 1006.

[31] Rāhula who had to stay in the darkness of his mother's womb may be related to the demon Rāhu, who causes eclipses of the sun and moon, and brings about darkness (cf. HOFINGER, *op.cit.*, p. 261).

Aśoka grove for six nights, as a maturing of that *karma*. Rāhula's stay in the mother's womb was six years long."

Two verses, which are inserted in this prose-story as is shown above, correspond to Anavatapta-gāthā 395 and 397, as Bechert has shown.[32] They[33] read as follows,

ahaṃ cauro mahārāja adinnaṃ udakam pibe
tasya karohi me daṇḍaṃ yathā caurasya kriyati
nāhaṃ śakto mahārāja kaukṛtyaṃ prativinodituṃ
sādhu me kriyatu daṇḍo yathā caurasya kriyati

A similar, but somewhat enlarged, version is found in the *Fo ben xing ji jing* (Taisho 3, pp. 907–908) where a story is given of the princes Sun (Sūrya) and Moon (Candra).[34] Furthermore, a similar story is repeated in the Saṅghabhedavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya,[35] in which the sage Likhita partook of the water of his brother Śaṅkha without his knowledge, but experiencing guilt, he entreated repeatedly king Śaṅkha to punish him for his theft.[36]

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[32] Cf. H. BECHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[33] The fact that the original Anavatapta-gāthā contained ten verses is testified to by its Tibetan and Chinese translations. For the Tibetan text and its French translation, see M. HOFINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117 and pp. 259–260. As regards the Chinese versions, cf. Taisho, vol. 24, p. 87 b and vol. 4, p. 199 ab and vol. 24, p. 162 c 5–6.

[34] Cf. E. LAMOTTE, *op. cit.*, p. 1006.

[35] Cf. R. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44 = Taisho vol. 24, p. 162 bc. One may be curious about this Buddhist story of Śaṅkha and Likhita as compared with that given in MBh 12.24. The gist of the Epic story runs as follows,

"In the reign of King Sudyumna two brother sages lived on the banks of the river Bāhudā. Once Likhita came to Śaṅkha's hermitage in his absence and plucked and ate fruit (*phala*) without his brother's permission. Being asked by Śaṅkha, Likhita told him with a smile (*prahasann iva* 12.24.8) what he had done. Filled with rage, Śaṅkha accused him of theft (*steyam tvayā kṛtam* 9, *adattādānam* 10) and urged Likhita to go to the royal court, confess the sin and request the king to punish him for the crime of theft (*śīghram dhāraya caurasya mama daṇḍam narādhipa* 10). Likhita followed his advice and despite the king's sweet words, he insisted that the king punish him. Then, the king caused both hands of the high-souled sage to be cut-off (*tataḥ sa pṛthivīpālo ... karau pracchedayām āsa dhṛta-daṇḍo ...* 19). Likhita came back to Śaṅkha, who ordered him to take an ablution in the river Bāhudā. Upon performing the water-rite, two hands, resembling two lotuses, appeared. Filled with wonder, he showed them to Śaṅkha, who in his turn explained that it was due to his *tapas*-power (*tapasedam kṛtam mayā* 25). Being curious Likhita asked him: if such was your *tapas*-power (*tapaso vīryam īdṛśam*), why did not you exercise the same at first (*pūrvam eva* 26). Śaṅkha answered: I am not in a position to chastise you (*nāham daṇḍadharas tava*). The king (who has chastised you) has been himself purified, as have you yourself, along with the ancestors (*sa ca pūto narādhipas tvam cāpi pitṛbhiḥ saha* 27)."

[36] Cf. E. LAMOTTE, *loc. cit.*, and CHAVANNES, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 120.

In view of the existence of plural versions of the Rāhula story[37] that he had to stay in his mother's womb for six years, it seems that our story of the Buddha's asceticism for six years is a variation of it manipulated on the basis of the same number six. Furthermore, in Rāhula's story he had to suffer from dwelling in his mother's womb as the result of leaving the sage in the royal garden for six days, whereas the Buddha had to suffer from hunger and thirst as the result of leaving him unfed for six days. In Rāhula's case, the concept of confinement links the cause (in the garden) and its effect (in the womb), whereas in the case of the Buddha, absence of nourishment functions as the connecting link. Except for these minor differences,[38] these two are the same as far as their frame-story is concerned.

V

Viewed from the stand-point of classical Sanskrit literature, this Avadāna-like story of the Buddha's asceticism presents several points of literary interest. Due to the limit of space, below, we shall only enumerate the points of philological and literary interest and examine them in a comparative light.

First of all, the apprehension of the crime of theft which was felt by the ascetic who partook of water without the knowledge of the owner reminds us of the recurring motif of the Mahābhārata (MBh 3.151–152, 3.296–297). A pond is often believed to be the possession of Kubera, Yakṣa, or Rākṣasas and those who take water or lotus therefrom without their permission are reprimanded by them. This literary-motif has been discussed by R. K. TERRADA.[39]

Second, we notice here the efficacy of confession. The Brahmin ascetic confesses his crime of taking water without the permission of the owner. We read as early as in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa that one could be free of moral defilement, once he confesses it in public. The belief is wide-spread through Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina literature.[40]

Third, the confession of the crime, particularly in front of the king with a view to undergoing royal punishment, is invested with a special meaning. Being punished properly by the king (*daṇḍa*), the sinner is thought to be

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[37] But in the Rāhula-therassa apadāna in the Pali Apadāna (pp. 60–61) there is nothing comparable to these stories.

[38] However, in the Rāhula story given at MPPS 17 he is responsible for leaving the ascetic unfed for six days. See Taisho, vol. 25, p. 182c. Thus, the stories concerning Rāhula are not always simple.

[39] R. K. TERRADA, *Der Diebstahl der Lotusfasern*, Wiesbaden, 1980.

[40] Cf. E. W. HOPKINS, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 18, 24, 31, 112, 116, 130 (note 63), 155 (note 14), 249. P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra IV*, Poona, ²1973, p. 40. C. CAILLAT, *Les expiations dans le rituel ancien des religieux jaina*, Paris, 1965, pp. 89 ff. and 135 ff. (*āloyaṇā, ālocanā*). J. FEZAS, "Le voleur, le roi et la massue," BEI 7–8 (1989–1990), pp. 60–62.

cleansed of the sin. A king's punishment is considered as the way of purifying the moral and religious defilement, so that there may be left no remnant of evil that is carried on to the next life.[41]

Fourth, viewed from the king's side, it was a king's duty to punish the sinner in bis own territory. If the king leaves the sinner unpunished, he incurs the sin of his subjects because of the negligence of his duty.[42] We have a counter-example in the famous story of Śambūka in the last book of the Rāmāyaṇa.[43]

Fifth, in addition to the negligence of royal duty, careless forgetfulness of the king toward the Brahmin ascetic is also responsible for the retribution. Thus, the king here is to be blamed in two ways: one, leaving the judicial issue undecided, and the other leaving carelessly the Brahmin ascetic unfed for six days in the depth of the garden.

As a result, the king who is the Buddha himself in the previous birth had to suffer in this life from thirst and hunger in the form of asceticism for six years. The queen who laughed at the Brahmin had to undergo the pains of holding an embryo in her womb for six years as Rāhula's mother. The prince who took him to the depth of the garden and left him uncared for had to remain in the darkness of womb for six years as the prince Rāhula. The

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[41] Cf. Sudyumna's story given in note 35 above. The king is praised as the ideal king who performed his duty in the form of punishing the sage Likhita.

manoḥ putraś ca sudyumno likhitāya mahātmane
daṇḍam uddhṛtya dharmeṇa gato lokān anuttamān (MBh 13. Appendix 14B. 38-39, vol. 17, p. 921).

[42] Cf. R. LINGAT, *The Classical Law of India*, Berkley, 1973, pp. 234-235, A. WEZLER, "Der Tod als Mittel der Entsühnung." *Im Tod gewinnt der Mensch sein Selbst*, hrsg. von G. OBERHAMMER, Wien, 1995, pp. 121 ff.

Cf. also *śāsanād vā vimokṣād vā stenaḥ steyād vimucyate*
aśāsitvā tu taṃ rājā stenasyāpnoti kilbiṣam (MS 8.316)

[43] A summary of this well-known story runs as follows: "In the reign of king Rāma, once a peasant Brahmin came to the royal gate, holding his dead child in his arms and cried out again and again: 'What sin did I commit in a previous existence, that I see you, my single child, dead (*kiṃ nu me duṣkṛtaṃ karma pūrvaṃ dehāntare kṛtaṃ yad ahaṃ putram ekaṃ tvāṃ paśyāmi nidhanaṃ gatam* R 7.64.4)? I do not recollect ever having done anything wrong ... Since this premature death took place in Rāma's kingdom, Rāma must have commited a serious fault. O, king, bring this dead child to life! (*mṛtyur aprāpta-kālānāṃ rāmasya viṣaye yathā rāmasya duṣkṛtaṃ kiṃcid mahad asti na saṃśayaḥ/tvaṃ rājan jīvayasvainaṃ bālam mṛtyu-vaśaṃ gatam* 8-9)' Upon hearing this lament, Rāma took council with ministers, sages and brothers. Nārada said to him: "At this time, in your kingdom a rigorous penance is being made by a wretched Śūdra, and this is the cause of the death of that child (*sa vai viṣaya-paryante tava rājan mahātapāḥ śūdras tapyati durbuddhis tena bāla-vadho hy ayam* R 7.65.23).' Rāma made a search over his kingdom and found in the south on the bank of the lake Śaivalā an ascetic practicing a rigorous penance, his head hanging downwards (*lambamānam adho-mukham* R 7.66.13). Finding him, Rāma asked him about his purpose and caste. Upon this he answered that he was a Śūdra called Śambūka, practising this with a view to attaining the status of God in this body (*devatvaṃ prārthaye rāma saśarīro mahāyaśāḥ* R 7.67.2)." Immediately, he killed the Śūdra-ascetic. All the gods cried out 'Well done! Well done!,' overwhelming Rāma with praise. By this proper exercise of his duty, the dead baby came back to life."

number six is shared by the three members of the royal family, the days in the previous life being multiplied into years in the present life.[44]

Abbreviations

AO	Acta Orientalia (Copenhagen)
AS	Asiatische Studien (Bern)
BEI	Bulletin d'études indiennes, Association française pour les études sanskrites (Paris)
J	Jātaka ed. by V. Fausbøll (PTS text)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore)
MBh	The Mahābhārata (Poona Critical Edition)
MN	Majjhima Nikāya (PTS)
MPPS	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra
MS	Manu-smṛti (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay)
PTS	Pali Text Society (London)
R	The Vālmīkī Rāmāyaṇa (Baroda Critical Edition)
Taisho	The Taisho-Shinshu Daizokyo (Tokyo)
WZKSO	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südostasiens (Wien)

[44] A similar correspondence of days and years is found in Kaikeyī's answer to Bharata's accusation in the Pratimānāṭaka 6.15 prose: *jāda cauddasa diasa tti vattukāmāe payyāula-hiaae cauddasa varisāṇi tti uttam* (Skt. chāya: *jāta, caturdaśa divasā iti vaktu-kāmayā paryākula-hṛdayayā caturdaśa varṣāṇīty uktam*). My son! Desirous of saying *fourteen days*, I, in my perplexity of heart, said *fourteen years*).

The *Ekottarikāgama* Translations of An Shigao[1]

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It has long been known that the first Chinese renditions of *Ekottarikāgama* (or *Ekottarāgama*) texts were made by the Parthian An Shigao 安世高, who arrived in Luoyang at the beginning of the reign of the Later Han Emperor Huandi 桓帝 (147–168 C.E.), and worked in the Chinese capital as a translator for several decades. For example, NAKAMURA Hajime saw fit to describe An Shigao's *Fo shuo qi chu san guan jing* 佛說七處三觀經 (T 150a) as "another version of one of the *Ekottarāgama*," on the basis of a 1937 study of that text by HAYASHIYA Tomojirō, and one could well have drawn the same conclusion from even earlier work published by AKANUMA Chizen in 1929.[2] Furthermore, the potential importance of these very old Chinese translations for the study of Buddhist canonical literature has been pointed out more than once.[3] However, to the best of my knowledge the full extent of An Shigao's *Ekottarikāgama* corpus has not yet been determined, let alone explored. To be sure, the authentication of the many texts now attributed to An Shigao in the Chinese Buddhist canon raises complicated issues, but I do not propose to address these here. I will simply accept the stringent criteria already applied by Erik ZÜRCHER and regard the total corpus of genuine extant An Shigao translations as consisting of 16 works.[4] Twelve of these are *sūtra* translations,

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[1] I would like here to express my gratitude to Prof. Tilmann VETTER, for rekindling my interest in the An Shigao corpus, and to Prof. Erik ZÜRCHER, whose earlier work on the Han Dynasty Buddhist translations has long been an inspiration and a model for my own research. For specific comments on earlier versions of this paper I would like to thank Prof. VETTER, as well as Profs. Jens-Uwe HARTMANN and ENOMOTO Fumio, to whose generosity I owe many additional references to parallel texts. I am also indebted to Profs. Jonathan SILK, Dan BOUCHER and KAJI Yōichi for their kindness in providing some of the Japanese sources. As is customary, I retain all rights and responsibilities for errors and omissions.

[2] See NAKAMURA Hajime, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Delhi, 1987 [1980], p. 39. On the life and work of An Shigao in general see Erik ZÜRCHER, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1959, pp. 32–34, and, more recently, Antonino FORTE, *The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring*, Kyoto, 1995 (note especially FORTE's comments on pp. 70–74).

[3] See, e.g., ENOMOTO Fumio, "On the Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas," *Buddhist Studies Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1986), pp. 19–30, esp. p. 25. See also ZÜRCHER, *Buddhist Conquest*, p. 24.

[4] See Erik ZÜRCHER, "Late Han Vernacular Elements in the Earliest Buddhist Translations," *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 12, 3 (1977), pp. 177–203, and "A New Look at the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Texts" in K. SHINOHARA and G. SCHOPEN, eds., *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion in Honour of Prof. Jan Yün-hua*, Oakville, 1991, pp. 277–304. For ZÜRCHER's criteria see the second paper, pp. 278–279. The appendix to the same paper gives the list of genuine An Shigao translations which results from

the other four being *śāstras*. My aim in this paper is to ascertain which of the twelve *sūtra* texts may be assigned to the *Ekottarikāgama*.

The most natural place to start is undoubtedly the abovementioned *Fo shuo qi chu san guan jing*, in 2 *juan* 卷 (T 150a). As it appears in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, the *Fo shuo qi chu san guan jing* is a collection of 47 short *sūtras*, most of them without titles. As early as 1929 AKANUMA Chizen established that 37 of these *sūtras* have parallels in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, but he was able to identify parallels in the complete Chinese version of the *Ekottarikāgama* (T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經) for only five of them.[5] The large number of correspondences with the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* is intriguing. In its present published form, however, the collection is in considerable disarray: no logical principle of arrangement is apparent, and several of the *sūtras* or sections are interrupted in mid-sentence, only to resume in the middle of other sections. To make matters worse, the work appears in an entirely different order in the Song, Yuan and Ming versions of the canon (the "Three Editions"), which present the sections in the following sequence: i–iii, xxxi–xlvii, iv–xxx (according to their current *Taishō* numbering, represented in this paper by lower case roman numerals).[6] Neither order is satisfactory: both compound the frequent unintelligibility of the text. In his 1937 study of the collection, HAYASHIYA Tomojirō correctly identified the source of the problem as the conflation of An Shigao's original translation of the *Qi chu san guan jing* (i.e., the **Sapta-sthāna-sūtra*) with another work of his, the *Za jing sishisi bian* 雜經四十四篇, the "*Sūtra* Miscellany in 44 Sections," and made an attempt to sort out the resulting confusion.[7] However, this attempt was not entirely successful, even though it appears to have been followed in a slightly later study by AKANUMA.[8]

A more radical re-arrangement of the collection, however, confirms that HAYASHIYA's original diagnosis was right on target, carries to completion the cure that he attempted, and enables us to see this text (or set of texts) in an entirely

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their application. These are (according to their numbers in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*): T 13, 14, 31, 32, 36, 48, 57, 98, 112, 150, 602, 603, 605, 607, 792 & 1508. Further in-depth research may enlarge this corpus.

[5] See AKANUMA Chizen, *Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas & Pāli Nikāyas*, Nagoya, 1929, pp. 349–351. As it turns out, despite the undoubted usefulness of his work, quite a few of AKANUMA's identifications in respect of this text are mistaken, and several parallels were overlooked by him. However, the subtractions required are more or less balanced by the additions, so that the numbers remain much the same. See below.

[6] See 876c7, n. 8 & 876c8, n. 9. The Three Editions mark the end of *juan* 1 after section xlvii (see 883a8), the start of *juan* 2 at the beginning of section iv, and the end of *juan* 2 after section xxx (880b19). That the critical apparatus of the *Taishō* provides a reliable reflection of the state of the text in the Three Editions is confirmed by an examination of the Song Jisha edition (Vol. 19, pp. 18–25), a photocopy of which I owe to the kindness of Prof. Robert SHARF.

[7] HAYASHIYA Tomojirō, "As to Saṃyuktāgamasūtra and Ekottarāgamasūtra translated by An Shi-kāo (An Seikō-yaku no *Zō-agon* to *Zōichi-agon*)," *Bukkyō kenkyū*, 1, 2 (1937), pp. 11–50. See especially pp. 30–50.

[8] *Bukkyō kyōten shiron*, Nagoya 1939 [reprinted Kyoto 1981], pp. 54–56.

new light. This outcome was achieved by a surprisingly simple process. A complete xerox of the *Taishō* version of the text was pasted together end to end, and then cut at the three points where one *sūtra* is suddenly interrupted by another — at 875c16, 876b1, and 881b22.[9] HAYASHIYA identified and mended one of the breaks involved, easy enough given the existence of an intact alternative version of the *Qi chu san guan jing* proper (see below), but he misdiagnosed the second fracture and — unaccountably — missed the third altogether, not realising that the formula for introducing *gāthās* (*cong hou shuo jue* 從後說絕) which breaks off at 876b1 after *shuo* resumes later with *jue* at 881b22 and not at 875c16.[10] Apart from these three cuts the only others required were at the end of section iii at 876c7 (to cut the **Sapta-sthāna-sūtra* as a whole loose from the rest) and the end of section xxx at 880b19, at the *juan* division marked in the Three Editions.[11] The resulting segments were then reassembled, with the three *sūtras* that break off in mid-sentence rejoined to their respective continuations. When this was done, the sequence of *sūtras* became entirely logical (much closer but not identical to that followed by the Three Editions version), and it became possible not only to understand several of them much more easily, but also to identify their Pāli parallels. The full results of this are given below, but the process through which these results were arrived at, when supplemented by a consideration of the order of sections in the Three Editions, shows clearly how the problem arose in the first place. At one point in its history the collection must have been written on a manuscript consisting of loose folios, and these must have been accidentally mixed up and reassembled in the wrong order. A mental picture of some hapless novice in the monastery library hastily rectifying the consequences of his own clumsiness comes inevitably to mind. In specific terms folios 1–5 were rearranged in the order 1, 5, 2, 3, 4. Then the manuscript of the work from which the version taken into the Korean Canon was derived suffered further damage in the form of the loss of (original) folios 3–4 & 6–8. Subsequently the editors of the Taishō took this missing section of text from the Ming edition and ill-advisedly tacked it on to the end of their base text, the Korean version. As a result of this sequence of mishaps, the

[9] At 875c16 *he dang wei si* 何當為思 jumps to *xiang jin shi zai* 想盡識栽 at 876b1–2, *shen e xing bian* 身惡行便 at 881b22 jumps to *wang e bian wang* 望惡便望 at 875c16, and *ren cong hou shuo* 人從後說 at 876b1 jumps to *jue wu you cai* 絕無有財 at 881b22 (four characters are given in each case for clarity's sake regardless of units of meaning).

[10] I say unaccountably, because in concluding erroneously that 876b1 should be re-attached to 875c16, HAYASHIYA (1937: 50) proposed the interpolation of the character *jue* 絕, which was already lurking elsewhere in the text (at 881b22). Consequently HAYASHIYA's solution to the overall problem involved re-arranging the text in the order sections xxxii–xlvii, ii–xxix (1937: 48–49). This order was also followed (independently?) by AKANUMA (1939: 54–56). As will be seen, although it represented a move in the right direction, it was not entirely correct. Ui Hakuju's Japanese translation of the text in his *Yakkyōshi kenkyū* (1971: 353–379) incorporated the fix to the **Sapta-sthāna-sūtra* (p. 354), but otherwise ignored the solutions suggested by HAYASHIYA and AKANUMA. Indeed, Ui refrained from translating sections xxxii–xlvii of T 150a, casting doubt on their attribution to An Shigao (p. 376).

[11] And thus also in the Jisha edition. T 150b, an alternative version of section xxxi which follows the main text on p. 883, was also cut free; see below.

Taishō version is a complete and utter jumble. The entire process can be visualised more readily by referring to the following table, in which the sections of the text bear the letters and arabic numbers assigned them in my detailed reconstruction below:[12]

Original	Three Editions	Korean	Taishō
A:a	A:a	A:a	A:a [i(a)]
A:b	C: 10b-12a	C: 10b-12a	C: 10b-12a [i(b)-iii(a)]
B	A:b	A:b	A:b [iii(b)]
C: 1-10a	B	C: 19-44	C: 19-44 [iv-xxix]
C: 10b-12a	C: 1-10a	D	D [xxx]
C:12b-18	C:12b-18		B [xxxi]
C: 19-44	C: 19-44		C: 1-10a [xxxii-xli(a)]
D	D		C:12b-18 xli(b)-xlvii]

[12] The order of the Three Editions and Korean versions is deduced from the Taishō's critical apparatus. The Jisha edition confirms the former. I have not yet been able to check the text in the Tripitaka Koreana.

It is clear that the folios in question (not all of which are marked in the above table) were roughly equivalent to 1.5 lateral columns in the *Taishō*.[13] Indeed, the regular size of the segments of text which had to be shifted around once the xerox of the work was cut up puts the whole scenario beyond any doubt. Thus the sudden jumps in the text are fully explained and resolved. As for the strange placement of the *juan* divisions in T 150a, this is due entirely to the choices made by the editors of the *Taishō* when they combined the Korean and Three Editions versions.[14]

The relatively simple scissors-and-paste operation sketched above also enables us to separate out the three supposedly *Saṃyuktāgama* texts which have been mixed up with the core of the collection. Unlike the rest of T 150a, they all bear titles. We presume that the *Qi qu san guan jing* (A) — its two parts, occupying two folios exactly, now reunited with each other — originally stood at the beginning of the work, since it clearly gave its name to the whole collection. The *Jiu heng jing* 九橫經 (**Navākāla-maraṇa-sūtra*)(B) followed it, while the *Ji gu jing* 積骨經 (D) brought up the rear. These three works may have been copied into the same manuscript as the rest of the collection because they displayed a similar numerical principle of arrangement.

Once these three texts are set apart as head and tail, so to speak, we are left with a body of 44 small *sūtras*, none of which carries a title (our C). Each *sūtra*, no matter how small, is complete, with its own *nidāna* (they are all set in the Anāthapiṇḍadārāma in the Jetavana in Śrāvastī) and closing phrase, and often with closing *gāthās* as well, translated, as is typical of An Shigao, into prose.[15] Nearly all of them display what we might call the *Ekottarikāgama* style (i.e., they approach their subject numerically). In our rearranged text the numerical sequence of the 44 sections is seen to follow the standard *Ekottarikāgama* pattern: sets of 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, and 9 *dharmas* or other factors now succeed each other in the proper order. This is without doubt, then, as HAYASHIYA maintained, the *Za jing sishisi bian*, the 44-section *Ekottarikāgama* compilation in 2 *juan* attributed to An Shigao

[13] A sample character count shows a range of roughly 570 to 730 characters per folio, which is presumably to be explained by format differences: a succession of many smaller *sūtras* probably occasioned more blank spaces on the folio.

[14] I.e., the end of the first *juan*, which should of course come at the halfway point, occurs at the very end of the text of T 150a (at 883a8), while the end of *juan* 2, which should mark the end of the compilation as a whole, falls near the midway mark (see 880b19, n. 13). In the rearranged version the division occurs exactly where one would expect it to, right in the middle (indicated in the table by a dark line). To be more precise, the end of *juan* 1 appears originally to have fallen at the end of folio No. 8 of a 16-folio MS.

[15] An apparent exception to this rule occurs at 881c28–29, where five four-character lines, introduced by the standard *gāthā* formula, are set out as verse. This is also the case in the Jisha edition, but it must be the work of some copyist or editor: it is only by chance that the lines are regular, and one of them in any case is the closing formula "Thus spoke the Buddha" (*fo shuo ru shi* 佛說如是) so reminiscent of the *Itivuttaka*.

by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) on the authority of Dao'an 道安's *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理衆經目錄 of 374 (see *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T 2145, 6a13). Reproducing Dao'an's comment on the text: "Taken from the *Ekottarikāgama*. Because no titles are given it is unclear which *sūtras* they are," Sengyou notes that it is no longer extant. Elsewhere he also lists the *Qi chu san guan jing* in 2 *juan* and the *Jiu heng jing* in 1 *juan*. Since there is no way in which the *Qi chu san guan jing* by itself could ever have amounted to 2 *juan*, it is reasonable to suppose that by the time Sengyou compiled his catalogue (c. 515), the *Za jing sishisi bian*, which does indeed have no titles of its own, had become attached to the smaller text, was in fact now believed to be part of it, and having thus lost its own identity, was thought to be no longer extant. It is quite likely, then, that the practice of combining these two texts in the same manuscript predates Sengyou, and may indeed have been current in Dao'an's day, except that Dao'an was able to recognise the *Za jing sishisi bian* for what it was.[16] But the confusion, once it had arisen, was never remedied, as we can see in the later catalogues. In the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 of Fajing 法經 *et al.* (compiled 593) the situation is much as it is in Sengyou's catalogue: the *Za jing sishisi bian* in 2 *juan* is listed among the *Ekottarikāgama* translations, while the *Qi chu san guan jing* in 2 *juan* and the *Jiu heng jing* in 1 *juan* are listed as *Saṃyuktāgama* translations (see T 2146, 129b6 & 130a5–6). In this catalogue extant and lost texts are not distinguished, but in the later *Zhongjing mulu* of Jingtai 靜泰 (T 2148; compiled 666), the *Qi chu san guan jing* in 1 or 2 *juan* is given as consisting of 16 pages, the *Jiu heng jing* as running to two (195b17–18), while the *Za jing sishisi bian* is listed among the lost texts (217c7). The authoritative *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 of 730 (T 2154) similarly lists the *Za jing sishisi bian* as lost (480b22–23), and the other two texts as extant (479c16–17, 480a18), giving the length of the *Qi chu san guan jing* (in 1 or 2 *juan*) as 17 pages (692b17), the *Jiu heng jing* as 2 (694b5). These page counts accord fairly well with the folio units which our restoration process establishes: for our ill-fated manuscript to have become scrambled in the way that it did, the *Qi chu san guan jing* proper must have occupied two folios exactly, and the *Za jing sishisi bian* would have taken up 13 folios, while the version of the *Jiu heng jing* which must also have been included in the collection would have occupied a single folio. This gives a total of 16 folios, exactly Jingtai's count. The catalogue references to the *Jiu heng jing* as a separate text (with a length of 2 pages) must refer to the independent version — representing a slightly different recension — which now appears as T 150b. The existence of this second version is thus also explained.[17]

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[16] On the testimony of Dao'an's catalogue see HAYASHIYA Tomojirō, *Kyōroku kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1941, p. 391, n. 7. On the testimony of the other catalogues see also HAYASHIYA (1937: 41–43, 48).

[17] That is to say, the version that appears on p. 880b–881a as section xxxi of T 150a would probably not have survived had it not been mixed up with and swallowed by the larger text. The survival of two versions, incidentally, gives us a further opportunity to determine the faithfulness with which these very old translations have been handed down.

In the following pages I present what I take to be the original configuration of the single manuscript from which T 150a is ultimately derived. I have renumbered the individual *sūtras* of the *Za jing sishisi bian* in arabic numerals, supplying the *Taishō*'s existing section numbers (marked § and in roman numerals) and page references in square brackets.[18] Also provided are brief remarks on the contents of each *sūtra*, and references to other Chinese versions or parallels, together with Pāli and Sanskrit parallels where they have been identified.[19] Where the parallels are not close the abbreviation cf. is used.

A. *Fo shuo qi chu san guan jing* 佛說七處三觀經
[§ i(a): 875b4–c16 & § iii(b): 876b1–c7]

Entitled "The Seven Places and Three Contemplations *Sūtra* Spoken by the Buddha," this text may well have borne the Sanskrit title **Sapta-sthāna-sūtra*. It teaches seven ways of knowing the *skandhas*, and three ways of investigating one's experience, and is set in the Jetavana in Śrāvastī.

Other Chinese versions: T 99, *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 42 (10a4–c18); T 101, *Za ahan jing* 27 (498c19–499b29; this translation is identical with T 150a, §§ i(a) & iii(b)).[20]

Pāli parallels: *Saṃyutta-nikāya* 22.57 *Sattaṭṭhāna* (S.iii.61–65: *Kindred Sayings* III, 55–57).

B. *Fo shuo jiu heng (jing)* 佛說九橫(經)
[§ xxxi: 880b20–881a1]

Also set in the Jetavana in Śrāvastī, this *sūtra*, "The Nine Untimely [Deaths] Spoken by the Buddha" (**Navākāla-maraṇa-sūtra*?), details nine causes of premature death. Although some of the catalogues assign it to the *Saṃyuktāgama*, it may also have been an *Ekottarikāgama* text, in the Navaka-nipāta, in which case it may be better placed at the end of our collection. As noted above, a second version appears in the *Taishō* as T 150b. The content is intriguing. A scriptural tradition of nine forms of untimely death is also attested in the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*, although the list given by that text is not the same.[21]

Other Chinese versions: None.

Pāli parallels: None.[22]

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[18] A new edition of the whole text is clearly required, but the references given below should enable interested readers to find their way around the *Taishō* version.

[19] References are to the texts and translations of the Pali Text Society, unless otherwise noted. It should be pointed out that especially as far as Sanskrit parallels are concerned, this paper makes no claim to comprehensiveness.

[20] AKANUMA (1929: 349) also gives T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing*, 41.3 (p. 745b7–25), but it is not the same text.

[21] See Gregory SCHOPEN, "The *Bhaiṣajyaguru-Sūtra* and the Buddhism of Gilgit," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Canberra, 1978, pp. 65–67, 368. For a more detailed discussion of the *Jiu heng jing*, see YAMABE Nobuyoshi, "An Shigao as a Precursor of the Yogācāra Tradition: A Preliminary Study," forthcoming in *Watanabe Takao Kyōju kanreki kinen ronshū: Bukkyō shisō bunkashi ronsō* 渡邊隆生教授還暦記念論集：佛教思想文化史論叢.

[22] Note that because of a misprint AKANUMA's catalogue (1929: 351) equates this with

C. [*Za jing sishisi bian* 雜經四十四編]

1 [§ xxxii: 881a2–5] Two persons hard to find in the world (the one first to give, and the one who is grateful).
Other Chinese versions: cf. T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 19.11 (596a8–c12) and 20.5 (600a5–16).
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* II.11.2 (A.i.87: *Gradual Sayings* I, 78); *Puggala-paññatti* II.20 (R. MORRIS, ed. p. 26: B. C. LAW, trans., *Designation of Human Types*, p. 38).

2 [§ xxxiii: 881a6–9] Two persons hard to find in the world (similar to the preceding, but sense somewhat obscure).
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: None.

3 [§ xxxiv: 881a10–13] Two persons hard to find (should perhaps read: hard to satisfy?) in the world (the one who hoards and the one who gives away).
Other Chinese versions: cf. T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 18.2 (587b14–c15), where the two types are explained in detail.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* II.11.4 (A.i.87: *Gradual Sayings* I, 78); *Puggala-paññatti* II.21 (ed. p. 26: trans. p. 38).

4 [§ xxxv: 881a14–17] Two persons easy to satisfy in the world (cf. preceding; the sense is obscure).
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* II.11.5 (A.i.87: *Gradual Sayings* I, 78); *Puggala-paññatti* II.22 (ed. p. 26: trans. p. 38).[23]

5 [§ xxxvi: 881a18–20] Two persons hard to find in the world (the satisfied and the satisfier).
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* II.11.3 (A.i.87: *Gradual Sayings* I, 78); cf. *Puggala-paññatti* II.27 (ed. p. 27: trans. p. 39).

6 [§ xxxvii: 881a21–24] Two persons hard to find in the world (the one who gives without regret, and the *bhikṣu* who attains *nirvāṇa*).
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: None.

7 [§ xxxviii: 881a25–29] Two persons hard to find in the world (the generous householder and the *bhikṣu* who attains *nirvāṇa*).
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: None.

8 [§ xxxix: 881b1–6] Two persons hard to surpass in the world (the householder who donates the monastic requisites, and the *bhikṣu* who eliminates passion and strives for *nirvāṇa*).
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: Cf. *Aṅguttara-nikāya* II.1.2 (A.i.49: *Gradual Sayings* I, 44).

Aṅguttara-nikāya II.11 (which actually corresponds to the next text in T 150a).

[23] HAYASHIYA (1937: 45–46) reverses the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* parallels for *sūtras* 3 and 4.

9 [§ xl: 881b7–17] Two pure white dharmas (*hrī* and *apatrāpya*) which protect human society from sexual promiscuity and social chaos.
Other Chinese versions: T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 18.1 (587b4–13); T 765, *Benshi jing* 本事經 (*Itivṛttaka/Ityuktaka* translated by Xuanzang 玄奘) IV (680a29–18).
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* II.1.9 *Sukka* (A.i.51: *Gradual Sayings* I, 46); *Itivuttaka* 42 (Ernst Windisch, ed. 36–37: F. L. Woodward, trans. pp. 141–142).
Sanskrit parallels: Cf. Cat. No. 1732 in Klaus Wille, ed., *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 7, Stuttgart, 1995, pp. 153–154.[24]

10 [§ xli(a): 881b18–22 & § i(b): 875c16–18][25] Exhortation to eliminate the evil acts of body, speech and mind. The Pāli text deals with the elimination of evil *and* the cultivation of good, neither being distinguished in terms of body, speech and mind (which is why the *sutta* appears in the Duka-nipāta). The Chinese version is presumably to be assigned to the Trika-nipāta.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* II.2.9 (A.i.58–59: *Gradual Sayings* I, 53).

11 [§ ii: 875c19–876a15] Unguarded thought leads to the spiritual ruin of body, speech and mind, as an unthatched roof exposes the roof timbers, beams and walls of a house to rotting. A similar sentiment is expressed in *Udāna-varga* XXXI.1 1–22 and *Dhamma-pada* 13–14.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.105 *Kūṭa* (A.i.261–262: *Gradual Sayings* I, 240).

12 [iii(a): 876a16–b1 & § xli(b): 881b22–c3] Those who understand in varying degrees how to use their resources to advantage in this world and the next are compared to blind, one-eyed and two-eyed persons.
Other Chinese versions: None
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.29 *Andha* (A.i.128–129: *Gradual Sayings* I, 111–112); *Puggala-paññatti* III.6 (ed. pp. 30–31: trans. pp. 44–45).

13 [§ xlii: 881c4–21] The factors which cause continued rebirth in the Triple Realm, described in terms of an agricultural metaphor.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.76 *Bhava-cetana* (A.i.223–224: *Gradual Sayings* I, 203–204). Cf. also following text, III.77, which differs only slightly.
Sanskrit parallels: P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, p. 140: translation in Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome II, p. 87; N. H. Samtani, ed., *The Arthaviniścaya-sūtra & Its Commentary*, Patna, 1971, p. 146–147; G. Tucci, "A Fragment from the Pratitya-samutpada-vyakhya of Vasubandhu," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1930), p. 621.[26]

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[24] I owe this reference to Enomoto Fumio.

[25] In his translation Ui (1971: 356) incorporates the last few lines of this *sūtra* (875c16–18) into the *gāthās* of the following text.

[26] These three brief citations are all identical. A translation of the full text of this *sūtra* is to be found in the Tibetan translation of Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā* (Cone Tanjur, Mngon pa Ju 156a4–b4). Although I must thank Enomoto Fumio for these references, in many other cases I have found Honjō Yoshifumi's *A Table of Āgama-Citations in the Abhidharmakośa*

14 [§ xliii: 881c22–29] Three characteristics of a lay believer full of faith.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.42 *Ṭhāna* (A.i.150: *Gradual Sayings* I, 133–134).
Sanskrit parallels: Cf. F. BERNHARD, ed., *Udānavarga*, Band I, Göttingen, 1965, p. 180 (X.10).[27]

15 [§ xliv: 882a1–10] Three states of happiness achieved by keeping the precepts: reputation, wealth, rebirth in heaven.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Itivuttaka* III, 3, 7 (ed. p. 67–69: trans. pp. 165–166).
Sanskrit parallels: Cf. F. BERNHARD, ed., *Udānavarga*, p. 148 (VI. 1–2).[28]

16 [§ xlv: 882a11–23] Three kinds of spiritual ailment (greed, hatred and ignorance) and their appropriate remedies compared to the three kinds of disease and the three medicines used to treat them.
Other Chinese versions: T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 21.7 (604a28–b15).
Pāli parallels: Cf. *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.68 (A.i.199–201: *Gradual Sayings* I, 180–182), which precedes the Pāli parallel of the next *sūtra*.[29]

17 [§ xlvi: 882a24–c25] Three roots of evil and their elimination compared to the progressive and total destruction of a parasitic creeper.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.69 *Akusala-mūla* (A.i.201–205: *Gradual Sayings* I, 182–185).[30]

18 [§ xlvii: 882c26–883a7] Four things (not three as in Pāli) recommended by the wise: giving, non-violence, filial service of parents, becoming a *śramaṇa*.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.45 *Paṇḍita* (A.i.151: *Gradual Sayings* I, 134–135).

19 [§ iv: 876c8–16] On the four bonds or yokes (i.e., the *āsravas*/*āśravas*) and liberation from them.
Other Chinese versions: None.[31]
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.10 *Yoga* (A.ii.10–12: *Gradual Sayings* II, 11–13); cf. also *Dasuttara-suttanta* (D.iii.276: *Dialogues* III, 254; M. WALSHE, trans., *Thus Have I Heard*, p. 514), *Saṅgīti-suttanta* (D.iii.230: *Dialogues* III,

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and the Abhidharmakośopāyikā, Part I, Kyoto, 1984, invaluable for locating parallel texts in these works by Vasubandhu and Śamathadeva. In this case see also HONJŌ (1984), No. 3 [54].

[27] This reference was also supplied to me by ENOMOTO Fumio.

[28] I owe this reference to ENOMOTO Fumio as well. The two verses in the *Udānavarga* are very close to An Shigao's text, whereas only the first verse in the *Itivuttaka* matches it.

[29] According to ENOMOTO Fumio, a partial Tibetan parallel may be found in the translation of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā-ṭīkā*, Peking Ed., bsTan 'gyur Mdo-tshogs 'grel-pa Chi 151b2–4.

[30] On the three roots of evil as given here cf. P. PRADHAN, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, Patna, 1975 [1967], p. 291; translated in Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome IV, Brussels, 1971, p. 41.

[31] The reference given by AKANUMA (1929: 294) to *Za ahan jing* (T 99, 220c) for *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.10 is incorrect.

222; *Thus Have I Heard*, p. 493).
Sanskrit parallels: Cf. P. PRADHAN, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, p. 308: translation in Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome IV, p. 77.[32]

20 [§ v: 876c17–877a3] The four perverted views (*viparyāsa*) and their elimination.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.49 *Vipallāsa* (A.ii.52: *Gradual Sayings* II, 60–61).
Sanskrit parallels: For references to a *Viparyāsa-sūtra* cf. P. PRADHAN, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, pp. 283–284: translation in Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome IV, pp. 21–25; *Kośa*, p. 330: trans. IV, p. 129; *Kośa*, p. 331: trans. IV, p. 132; *Kośa*, p. 467: trans. V, p. 252.[33]

21 [§ vi: 877a4–12] The four *saṃgraha-vastus* and their best expression.
Other Chinese versions: T 99, *Za ahan jing* 668 (185a2–11).[34] Cf. also the Chinese translation of the *Saṃgīti-paryāya* (T 1536, pp. 402c23–403b19), which incorporates the gist of An Shigao's text, and also carries the *gāthās* (matching those of *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.32) now missing from it.[35]
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.32 *Saṅgaha* (A.ii.32: *Gradual Sayings* II, 36) or IV.254 (A.ii.248: *Gradual Sayings* II, 253), followed by IX.5 (A.iv. 363–365, esp. section 6 on p. 364: *Gradual Sayings* IV, 241–242). The parallel at IX.5 is the closest and most significant.

22 [§ vii: 877a13–19] Four wheels (*cakra*) or conditions for success in life.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.31 *Cakka* (A.ii.32: *Gradual Sayings* II, 35); cf. also *Dasuttara-suttanta* (D.iii.276: *Dialogues* III, 254; *Thus Have I Heard*, 513).

23 [§ viii: 877a20–24] Four types of persons, viz. those devoted (1) to their own welfare but not that of others, (2) to that of others but not their own, (3) to neither, and (4) to both.
Other Chinese versions: None.

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[32] See the full Tibetan translation of the (considerably enlarged) parallel text which Vasubandhu cites in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā* (Cone Tanjur, Mngon pa Ju 279b1–280b1). A Chinese version of this appears in the *Saṃgīti-paryāya* (T 1536, 399a9–b28). My thanks again to ENOMOTO Fumio for drawing my attention to these parallels. See also HONJŌ (1984), No. 5 [24].

[33] A translation of the full text of the *Viparyāsa-sūtra* from the *Ekottarikāgama* is to be found in the Tibetan translation of Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā* (Cone Tanjur, Mngon pa Ju 269b1–270b1). See also Nyu 86a1–2, where Śamathadeva gives his source as the *bzhi las 'phros pa* (= *caturuttarika*, presumably the Catuṣka-nipāta of the *Ekottarikāgama*). The text which Śamathadeva cites is fuller than An Shigao's, but is much closer to it than the Pāli, especially in the *gāthās*. I am indebted to Jens-Uwe HARTMANN for calling this citation to my attention, on the basis of a lead given by Peter SKILLING. See also HONJŌ (1984), Nos. 5 [7], 6 [14] & 9 [19].

[34] Not *Za ahan jing* 669, or 26.32 (185a12-29), as given by AKANUMA (1929: 349; 1939: 55), even though it also deals with the *saṃgraha-vastus*.

[35] This parallel was also drawn to my attention by ENOMOTO Fumio.

Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.97.1 *Attahita* (A.ii.97: *Gradual Sayings* II. 106); cf. also *Puggala-paññati* IV.23 (ed. pp. 54–55: trans. pp. 74–75). Our text does not match *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.98 in the order of presentation (as AKANUMA suggests), but follows the internal order of IV.96–97, 99. Note that it also matches the order of *Puggala-paññatti* IV.23 (which unaccountably gives no. 3 a second time after no. 4) and the *Saṅgiti-suttanta* (D.iii.233: *Dialogues* III, 224; *Thus Have I Heard*, p. 494).
Sanskrit parallels: *Saṅgīti-paryāya* IV.42 (same order as our text), as cited under Cat. No. 1736 in Klaus WILLE, ed., *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 7, p. 159.[36] No. 1736 is a fragment of a text which explains the four types in terms similar but not identical to *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.97.

24 [§ ix: 877a25–b3] Without the accompanying similes of the Pāli version, this *sūtra* ranks the four types of *sūtra* No. 23. The summary statement of the four types at the beginning follows the order of No. 23, but the ranking follows a different order: neither, other only, self only, both.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.95 *Chavālāta* (A.ii.95–96: *Gradual Sayings* II, 104–105).

25 [§ x: 877b4–26] Four types of rain-clouds and four types of person.
Other Chinese versions: T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 25.10 (635a3–b2).
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.102 *Valāhaka* (A.ii.103–104: *Gradual Sayings* II, 109, 110–111); *Puggala-paññatti* IV.8 (ed. pp. 42–43: trans. pp. 59–60).

26 [§ xi: 877b27–c15] The four efforts or endeavours (*prahāṇas/pradhānas*), translated here as *she* 舍, "abandonings" or "eliminations." These are given in a different order from the Pāli — viz., abandoning (*she* 舍, i.e., *prahāṇa*), guarding or control (*shou* 守, *saṃvara*), preserving (*hu* 護, *anurakṣaṇā*) and practising or cultivating (*xing* 行, *bhāvanā*) — but both versions are to be distinguished from the alternative and better-known formula for the *samyak-prahāṇas/pradhānas* (i.e., preventing the arising of unwholesome states that have not yet arisen, etc.). The Pāli order (in both *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.14 and the *Saṅgiti-suttanta*) is: *saṃvara, pahāna, bhāvanā, anurakkhaṇā*.
Other Chinese versions: T 99, *Za ahan jing* 879 (221b16–c5).
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.14 *Padhāna* (A.ii.16–17: *Gradual Sayings* II, 15–17);[37] cf. also *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.69 (A.ii.74: *Gradual Sayings*, II, 83–84); *Saṅgīti-suttanta* (D.iii.225–226: *Dialogues* III, 217-218; *Thus Have I Heard*, p. 490).[38]
Sanskrit parallels: Cf. Cat. No. 1445 + 1447 in Lore SANDER & Ernst WALDSCHMIDT, eds., *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 5, Stuttgart 1985. The order of terms is the same as in An Shigao's text. WALDSCHMIDT's ascription to the *Saṃyuktāgama* must now be reconsidered.

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[36] For this reference I am indebted to Jens-Uwe HARTMANN.

[37] Not A IV.13 (also *Padhāna*) as AKANUMA (1929: 349) claimed. His initial identification with *Za ahan jing* 876-878 (= 31.21–23, 221a14–b15) was also mistaken. These texts present the alternative formula. This oversight was corrected in AKANUMA's later work (1939: 55).

[38] See Rupert GETHIN, *The Buddhist Path to Awakening: A Study of the Bodhi-Pakkhiyā Dhammā*, Leiden, 1992, pp. 69–80 for a discussion and full references to the Pāli canon and other sources.

27 [§ xii: 877c16–24] Four qualities which make one incapable of falling away from the goal.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.37 *Abhabba* (A.ii.39–40: *Gradual Sayings* II, 45–47).

28 [§ xiii: 877c25–878a5] Four groups of people whose lives are made happier by a good person.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.42 *Sappurisa* (A.iii.46–47: *Gradual Sayings* III, 38–39) and VIII.38 (A.iv.244–245: *Gradual Sayings* IV, 166–167); cf. also V.58 (A.iii.75–78: *Gradual Sayings* III, 62–64) and V.227–228 (A.iii.259–260: *Gradual Sayings* III, 190–191).

29 [§ xiv: 878a6–22] The Buddha explains the historical chain of causes and effects leading from illicit desire to the five defects of present-day human beings (viz., they are ill-favoured, weak, sickly, short-lived, and poor). The Chinese text looks like a combination of the two Pāli parallels, while the *sūtra* on the same theme in T 125 provides a more plausible occasion for the sermon.
Other Chinese versions: T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 17.11 (586c3–587b25).
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.56 (A.i.159–160: *Gradual Sayings* I, 141–143) and IV.70 (A.ii.74–76: *Gradual Sayings* II, 84–85).

30 [§ xv: 878a23–b1] Five timely gifts.
Other Chinese versions: T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 32.12 (681b16–c6).
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.36 *Kāladāna* (A.iii.41: *Gradual Sayings* III, 33).

31 [§ xvi: 878b2–25] The five ways in which a good man gives a gift — with faith, liberally, with his own hand, at the right time, without harming others — and the worldly benefits of such giving.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.148 *Sappurisa-dāna* (A.iii.172–173: *Gradual Sayings* III, 130); cf. *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.147 *Sappurisa-dāna* (A.iii. 171–172: *Gradual Sayings* III, 129).
Sanskrit parallels: Cf. P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, p. 269: translation in Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome III, p. 235.[39]

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[39] Vasubandhu — citing no *sūtra*, but presumably alluding to this one — takes the relevant terms in the order: in faith, with respect or hospitably (*satkṛtya*; see below), with his own hand, at the right time, without harming others, whereas the Pāli sequence is: in faith, with respect (*sakkaccaṃ*), at the right time, with "unconstrained heart" (*anuggahitacitto*), without harming oneself or others. Vasubandhu thus agrees with An Shigao, who appears to have interpreted *satkṛtya* here as "hospitably," "zealously" or "eagerly," hence his "giving a lot" (*duo yu* 多與) for the second item. (Cf. D.ii.357–358 (*Dialogues* II, 373–374), where four modes of giving a gift are enjoined: *sakkaccaṃ* (translated here as "thoroughly"), *sahatthā* (with one's own hand), *cittīkataṃ* ("with due thought," but see *BHSD*, s.v. *citrī-karoti*) and *anapaviddhaṃ* (not as if throwing it away).) That Vasubandhu is alluding to this *sūtra* is confirmed by the complete translation of the text in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā* (Cone Tanjur, Mngon pa Ju 251b7–252b6). Śamathadeva cites no source, but his text agrees very closely with An Shigao's, right down to the marked ellipses and the *gāthā* at the end. Once again, this parallel was located with the help of Honjō (1984), No. 4 [101].

32 [§ xvii: 878b26–c12] Three sets of five qualities (15 in all) endowed with which one hears the Dharma to good or bad effect. The three Pāli passages give five positive and five negative ways of hearing in each case (i.e., 30 in all). The correspondences need careful study.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.151–153 *Saddhamma-niyāma* (A.iii.174–176: *Gradual Sayings* III, 131–132).[40]

33 [§ xviii: 878c13–28] Five factors for achieving mental concentration, which, although rather obscure, appear to involve the practice of *aśubha-bhāvanā* and its application to the future as well as the present and to others as well as oneself.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: None.

34 [§ xix: 878c29–879a4] Five hindrances (*āvaraṇa* or *nīvaraṇa*). The Chinese lacks the accompanying parable of the Pāli.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.51 *Āvaraṇa* (A.iii.63–64: *Gradual Sayings* III, 51–53); cf. *Saṅgīti-suttanta* (D.iii.234: *Dialogues* III, 225; *Thus Have I Heard*, p. 495).[41]

35 [§ xx: 879a5–9] Five benefits of walking (i.e., of the *caṅkrama*).
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.29 *Caṅkrama* (A.iii.29–30: *Gradual Sayings* III, 21).
Sanskrit parallels: Cf. Cat. No. 1108 in Lore SANDER & Ernst WALDSCHMIDT, eds., *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 5.[42]

36 [§ xxi: 879a10–17] Five qualities which enable the monk to live the forest-life.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.110 (A.iii.135–136: *Gradual Sayings* III, 105);[43] cf. also *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV.259 (A.ii.252: *Gradual Sayings* II, 256–257).

37 [§ xxii: 879a18–b1] Five undesirable consequences of evil action of body, speech and mind, and the five benefits of good. The Chinese collapses into one what is represented by four sections in the Pāli.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.241-244 *Duccarita* (A.iii.267–268: *Gradual*

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[40] AKANUMA (1939: 56) gives *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.157.

[41] For a Sanskrit listing of the five hindrances — clearly drawn from a different *sūtra* — cf. P. PRADHAN, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, p. 318; translation in Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome IV, p. 99; cf. also Tome III, p. 166–167.

[42] I thank Jens-Uwe HARTMANN for this reference. Note that the connection between the Sanskrit fragment and T 150a was already seen by WALDSCHMIDT.

[43] AKANUMA (1929: 350; cf. 1981: 56) refers here to *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.181–183 *Araññaka* (A.iii.219: *Gradual Sayings* III, 161), and to *Puggalapaññatti* V.7, 9 & 10, while HAYASHIYA (1937: 45) gives *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.114. These are not parallels.

Sayings III, 195). Cf. also *Saṅgīti-suttanta* (D.iii. 235–236: *Dialogues* III, 226; *Thus Have I Heard*, p. 496).

38 [§ xxiii: 879b2–17] Five undesirable consequences of personal attachment (i.e., to another monk).
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.250 *Puggalappasāda* (A.iii.270: *Gradual Sayings* III, 196–197).

39 [§ xxiv: 879b18–24] Five disadvantages of being impatient and five advantages of patience.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.215 *Akkhantiya* (A.iii.254: *Gradual Sayings* III, 186-187).

40 [§ xxv: 879b25–30] Five further disadvantages of impatience.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.216 *Akkhantiya* (A.iii.255: *Gradual Sayings* III, 187).[44]

41 [§ xxvi: 879c1–14] Five ways in which a worthy monk resembles the royal elephant.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.140 *Sotara* (A.iii.161–164: *Gradual Sayings* III, 121–124; but the Chinese text appears to be truncated); cf. *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV. 114 (A.ii.116–118: *Gradual Sayings* II, 120–122), where four qualities are given.

42 [§ xxvii: 879c15–21] Five evils of not relying on others (i.e., for guidance, etc.), five benefits of relying on others.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: None.

43 [§ xxviii: 879c22–880a29] Eight synonyms or similes for (the objects of) desire: fear, suffering, disease, bond, boil, mud, attachment, descent into the womb. Note that what seems to be another short text follows, listing 8 types of boil. Lacking its own number and the standard *sūtra* framework, it may represent the interpolation of a scholarly gloss attracted by this or the following text.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* VIII.56 *Bhaya* (A.iv.289–290: *Gradual Sayings* IV, 192); cf. *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III.23 *Bhaya* (A.iii.310–311: *Gradual Sayings* III, 221–222), which gives only six terms (as also in *Sutta-nipāta*, v. 51).

44 [§ xxix: 880a30–b9] The human body is compared to a boil oozing corruption from nine openings.
Other Chinese versions: None.
Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IX.15 *Gaṇḍa* (A.iv.386–387: *Gradual Sayings* IV, 257–258).

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[44] Not *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V.211 (*Akkosa*), as given by *Taishō*, Akanuma (1929: 350; 1939: 56), Hayashiya (1937: 45) and Ui (1971: 367).

D. *Fo shuo ji gu jing* 佛說積骨經 [§ xxx: 880b10–18]

This short text, "The Bone-pile *Sūtra* Spoken by the Buddha," set unlike all the others on the Gṛdhrakūṭa at Rājagṛha, relates how the bones from one person's lives through one *kalpa* would, if piled up together, be as high as Mt Meru, but it could take many more lifetimes than that to reach liberation, unless one follows the path shown by the Buddha. Although parallels are to be found in the *Saṃyuktāgama*, this text could easily have taken its place in the Eka-nipāta section of an *Ekottarikāgama* (in the same way that it appears in the Pāli and Chinese versions of the *Itivuttaka*).

Other Chinese versions: T 99, *Za ahan jing* 947 (242a28–15); T 100, *Za ahan jing* 340 (487b17–c5); T 101, *Za ahan jing* 11 (496b14–21; this translation is identical with the T 150a text);[45] T 765, *Ben shi jing* (Xuanzang's *Itivṛttaka/Ityuktaka* translation) 1 (662c12–663a2).

Pāli parallels: *Saṃyutta-nikāya* 15.10 *Puggala* (S.ii.185–186: *Kindred Sayings* II, 124–125). See also *Itivuttaka* 24 (ed. pp. 17–18: trans. p. 128).[46]

Summing up the data presented above, we see that of the 44 texts of the *Za jing sishisi bian*, 36 have close parallels in the Pāli *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, while five have parallels in the complete Chinese translation of the *Ekottarikāgama*, the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T 125). This puts the canonical status of this collection beyond any doubt, and confirms Dao'an's identification of it as a selection of texts from that particular part of the canon. Should one ask, however, whether it represents the full extent of the *Ekottarikāgama* tradition known to An Shigao, the answer is clearly no. Several other well-authenticated translations of his are almost certainly *Ekottarikāgama* texts, and there are a number of others which may or may not have been drawn from the same source. Of course a text can appear in different parts of the canon, and we cannot assume that when a text has its Pāli parallel in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, or when a second Chinese version can be found in the *Zengyi ahan jing*, or even when both these conditions are fulfilled, it *must* therefore have belonged to the *Ekottarikāgama* used by An Shigao. We can only say that the probability is high.[47] Thus we find that the following texts may well have

[45] The presence in T 150a of two *sūtras* for which identical translations can be found in T 101, the *Za ahan jing*, an anonymous but very early partial translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, raises further questions which will require careful attention in the future. HAYASHIYA (1937: 27-37) argues persuasively that T 101, which contains 27 separate *sūtras*, was also translated by An Shigao. I believe that T 101 was indeed a (possibly Sarvāstivādin) *Saṃyuktāgama* florilegium from the hand of An Shigao, similar in scope and intent to the *Za jing sishisi bian*, and that it may have circulated together with it at some point and thus become implicated in the vicissitudes of its transmission. However, since proving this may well require another paper as long and as complicated as this one, I spare the reader any further discussion here. Cf. AKANUMA 1981: 40–41, 50.

[46] Cf. also Vidhushekhara BHATTACHARYA, ed., *The Yogācārabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*. Calcutta, 1957, p. 198 (reference courtesy of ENOMOTO Fumio).

[47] The existence of a parallel in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* is in my view the strongest argument for inclusion in the *Ekottarikāgama*, given the fact that the *Za jing sishisi bian* has, as we have seen, much more in common with the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* than it does with T 125. However, it is

come from An Shigao's version of the *Ekottarikāgama* (the first two have, to my knowledge, not been previously identified). I have arranged them according to the number of factors treated.

T 792: *Fo shuo fa shou chen jing* 佛說法受塵經, 1 *juan* (736c21–737a18).

The very first text in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, this short *sūtra* is frequently cited in the literature on Buddhism and gender. In an uncharacteristically evenhanded manner, it explains how one thing, the sexual desire of men for women and of women for men, leads to spiritual ruin. Also set in the Jetavana in Śrāvastī, in the *Zengyi ahan jing* this text is split into two *sūtras* (in the Eka-nipāta).

Other Chinese versions: T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 9.7–8 (563a13–b10).

Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* I.1 *Rūpādi* (A.i.1–2: *Gradual Sayings* I, 1–2).

T 605: *Chan xing fa xiang jing* 禪行法想經, 1 *juan* (181b15–c8).

A short *sūtra* text in which the Buddha (again in the Jetavana) lists various suitable topics for contemplation (starting with *maraṇa-saṃjñā* or the thought of death), a single moment or "finger-snap" spent on which will mean that a monk is not a fool wasting the almsfood of the country, but is practising with vigour — the more so if he spends a lot of time at it. This Chinese version differs in some important respects from the Pali, deviating greatly at the end. (Also to be assigned to the Eka-nipāta.)

Other Chinese versions: None.

Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* I.20 *Jhāna* (A.i.38–43, esp. 41–42: *Gradual Sayings* I, 34–39); cf. also I.6 (A.i.10–11: *Gradual Sayings* I, 8–9) for parallel phraseology.

T 32: *Fo shuo si di jing* 佛說四諦經, 1 *juan* (814b7–816c29).

An exposition of the Four Noble Truths delivered to the monks by Śāriputra after he and Maudgalyāyana have been praised by the Buddha. The text in the Catuṣka-nipāta of T 125 is considerably shorter, but like An Shigao's version and that of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, it is set in the Jetavana in Śrāvastī (the Pāli version is set in Vārāṇasi).

Other Chinese versions: T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 27.1 (643a25–c1); T 26, *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 31 (467a28–469c9).

Pāli parallels: *Majjhima-nikāya* 141 *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* (M.iii.248–252: *Middle Length Sayings* III, 295–299).

T 57: *Fo shuo lou fenbu jing* 佛說漏分布經, 1 *juan* (851b25–853c16).

Six spiritually harmful factors (the *āsravas*, feelings, perceptions, desire, *karma* and suffering)[48] and how to understand and neutralise them. The text is set at Kammāsadamya (Pāli: Kammāsadhamma, etc.) in Kuru. (To be assigned to the Ṣaṭka-nipāta.)

Other Chinese versions: T 26, *Zhong ahan jing* 111 (599b8–600b27).

Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* VI.63 *Nibbhedika-sutta* (A.iii.410–417: *Gradual Sayings* III, 291–295).

Sanskrit parallels: Cf. P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasu-*

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not absolutely compelling, since T 101, An Shigao's *Saṃyuktāgama* anthology (see previous note), contains a number of texts which have their parallels in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.

[48] Note that this order, common to T 57 and T 26.111, is not followed by the Pāli version.

bandhu, p. 192: translation in Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome III, p. 1–2.[49]

T 31: *Fo shuo yiqie liu she shou yin jing* 佛說一切流攝守因經, 1 *juan* (813a4–814b5).

Seven ways of controlling and eliminating the *āśravas*. This discourse is also delivered in Kuru. (To be assigned to the Saptaka-nipāta.)

Other Chinese versions: T 125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 40.6 (740a25–741b16); T 26, *Zhong ahan jing* 10 (431c13–432c29). The order of the seven items in T 26.10 is identical with that of T 31, but differs from that found in T 125 and Pāli.

Pāli parallels: *Majjhima-nikāya* 2 *Sabbāsava-sutta* (M.i.6-12: *Middle Length Sayings* I, 8–16).[50]

Sanskrit parallels: Cf. P. PRADHAN, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, pp. 82, 471: translation in Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome I, p. 246 & Tome V, p. 270.[51]

T 36: *Fo shuo ben xiang yi zhi jing* 佛說本相猗致經, 1 *juan* (819c17–820b17).

Set in Śrāvastī, this *sūtra* details the sequence of factors which provide the conditions or nourishment (*āhāra*) for craving and liberating knowledge respectively. With these two included, each chain comprises ten factors in all. (To be assigned to the Daśaka-nipāta.)

Other Chinese versions: T 26, *Zhong ahan jing* 51–53 (487b3–489c27); T 37, *Fo shuo yuan ben zhi jing* 佛說緣本致經, 1 *juan* (820b19–821a13).

Pāli parallels: *Aṅguttara-nikāya* X.62 *Āhāra* (A.v.116–119: *Gradual Sayings* V, 80, but cf. 78–80). This is to be distinguished from the preceding *sutta* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (X.61), which lists the chain of conditions leading up to ignorance rather than craving. T 36 (like T 26.51 and T 37) is shorter, lacking the simile of the ocean and the waters which "feed" it occurring in the Pāli text and in T 26.52 & 53.

If we accept that there is a good chance that many or even all the above texts may have come from An Shigao's *Ekottarikāgama*, there are only five *sūtra* translations remaining out of the current corpus of authentic works which are not so assigned. These are T 13 (*Daśottara-sūtra* = *Dasuttara-suttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*), T 14 (*Mahā-nidāna-sūtra* = *Mahā-nidāna-suttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*), T 98 (*Artha-vistara-sūtra* or *Artha-vistara-dharma-paryāya*, assigned by HARTMANN to the *Dīrghāgama* of the Sarvāstivādins),[52] T 48 (**Sat-puruṣa-sūtra?* = *Sappurisa-sutta*

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[49] A Tibetan translation of the section of this *sūtra* dealing with *karma* (with some differences in wording from the Pāli and the Chinese versions) is to be found in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā* (Cone Tanjur, Mngon pa Ju 199b1–200a4); see also HONJŌ (1984), No. 4 [1]. My thanks again to ENOMOTO Fumio for this reference.

[50] See also Bhikkhu ÑĀṆAMOLI, trans., *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya*, Boston, 1995, pp. 91–96.

[51] Extensive Tibetan citations of this *sūtra* are to be found in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā* (Cone Tanjur, Mngon pa Ju 91b5–94b4 & Ñu 96a4–b3). The latter citation explicitly assigns the text to the *Madhyamāgama*. I thank ENOMOTO Fumio for drawing these citations to my attention. See also HONJŌ (1984), Nos. 2 [69] & 9 [36].

[52] See Jens-Uwe HARTMANN, *Untersuchungen zum Dīrghāgama der Sarvāstivādins*.

of the *Majjhima-nikāya*), and T 112 (**Mithyātva-sūtra? = Micchatta-sutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (45.21)). On the basis of their content, we can say that several of these may also have been included in an *Ekottarikāgama* collection, but to my knowledge there is as yet no external evidence to support this.

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To come this far is of course simply to make a start. We are now faced with a number of interesting problems and questions. One of these is whether An Shigao initially intended all his *Ekottarikāgama* translations to stay together. Did they form one substantial compilation, later split up to circulate independently? Or did he translate them separately and piecemeal in the first place? Furthermore, what proportion of the total *Ekottarikāgama* known to An Shigao do they represent? If we assume that they did constitute a selection, why did he pick these texts for translation, and not others? We may never know the answers to these questions, but it is worth noting in this connection that even the non-*Ekottarikāgama* texts in the An Shigao corpus tend to resemble *Ekottarikāgama* texts, including the *śāstra* works which he translated.[53] It looks very much as though An Shigao's knowledge of and approach to Buddhism was heavily conditioned by this style of presentation (i.e., in terms of numerical categories), which is of course typical not only of the *Ekottarikāgama* but also of the Abhidharma in general. In addition it is characteristic of the first three texts in the Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta or Six Sūtra Section of the Sarvāstivādin *Dīrghāgama*, which appears to have been very popular in Central Asia. The three texts are the *Daśottara-sūtra*, the *Artha-vistara-sūtra* and the *Saṃgīti-sūtra*.[54] It is surely no accident that the first two of them are also to be found among the translations from An Shigao's hand. All this is consistent with the common perception of the Parthian translator as an Abhidharma master.

The mention of the Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta brings us, of course, to the intriguing question of the sectarian affiliation of An Shigao's *Ekottarikāgama*, and here we find ourselves in the middle of a Buddhological minefield, if ever there was one. The affiliation of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, the complete Chinese version of the *Ekottarikāgama*, is a controversial issue, with the ascription to the Mahāsāṅghikas accepted by many scholars hotly contested by others.[55] To be sure, one can detect

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unpublished Habilitationsschrift, Göttingen, 1992, and "Fragmente aus dem Dīrghāgama der Sarvāstivādins," in Fumio ENOMOTO, Jens-Uwe HARTMANN & Hisashi MATSUMURA, *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 2)*, Göttingen, 1989, pp. 40–67.

[53] Some of these appear to contain notes on or extracts from *sūtras*, and the texts in question also wait to be identified.

[54] See Jens-Uwe HARTMANN, "Indian Buddhist Texts from Northern Turkestan and their relation to the Chinese Tripiṭaka," forthcoming in Jan NATTIER and John MACRAE, eds., *The Proceedings of the Buddhism Across Boundaries Conference*.

[55] See MAYEDA Egaku, "Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas," in Heinz BECHERT, ed., *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, Teil 1, Göttingen, 1985, pp. 94–103. The problem of the affiliation of T 125 is addressed on pp. 102–103. No mention is made of An Shigao's translations. On this question see also Lambert

definite Mahāyānist influences in this work (see, e.g., 645a–b, 699a, 703b), but this tells us little or nothing about which *nikāya* it belonged to. However, we can now be certain of one thing. An Shigao's *Ekottarikāgama* came out of a completely different stable.[56] The relatively large number of parallel texts in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* certainly suggests a *nikāya* on the Sthaviravādin side of the divide, and a conservative one at that, but four factors point us in a more specific direction. The first is An Shigao's connection with the Sarvāstivādin master Saṅgharakṣa, whose *Yogācāra-bhūmi* he was the first to translate into Chinese.[57] The second is the fact that his version of the *Daśottara-sūtra* has been identified by DE JONG as Sarvāstivādin,[58] while his translation of the *Artha-vistara-sūtra* has more recently been linked to the Sarvāstivādins by HARTMANN.[59] Thirdly, Dao'an's own identification of the provenance of the *sūtras* of the *Za jing sishisi bian* was apparently based on his familiarity with the complete Sarvāstivādin *Ekottarikāgama* in the (now lost) Chinese version made by Dharmanandin and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念, to which he composed a preface.[60] And fourthly, the citations of parallel texts by Vasubandhu and Śamathadeva mentioned above provide additional supporting evidence of a Sarvāstivādin/Mūlasarvāstivādin connection. It is therefore highly probable that among An Shigao's works we have a sizable set of early translations of the Sarvāstivādin *Ekottarikāgama*. Of course, if we accept this identification, then in view of the substantial differences between the An Shigao corpus and the *Zengyi ahan jing* (of the possible total of 50 individual *Ekottarikāgama sūtras* translated by An Shigao, only 8 have parallels in T 125, and there are, what is more, quite significant differences in wording in most of these cases), it is clear that T 125 cannot be Sarvāstivādin, or Mūlasarvāstivādin for that matter. Continuing in the same vein, it will now be necessary to re-examine all the relevant parallels in the Chinese translations of the *Madhyamāgama* (*Zhong ahan jing*, T 26) and the *Saṃyuktāgama* (*Za ahan jing*, T 99), now generally assigned to the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins respectively, to see whether An Shigao's versions of the same texts are consistent with them, an undertaking that will also require — among other things — a consideration of the relevant Sanskrit manuscripts.[61] Unfortunately very few Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Ekottarikāgama*

SCHMITHAUSEN, "Beiträge zur Schulzugehörigkeit und Textgeschichte kanonischer und postkanonischer buddhistischer Materialen," in BECHERT, ed., *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit*, Teil 2, pp. 304–403, esp. p. 321.

[56] This was also noted by AKANUMA (1981: 40–41), who suggested a Dharmaguptaka affiliation.

[57] See Paul DEMIÉVILLE, "La Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 44, 2 (1954), pp. 339–436.

[58] See J. W. DE JONG, "The Daśottarasūtra," *Kanakura Hakushi Koki Kinen: Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Ronshū*, Kyōto, 1966, pp. 3–25; reprinted in Gregory SCHOPEN, ed., *Buddhist Studies by J.W. de Jong*, Berkeley, 1979, pp. 251–273.

[59] See the works by HARTMANN cited above.

[60] See HAYASHIYA (1937: 47–48). This version comprised 41 *juan* and contained a total of 472 *sūtras*.

[61] The ascription of both the *Zhong ahan jing* (T 26) and the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T 125) to

appear to have survived, a state of affairs which, while raising the value of this section of An Shigao's corpus even higher, also increases the difficulty of reaching a conclusion about its affiliation.[62] The full resolution of this issue and of the other questions raised above is beyond the scope of the present paper, but there is clearly ample room for further research. Indeed, there can be no doubt that An Shigao's translations afford many exciting prospects to scholars interested in the historical development of the Buddhist religion and its literature, to the study of which Professor BECHERT has made so many foundational contributions. It is then, I trust, not inappropriate to conclude by setting the names of these two men of letters side by side, in recognition and appreciation of the lasting value of their work.

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[62] See Ernst WALDSCHMIDT, "Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas," in Heinz BECHERT, ed., *Die Sprachen der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung*, Göttingen, 1980, pp. 136–174; ŌKUBO Yūsen, "The Ekottara-āgama Fragments of the Gilgit Manuscript," *Buddhist Seminar* 35 (1982), pp. (1)–(30); Siglinde DIETZ, "Untersuchungen zur Schulzugehörigkeit der in Ujjain liegenden Gilgit-Fragmente," in Heinz BECHERT, ed., *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit*, Teil 1, pp. 163–179 (esp. p. 172); Chandrabhāl TRIPĀTHI, "Saṅgīti-Sūtra, Nipāta II, und Ekottarāgama-Parallelen," ibid., pp. 191–199. As far as I can see, there is — sadly — no overlap between the Gilgit fragments of the *Ekottarikāgama*, which TRIPĀTHI assigns to the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the *Ekottarikāgama* translations of An Shigao.

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Colonial Archaeology, International Missionary Buddhism and the First Example of Modern Tibetan Literature

TONI HUBER, Berlin

> Those who allow only very boastful histories of India into their ears have doubts about everything due to the disparity between the roar of thunder heard by the ears and the tiny drum seen by the eyes ... This is indeed the starting point for the uttering of nothing other than continuous deceptive rumors! (A-mdo dGe-'dun Chos-'phel)[1]

To my present knowledge, the first work we can seriously begin to consider as modern Tibetan literature is a modest pilgrimage-cum-travel guide for Buddhist holy sites in India and South Asia. It was written by A-mdo dGe-'dun Chos-'phel. This creative and controversial Tibetan intellectual was born in A-mdo (mDo-smad), northeastern Tibet, in 1903,[2] spent the years between 1934 and 1946 in India, and died an untimely death at Lhasa during 1951.[3] His *Guide-book for Travel to the Holy Places of India* (*Rgya gar gyi gnas chen khag la 'grod pa'i lam yig*; hereafter = *Lam yig*)[4] discussed herein, was the first of his four main original book-length compositions to be

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[1] *Rgya gar gyi lo rgyus har che ba 'ba' zhig rna bar 'jags pa rnams kyis ni | rna bas thos pa'i ldir sgra dang | mig gis mthong ba'i rnga chung gnyis cha ma mtshungs pa'i dbang gis | thams cad la the tshom skyes ... rgyun ma'i g.yo gtam de ka smra ba'i mgo tshugs mod |*; *Lam yig* 1950: 45.

[2] As RUEGG (1989: 307–8) pointed out, there have been recurrent errors with regard to the birth date (e.g. see STODDARD's 1985 biography). The 1903 date was recently clarified by VAN DER KUIJP (1996: 49, n. 2) with reference to dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's own writings.

[3] For biographical materials in Tibetan see BLA-CHUNG A-PHO (1973), RAKRA RINPOCHE (1980), HOR-KHANG (1983), KIRTI RINPOCHE (1983) and SAMDONG RINPOCHE (1986); and in European languages see DHONDUP (1978), KARMAY (1980), RUEGG (1989), STODDARD (1985, 1988) and HOPKINS & YUTHOK (1992).

[4] All references are to the 1950 Gangtok printing (= DGE-'DUN CHOS-'PHEL 1950) of the slightly revised and expanded final version of 1945/6 (on this version see HOR-KHANG (1990: 542): *spyi lo 1945 lor ljags rtsom mdzad pa'i rgya gar gyi gnas chen khag la bgrod pa'i lam yig cung rgyas pa zhig*). This version was printed with the original 1939 cover, which appears to have confused some later readers concerning the date of its composition (e.g. MACDONALD 1970: 204, n. 2). See note 6 below.

written.[5] According to dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's own account, the original version of his *Lam yig* was first composed in 1934, finished in 1937 and published in 1939.[6] Throughout the last decade, while undertaking field research on pilgrimages in India performed by Tibetan exiles, I have frequently encountered the *Lam yig* being used by Tibetans on pilgrimage or have seen copies of it in their homes. Since 1968 the *Lam yig* has appeared in at least ten reprintings in India and China; a testimony to its status as a popular albeit minor work of modern Tibetan literature.

Appraisals of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's literary works have tended to be uniformly laudatory.[7] The only significant — albeit short — discussion of the *Lam yig* to date was made by Heather Stoddard in her biography of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel. Concerning his writing in the *Lam yig* Stoddard simply states "... il expose une analyse tout à fait scientifique." (1985: 187). This appears to be in line with other biographies, particularly those in Tibetan, which continually, yet rather uncritically, emphasize dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's originality and innovation as an author. All such recent, positive appraisals of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's literary output, not to mention his political views, must be considered as the products of a distinct historical period: That of the Chinese colonization of the Tibetan plateau, the Tibetan diaspora to India and beyond and the rise of a new Tibetan nationalism. In this context, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel has come to be commonly regarded by many Tibetan and Western intellectuals as what can only be described as a kind of nationalist visionary or culture hero. In part, this is because he is perceived as a modern thinker ahead of his times, but also because of his critical views towards, and his subsequent harsh treatment at the hands of the conservative Tibetan religious

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[5] The other three are (with abbreviated titles): *Deb ther dkar po* (problematic translation by NORBOO 1978; review RICHARDSON 1978); *'Dod pa'i bstan bcos* (translation by HOPKINS & YUTHOK 1992); *Klu sgrub dgongs rgyan* (preliminary analysis by LOPEZ 1994 and LOPEZ 1994b). I am currently preparing for publication an edition and translation of the *Lam yig*. Different lists of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's other published and unpublished works can be found in DHONDUP (1978: 18), STODDARD (1985: 329–336) and HOR-KHANG (1990: 541–544).

[6] dGe-'dun Chos-'phel himself states in the final 1945/6 version, for the 1934 date: "I myself wrote this guide-book in India over twelve years ago" (*lam yig 'di bdag rang rgya gar du 'khod te lo bcu gnyis lhag song*; *Lam yig* 1950: 46); elsewhere he states he writes in "this present fire-ox [year of the Tibetan calendar=1937]" (*da lta'i me glang 'di*; *Lam yig* 1950: 15); and several times he states that since the Buddha's *parinirvāna* "two thousand four hundred and eighty nine years have elapsed" (*lo nyis stong bzhi brgya brgyad cu dang | nyag ma dgu dag 'das so*; *Lam yig* 1950: 1, 47). He claimed to have adopted the modern Theravâdin Buddhist dating system after visiting Sri Lanka, although he was not always consistent about using it. We know he calculated from the year 555 B. C. E. while he was writing in 1946 to date that year as 2490 after Buddha's *parinirvāna* (DGE-'DUN CHOS-'PHEL 1990: 238), and therefore his 2489 for 1945/6 appears to be in general agreement with the rest of the time frame he provided. His dates are internally consistent, regardless of whether they conform to any accepted version of the Theravâda dating system.

[7] The notable exception can be found in the negative reception his refutation of Madhyamaka philosophy, *Klu sgrub dgongs rgyan*, has received from the pens of orthodox minded dGe-lugs-pa scholars (see LOPEZ 1994 and LOPEZ 1994b).

and political elite of his day. In passing, one might note that the 13th Dalai Lama, the thwarted reformist spirit of early 20th century Tibetan politics, is also viewed by modern Tibetans and some Westerners in exactly the same way despite the fact that neither he nor dGe-'dun Chos-'phel were the only forward thinking (and apparently frustrated) individuals of their day.

My aim here is to briefly discuss some questions about dGe-'dun Chos-'phel and his *Lam yig* which have remained hitherto unconsidered by his biographers and commentators on his works. For example, why did he write a guide-book to the Buddhist holy places of India? What were his sources and inspirations? What qualifies his text as being 'modern'? By analyzing the composition and content of the *Lam yig*, I also hope to cast dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's writing in a more complex light, one which demonstrates that his apparently independent 'originality' or his 'completely scientific approach' had its sources almost entirely in the intellectual milieu associated with his sojourn in India. Two important, related features of the cultural climate in which dGe-'dun Chos-'phel found himself in 1930s India were the reconstitution of ancient Buddhist sites by way of the colonial knowledge-gathering practices of monumental archaeology and Oriental scholarship, and the rise of a modern movement of international missionary Buddhism. It is to these two developments, and their influences upon dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, to which we shall now turn.

Historical Background

A mere half century or so before dGe-'dun Chos-'phel arrived in India, all of the main Buddhist sites which he eventually visited and described in his *Lam yig* had either been lost to the jungles, converted for use as Hindu, Jain or Muslim shrines or lay in abandoned ruins which were often well-buried by centuries of accumulated topsoil. Many had remained like that since Turkic tribes such as the Ghaznavids and Ghūrids from the North-west made a series of invasions of North and Central India between the 11th and 13th centuries, destroying Buddhist cultural institutions in their wake. In 1934, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel found them for the most part to be rediscovered, mapped, excavated, restored and preserved under the curatorial care of the Archaeological Survey of India. The distinctive colonial phenomena of monumental archaeology had reconstituted the long dead remains of Indian Buddhism. The work of this major scientific endeavor was carried out by several generations of British and Indian archaeologists and orientalists working in the service of the government of India, but most notably under the initial direction and inspiration of Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893).

Coincident with the initial archaeological rediscovery of Indian Buddhism another complex cultural phenomenon had begun, also stimulated by colonial-

ism in South Asia. This was the development of a modern Buddhist renewal movement, which came to influence dGe-'dun Chos-'phel in general, as well as the specific composition of his *Lam yig*. Heinz Bechert has described the character of this movement by coining the phrase "Buddhistischer Modernismus" or 'Buddhist modernism', stating that "... there was a close interrelation between Buddhist resurgence in the East and the early phases of the spread of Buddhism in the West. This interrelation was not only organizational; essentially it concerned trends towards reinterpretation of Buddhism as a system of thought. We may refer to these trends as 'Buddhist Modernism'."[8] Briefly, in terms of this reinterpretation Buddhism became viewed as a religion of humanistic rationality rather than one of blind faith and dogma, it began to serve as a politicized identity marker and was linked with local South Asian nationalist and anti-colonialist movements, and it was rallied to the cause of promoting various social reforms.

An important and early outgrowth of the modern Buddhist renewal was the organization of international Buddhism as a new form of missionary Buddhism which was to become global in scope although based in the Indian sub-continent itself. The first institutional expression of international Buddhism was the founding of the Maha Bodhi Society, and this very act was publicly played out and symbolically focused upon a colonial archaeological stage.

Barely was Sir Alexander Cunningham's ink dry on the pages of his report concerning archaeological excavations at the principal Indian Buddhist site of Bodh Gayā during the 1880s when a new organization was formed with the aims of gaining legal control of the site for Buddhists and restoring its temples. At the time, and throughout dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's Indian sojourn, the area of Bodh Gayā was occupied by Hindus, who had long used parts of its abandoned precincts as a temple complex. This new organization, the Maha Bodhi Society, was founded in 1891 by one Don David Hēvāvitarana (1864-1933), a Sinhalese layman who took the name Dharmapāla, 'Defender of the Dharma'. Dharmapāla is without doubt one of the more remarkable figures in recent Buddhist history.[9] His legacy includes, amongst other things, the early establishment of Buddhism as a missionary religion in the modern world system, the raising of a new pan-Asian Buddhist consciousness, and the revival of Buddhist religious and historical sentiments about India and particularly Bodh Gayā as a 'holy land'.

Dharmapāla first visited the ruins of Bodh Gayā in January 1891, a few months prior to his founding of the Maha Bodhi society. His own focus on Bodh Gayā had already been preceded not only by colonial archaeologists, but by others with pious interests. Beginning in 1810-11, Burmese royalty

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[8] BECHERT (1984: 275).

[9] On Dharmapāla see in particular BECHERT (1966) and GOMBRICH & OBEYESEKERE (1988).

dispatched a series of missions with intent to renovate the ancient site, and this was followed in 1885 by the preliminary efforts of Western Buddhist Sir Edwin Arnold (1832–1904) to have the temple ruins turned over to an international Buddhist committee. However, Dharmapāla's aims and interests in the site, guided as they were by his anti-colonial and anti-Hindu sentiments, were as much secular as religious. Dharmapāla wanted to initiate political and legal actions in India to reclaim the temple for all Buddhists from its use as a Śaiva monastery, which he described as a "Hindu fakir establishment" with "monstrous figures of Hindu deities."[10] The figure of Dharmapāla, his struggle and the institutions he founded were all to have a significant impact upon the young dGe-'dun Chos-'phel when he made his first journey out of Tibet to India in 1934, the year following Dharmapāla's death.

Inspirations in India

Why did dGe-'dun Chos-'phel write a guide-book to the Buddhist holy places of India? It would be all too easy to assume that dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, as an educated Tibetan Buddhist, would 'naturally' be interested in the Indian 'holy land' ('Phags-pa'i yul/Āryabhūmi) which was traditionally revered as the fountainhead of Tibetan religious high culture. Yet, there is no evidence that he maintained any early interest in the ancient Indian holy places of Buddhism or pilgrimage to them before he met his influential friend Rahul Sankrityayan (1893–1963), the Indian paṇḍit with whom he first traveled from Tibet to India. On the other hand, there is every reason to think that Sankrityayan gave him all the inspiration he required in regard to such matters.

At the time of their meeting, Sankrityayan was actively engaged in the very quest which had led to the first real orientalist scholarship on the ancient Indian religion of Buddhism — the collection and study of old surviving Sanskrit manuscripts. Sankrityayan's own career and interests were perfectly suited to inspire his young Tibetan acquaintance in regard to pilgrimage in the modern, re-discovered Buddhist holy land and in the art of guide-book writing. He must be considered a major influence behind the production of the *Lam yig*. In 1920 the pandit had performed his own pilgrimage to the Indian Buddhist holy sites which the Maha Bodhi Society, of which he was an active member, had helped to restore. Afterwards he had composed a verse eulogy (*mahātmya*) of the main places connected with the life of the

[10] GOMBRICH & OBEYESEKERE (1988: 217). Ironically in this context, he was also critical of Tibetan pilgrims at the site, stating in one of his articles on the Bodh Gayā temple dispute: "How is it that beef-eating Tibetans and Burmese are allowed to offer meat at the altar?" (DHARMAPALA 1923: 64).

historical Buddha. Sankrityayan, after the style of Dharmapâla, and under the name Baba Ramodar, was then active between 1922–24 in the movement organized by the Maha Bodhi Society to reclaim the temple site of Bodh Gayâ for Buddhists.[11] Sankrityayan, in fact, initially guided dGe-'dun Chos-'phel on a pilgrimage of north Indian Buddhist holy sites during the beginning of his stay in India, and the first version of the *Lam yig* was drafted soon afterwards. Moreover, Sankrityayan introduced his Tibetan friend into the milieu of the Indian Maha Bodhi Society.[12]

While in India dGe-'dun Chos-'phel eventually joined and worked for the Maha Bodhi Society, which by that time had developed into a missionary organization promoting a particular interpretation of Theravâda Buddhism world-wide, publishing a journal and books, undertaking temple and monastery building, and much more. It was in fact through the Calcutta headquarters of the Society, where he worked for a time, that he got his *Lam yig* first published in 1939. It is well known that dGe-'dun Chos-'phel was disillusioned by what he saw as the heavily conservative and self-serving elite of his own Buddhist institutions and society in Tibet. In contrast to this, in India and Sri Lanka he took Dharmapâla, the Maha Bodhi Society and even the Theravâdin sangha with whom they were associated as a positive model of what a socially engaged modern Buddhism could be like.[13]

It is clear that dGe-'dun Chos-'phel was much impressed by the figure of Dharmapâla, whom he refers to as a mahâtman (*bdag-nyid chen-po*) selflessly working for all Buddhists "by way of a hundred difficulties and without regard for life and property" (*lus srog longs spyod la ma ltos pa'i dka' ba brgya phrag gi sgo nas*; *Lam yig* 1950: 14) when offering his Tibetan readers a capsule biography of the activist. Dharmapâla's efforts to reestablish modern Buddhist monastic centers at Sârnâth and elsewhere are described by him as "the beginnings of the later diffusion of the Buddhist teachings in India" (*rgya gar du bstan pa phyi dar gyi mgo brtsams*; *Lam yig* 1950: 14). The use of the Tibetan historiographical term *phyi-dar* here to invoke a parallel with the so-called 'later diffusion' of Indian Buddhism to Tibet would not have been lost on his educated Tibetan readers. Dharmapâla's works and particularly the long-running campaign for repossession of the contested site of Bodh Gayâ are mentioned sincerely by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel several times in the course of the *Lam yig*. Using the missionary style of the Maha Bodhi Society tracts and journals of the day, he appeals to his Tibetan readers by addressing them as part of an international Buddhist community:

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[11] STODDARD (1985: 158).

[12] STODDARD (1985: 185).

[13] It is reported he was also highly impressed by Theravâdin monks he met with in Sri Lanka (DHONDUP 1978: 13). He suggested modern reforms of the Tibetan monastic system, advocating the monks be given salaries instead of agricultural estates for their support, and that they be forbidden to engage in business and required to study instead (GOLDSTEIN 1989: 453).

"By way of our combined deeds and intentions we Buddhists of all nations should strive by all means to get this same superior holy place [of Bodh Gayā] which is empowered just like the hearts that are inside of us, [back] into the hands of its lawful Buddhists owners!"[14]

The final two pages of the *Lam yig* are in fact an outright missionary appeal to Tibetans on behalf of the Maha Bodhi Society. After listing the many achievements of the Society in India and its global scope in places like London (Lon-don) in England (dByin-yul), Berlin (Bhar-len) in Germany ('Jar-man), New York (Ni'u Yor-ka) in America (A-mi-ri-ka) and also Holland (Hol-lan), dGe-'dun Chos-'phel petitions his fellow Tibetans: "I request from all friends of the Dharma with the same doctrines and Teacher no small kindness in giving any possible help, including taking up membership of this society. There is a 250 rupee donation for taking up life membership of the society; 11 rupees is the ordinary annual donation."[15] Modern missionary appeals, however, were not the only way in which he exhorted his Tibetan readers. Another important dimension of the *Lam yig*, one that is central to its modern definition, are the related themes of authenticity and authority which dGe-'dun Chos-'phel reiterates throughout the work.

Authenticity and Authority

Following the demise of late Indian Buddhism in the early 13th century, the vigorous interchange of Buddhist missionaries, scholars, yogins and travelers between Tibet and the Indian holy land slowed down to a mere and sporadic trickle. As the centuries passed by, Tibet mainly related to India by way of the cultural memory of its formerly great Buddhist past as 'the center of the world', while the 'real' India, which was now considered hostile, being full of 'heretics' (*mu-stegs-pa*, i.e. Hindus) and 'barbarians' (*kla-klo*, i.e. Muslims), remained of little interest and was, with few exceptions, seldom ever visited or written about.[16] A cultural consequence of this long separation of

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[14] *Rang re rgyal khab kun gyi sangs rgyas pa rnams las dang 'dun pa gcig dril gyi sgo nas | rang cag rnams kyi khong pa'i snying dang 'dra ba'i byin rlabs kyi gnas chen khyad par can 'di nyid 'os pa'i bdag po sangs rgyas pa rnams kyi rang lag tu thob pa zhig la cis kyang 'bad dgos* | ; *Lam yig* 1950: 8.

[15] *Bstan pa dang ston pa gcig pa'i chos kyi grogs rnams nas 'di ka'i tshogs 'du'i mtshan bzhes pa sogs rogs ram gang drag gnang rgyu'i bka' drin mi chung ba mkhyen zhu | tshe'i tshogs 'du'i mtshan bzhes par zhal 'debs sgor 250 dkyus* [orig. *bkyus*] *ma'i zhal 'debs lo ltar sgor 11* ‖; *Lam yig* 1950: 48.

[16] There were of course exceptions. RICHARDSON (1962: 64) notes that trade continued between India and Tibet via Nepal in the 16th century and up to the Gurkha conquest of Nepal in 1769, and that there was a religious and commercial connection between Tashi Lhunpo, the Panchen Lama's domain, and Benares in the 18th century (cf. ARIS 1995: 3, n. 3). There was also a very low-level but ongoing connection through Indian religious masters visiting Tibet.

Tibetans from the Indian Buddhist holy land was the strong tendency to produce speculations about the actual geographical location of holy sites, their condition and even their very existence.[17] The real rekindling of sustained Tibetan contacts and interest in India only began in earnest during the 19th century in a period of expanding British colonial activity and influence throughout the sub-continent.[18] From the pious Tibetan pilgrim's point of view, India had once again become a real holy land around which travel was possible. However, by the late 19th and early 20th century geographical speculations and misidentifications abounded in the context of Tibetan pilgrimage at both the scholarly and popular level. Pilgrims and authors continued to maintain some very distorted views of Indian Buddhist historical geography, and were ever inventive about identifying new sacred sites.

For example, although the historical Buddha Śākyamuni died and attained final *nirvāṇa* at the site of Kuśinagarī located in modern Bihar, Tibetans have for long misidentified this important Buddhist holy place as being some 500 kilometres to the east in Assam, near the town of Gauhati. Consequently, the 'false' Kuśinagarī was a popular resort of Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhist pilgrims in the late 19th and the 20th century.[19] Nor were things any

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and their reports of India (and other places beyond) were sometimes recorded by the Tibetans, such as that of Tāranātha's (i.e. Kun-dga' sNying-po, 1575–?) guru Buddhaguptanātha (1514–1610) (see TUCCI 1931).

[17] For example, a late 18th century Tibetan account of India states of Vajrāsana and the central Buddhist holy land of Magadha: "Apart from the mere assumption that this place may be Magadha (Ma-gha-dha), [the claim] has not, in the opinion of all, been properly substantiated. ... According to the sayings of some people, the real Vajrāsana (rDo-rje-gdan, i.e. Bodhgayā) is a spot three months' journey north of Gayā (Gha-ya)." Cf. ARIS (1995: 37–39, n. 82), who also notes another site in Bengal as a Tibetan candidate for Vajrāsana during the period.

[18] Important initial steps in this process were the Tibetan missions sent by the Panchen Lama to Bodh Gayā in 1771–2 and 1773–4 (CAMMANN 1951: 24), and the British mission of George Bogle in 1774–5 dispatched by the Governor General of Bengal, Warren Hastings, to visit the Panchen Lama in Tibet (MARKHAM 1876). As an indication of elite Tibetan interest in Buddhist sites at this time, the Panchen Lama often told Bogle he wanted to establish a monastery on the banks of the Ganges for Tibetan pilgrims to visit en route to places like Bodh Gayā (CAMMANN 1951: 48–9), although nothing came of this intention at the time (the first Tibetan Buddhist temple at Bodh Gayā was only established in 1933, by a Ladakhi lama). There was related literary activity at this time too. Michael ARIS (1994, 1995) has recently reviewed and translated the *Account of India to the South* (*lHo phyogs rgya gar gyi gtam*) written in 1788 by the visionary lama 'Jigs-med Gling-pa (1730–1798), being a description of India the lama received from his Bhutanese disciple who had journeyed to and stayed in Calcutta for several years.

[19] For a detailed account of this spurious Tibetan identification and popular Tibetan pilgrimage to the site in Assam see WADDELL (1934: 306–14), who dates the tradition at least back to the time of Tāranātha (1575–?). Bhutanese Buddhists also maintained the same tradition (see ARIS 1986: 71–3, 77; 1979: 112–14). The site of Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vulture Peak) at Rājagṛha in Bihar was also popularly misidentified by Tibetans as being close to Gauhati in Assam. As ARIS (1995: 67, n. 26) notes, many Tibetans, Bhutanese and Mönpa continue to make these mistaken identifications up to the present day.

different among followers of Tibetan Bon. A Bon-po pilgrim to India during the 1940s described the site and worshippers of the Golden Temple, the principal shrine of the Sikh Religion in Amritsar, as rGyal-mkhar Ba-chod, the palace of the Royal gShen Mi-lus bSam-legs who revealed the Bon-po Mother Tantras (Ma-rgyud): "Their principal gshen is the Subduing gshen with the 'bird-horns' [i.e. the crossed kirpins of the Sikh crest]. His secret name is Guru Nanak. His teachings were the Bon of Relative and Absolute Truth. He holds in his hands the Sword of Wisdom [i.e. the Sikh kirpin] ... the essence of the sect is the sphere of supreme Bon. These are the haunts of the saints of the Supreme Secret Ma-rgyud."[20] For their part, mid-century Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims in India identified the holy tank surrounding the Sikh's Golden Temple as the sacred origin lake of their important saint Padmasambhava![21] It is perhaps well to remember here that the scientific study of Indian Buddhist archaeology has also generated multiple and even spurious identifications for some sites, such as the case of Kapilavastu, site of the Buddha's royal upbringing.[22]

While such popular notions enjoyed widespread currency among Tibetan pilgrims in India, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel made it quite clear throughout the *Lam yig* that he composed his guide-book in order to displace them and counter this sort of ignorance on the part of his fellow Tibetans. How did he set about doing this in the *Lam yig*? He did so by establishing a new, modern form of authority for identifying and describing authentic Indian Buddhist sites. Tibetan literature has an old and rich tradition of polemics, of which a branch is devoted solely to debates about sacred geography and its identification.[23] Sacred geography polemics are also often incorporated within traditional pilgrimage guide-books. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's *Lam yig* can be viewed as a recent addition to this type of Tibetan polemical and guide-book literature. However, it differs from the traditional compositions in several fundamental respects.

Firstly, traditional polemics about sacred geography and its identification are heavily influenced by Tibetan sectarian rivalries, both of the intellectual/theological and the political kind (both of which were, and still are, intimately interconnected). Sa-skya-pa authors wrote against bKa'-brgyud-pa claims and vice versa, dGe-lugs-pa against rNying-ma-pa, Buddhists against Bon-po, and so on.[24] However, the criticisms in the *Lam yig* are beyond

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[20] RAMBLE (1995: 110).

[21] Reported by TUCCI (1971: 376).

[22] See for example CHAKRABARTI (1988: 109–112) on Piphrawa and Tilaura Kot.

[23] For a discussion of traditional Tibetan sources see HUBER (1990).

[24] For a recent (post-1965) example from the pen of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's own teacher, see the refutation of the sBas-yul Padma bKod tradition by SHES-RAB RGYA-MTSHO (1984). Although this work has a 'modern' veneer in places, it is nevertheless based upon the conservative dGe-lugs-pa polemic against the rNying-ma-pa.

sectarianism and are addressed universally to all Tibetans as pilgrims in India. Secondly, all traditional Tibetan genres depend upon and invoke two principal sources of authority to identify sacred sites. The main type is visionary authority, based upon the 'pure visions' (*dag-snang*) of particular landscapes experienced by Tantric lamas in altered stated of consciousness, during meditation, dreams, and so forth. The 'gap' which exists between a pilgrim's mundane experience of a holy place and the splendored *dag-snang* type visionary accounts of an environment's sublime features and properties is technically explained by authors in terms of traditional theories of graded perceptions and cognitive abilities which are related to an individual's karmic (i.e. moral) status, degrees of embodied psycho-physical defilement (*sgrib-gnyis*), and thus their extent of spiritual progress towards awakening.[25] The second type is prophetic authority, in the form of citation and analysis of 'prophecies' (*lung-bstan*) reputedly made by Buddhas, deities, recognized saints or highly realized lamas about the identity of particular holy places.

In establishing a new, modern form of authority for identifying Indian Buddhist sites in the *Lam yig*, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel made it quite clear that he did not dismiss traditional visionary authority outright. Instead, he cautioned his readers, in a somewhat contemptuous tone, that none of them was likely to be in any position to claim visionary knowledge of reality, let alone to make prophecies. For example, after mentioning the visionary experiences of Bodh Gayā attained by certain Tantric masters of the past, he states: "They were the source for several accounts which relate many remarkable sights, and it is highly inappropriate to generate doubts about whether or not these holy places [they envisioned] were authentic. Visions which are pure are perceived when one's karma is pure, therefore one ought only to desire them! How could it be appropriate for our mundane perceptions to be the source for making corrections to visions? If one obtains an emanation-body one is capable of traveling to a Buddha realm, even through the eye of a needle, but because we are carrying inseparably, day and night, the corporeal aggregates of flesh and blood we are not even worthy to search after the likes of that, let alone disparage it!"[26]

Towards the end of the *Lam yig* he gives a long account of the Swat Valley area, a place identified with the former Buddhist region of Uḍḍiyāna and a famous Tantric site for the Tibetan tradition. Here he openly confronts

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[25] For examples see HUBER (1990: 137–139) and HUBER (1994: 46–48).

[26] *Ya mtshan mang du gzigs par gsungs pa'i gtam re gnyis la khungs su byas te gnas chen 'di rnams dngos ma yin min gyi dogs pa bskyed pa ni shin tu yang ma legs te | dag pa'i snang ba ni las dag na mthong ba yin pas | smon par bya ba tsam du 'os mod | rang cag phal pa'i mthong snang la zhu dag gtong ba'i khungs su ga la rung | sprul pa'i lus thob na | khab kyi mig tu yang sangs rgyas kyi zhing khams bgrod nus pas | de 'dra ba ni rang cag gdos bcas sha khrag gi phung po nyin mtshan* [orig. *stshan*] *'bral med du 'khur bzhin pa rnams kyis | btsal ba'i 'os kyang ma yin la | smod pa'i 'os kyang ma yin no* |; *Lam yig* 1950: 4–5.

the Tibetan penchant for weird and wonderful stories about the area, stating that: "On account of this land of Uḍḍiyāna being so very famous, it is shrouded by various fantastic stories. Therefore many people who are ignorant and content with boasts will indeed find it very hard to believe the things I say."[27] But this comment is clearly aimed at common ignorance and exaggeration rather than questioning visionary authority, for he goes on to make the following recommendation: "In case you want to view all the marvels of that region as completely envisioned by the highest lamas, I suggest that before ever having gone there, you sit in a rock cave, and meditate for a long period on the [Kālacakra completion stage] *samādhi* of The Six Branches Combined. The reason you have not seen the mahāsiddha Lavapa's complete visions [of Uḍḍiyāna] yourself is that you have done nothing at all like that, therefore I ask you absolutely not to state that 'These holy places are inauthentic'!"[28]

Leaving visionary and prophetic authority unchallenged[29] and defining them as beyond the capacities of his readers, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel promotes instead a new modern, rational set of universal criteria for making authentic identifications of Indian Buddhist sites and for dispelling the rampant rumor and exaggeration he continually bemoans throughout the *Lam yig*. However, this new authority was neither novel nor a product of some 'native Tibetan genius', it was borrowed almost entirely, and without the slightest reference, from the writings of colonial archaeologists and orientalists.

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[27] *rgyan gyi yul 'di ni shin tu grags che ba'i rgyu mtshan gyis | ngo mtshar ba'i gtam brgyud sna tshogs kyis g.yogs te | thos rgya chung shing har la dga' ba'i mi mang po zhig gis ni | nged kyis smras pa 'di la yid che par shin tu dka' mod*; *Lam yig* 1950: 33–34.

[28] *Gal te bla ma gong ma rnams kyis gang gzigs pa'i yul de'i ngo mtshar thams cad mthong bar 'dod na ni | der ma song ba'i sngon du brag phug zhig tu bzhugs la | sbyor ba yan lag drug gi ting nge 'dzin yun ring du sgom par zhu | de 'dra gang yang ma byas par | grub chen lwa ba pas gang gzigs pa rnams rang gis ma mthong ba'i rgyu mtshan gyis | gnas 'di rnams brdzun ma yin no zhes cis kyang mi gsung bar zhu |*; *Lam yig* 1950: 36–37.

[29] He maintained this position to the point of promoting false, traditional Tibetan identifications himself. He uncritically accepted the old confusion of identity that the Land of Li (Li-yul) was Nepal (Bal-yul, i.e. Kathmandu Valley for Tibetans) rather than Khotan, and so in his section on Nepal he instructed his pilgrim readers: "Furthermore, in keeping with the acknowledgment of this country as Li-yul by some holy persons, the holy places which are mentioned in the *Gośṛṅgavyākaraṇa*[*sūtra*] also should be directly encountered in this country." (*gzhan yang dam pa 'ga' zhig gis yul 'di li yul du ngos bzung ba la brten | glang ru lung bstan nas gsungs pa'i gnas rnams kyang yul 'dir mjal rgyu yod do |*; *Lam yig* 1950: 25). Interestingly, in his later historical work *Deb ther dkar po* he devoted a half page to refuting just such an identification as being false (DGE-'DUN CHOS-'PHEL 1990: 224), presumably after picking up Western scholarly refutations of this identification (cf. THOMAS 1935: 3–38; BROUGH 1948) from his Orientalist contacts in India or by accepting the more critical statements of other earlier Tibetan authors (for one written a century earlier see the *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad* of the bTsan-po Nom-'un Qan; WYLIE 1970: 19–20).

Following Cunningham and Stein in the Footsteps of Hsüan-tsang

Alexander Cunningham can correctly be called the 'founder' of the archaeology of Indian Buddhism. Following the lead of European orientalists such as H. H. Wilson, Stanislas Julien and V. de St. Martin who first translated and commented upon the geographical details contained in the Chinese pilgrims' accounts of travels to Buddhist India, Cunningham devised and applied a new method for colonial field archaeology in India. Briefly, this involved identifying ancient Indian Buddhist sites using the names, travel distances and site details found in Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang's accounts. Such data were carefully compared with actual Indian locations, and in particular names were matched up by comparing (and sometimes translating) them against local, contemporary Indian names and the classical Sanskrit and Pali names as well. This then became the authoritative modus operandi of Indian Buddhist archaeology which was elaborated and instantiated in all Cunningham's works.[30] Not only name matching, but literally 'following the footsteps' of the Chinese pilgrims served as both a reliable field method and a personal inspiration for the colonial archaeologists. Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943) referred to Hsüan-tsang as "my adopted 'Chinese patron saint'" throughout his survey of Buddhist remains in the Swāt Valley, never failing to praise the Chinese account's reliability for use in relocating sites and the exact fit between it and the places Stein himself visited.[31] For his part Cunningham was continually impressed by this 'exact fit' with Hsüang-tsang's detailed account, as for example at Bodh Gayā when he states: "Several of the objects enumerated by the Chinese pilgrim I have been able to identify from their exact correspondence with his description."[32]

It was precisely this tried and true and well known modern method of Indian colonial archaeology that dGe-'dun Chos-'phel borrowed and adapted in his *Lam yig*. This is in no way surprising. He became fluent in English while in India, and had a great deal of access to prevailing orientalist theories and methods and publications through his various friends, associates and contacts, including amongst others Rahul Sankrityayan himself, George Roerich (1902–1961) and Jacques Bacot (1877–1965). Throughout the text he refers to all the Chinese pilgrims' accounts which where earlier utilized by Cunningham and his successors, including the names of Fa-hsien (*Phā-hen*),

[30] See for example CUNNINGHAM (1848, 1871a, 1871b, 1892).

[31] STEIN (1929: 2, 15, 50). Here we should note that near the end of the *Lam yig* dGe-'dun Chos-'phel gave a long account of the Swat Valley. The entire content of this section is a pastiche of quotes and paraphrases from earlier Tibetan sources and, of more interest here, from Stein's detailed and richly illustrated account of the area in *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*. We might well wonder whether dGe-'dun Chos-'phel ever went to Swat Valley, or at least if he went any further than its lower entrance.

[32] CUNNINGHAM (1871b: 5).

Hsüan-tsang (*Thang-zan-tsang*) and I-ching (*I-tsang*).[33] He also cites the travels of other historical visitors to India that had captured the imaginations of orientalists and been studied by them, such as Sung Yun (*Zung-yung*) the envoy of the Wei Empress (whom dGe-'dun Chos-'phel mistakenly identifies as a T'ang Emperor, *Thang-gi gong-ma*; *Lam yig* 1950: 34), and Alexander the Great (*Ae-leg-san-dhar*).

The details of sites given by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel are clearly those from the Chinese pilgrim's accounts which had already been processed by oriental scholarship. For instance, in his description of Sāṃkāśya dGe-'dun Chos-'phel states, employing a phrasing which could come straight out of the pages of Cunningham or Stein: "The figure of an elephant which was the capital of an Aśokan stone pillar seen here in the past by the [Chinese] cleric Hsüan-tsang exists as if it was the exact spot [he visited]."[34] In his original account of Sāṃkāśya Hsüan-tsang never reported seeing an elephant as the pillar capital at all, but a lion, as did Fa-hsien before him. The identity of the elephant with what Hsüan-tsang saw there was actually made in a detailed discussion by Cunningham.[35] Also, in dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's account of Rājagṛha (*rGyal-po'i-khab*) he introduces the phrase "new Rājagṛha" (*rGyal-po'i-khab gSar-pa*; *Lam yig* 1950: 11) to distinguish Ajātaśatru's court from Bimbisāra's court for his Tibetan readers. The usage *rGyal-po'i-khab gSar-pa* is unknown in the Tibetan sources and the expression "new Rājagriha" was coined in Cunningham's discussions (1871b: 28) of the two sites based upon the distinctions found in the Chinese accounts. Throughout the *Lam yig* and after the fashion of the orientalists' use of the Chinese pilgrim's narratives, he also cites the Indian travel accounts of several earlier Tibetan pilgrims, most frequently that of Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (in India 1234-36). Shortly before the publication of the *Lam yig* he gained access to a manuscript copy of Chag Lo-tsā-ba's narrative when it was photographed in Tibet by Rahul Sankrityayan during the 1938 expedition in search of old Sanskrit

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[33] Of all these sources, the possibility that dGe-'dun Chos-'phel might have had access to Fa-hsien and an edited version of Hsüan-tsang in Tibetan at least exists, although he clearly uses them in the *Lam yig* only by way of the orientalists' works. In the mid-18th century, the polyglot Mongol scholar mGon-po-skyabs, author of the *rGya nag chos 'byung* (written 1736), translated a summarized version of the *Hsi-yu-chi* into Tibetan (ŌTANI DAIGAKU 1983). This text focuses primarily upon India as a Buddhist holy land. Another important Mongol scholar, Blo-bzang rTa-mgrin (1867–1937), also produced a Tibetan translation of the travels of Fa-hsien (BLO-BZANG RTA-MGRIN 1975, vol. 1, ff. 145–243). Whether these works ever circulated in Tibet in dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's day is unknown, and according to ATWOOD (1992–93: 30), compared to the Mongols, Tibetans showed no interest in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims.

[34] *Der sngon btsun pa thang zan gyis gzigs pa'i mya ngan med kyi rdo ring gi tog glang chen gyi gzugs zhig sa mig lta bur yod*: *Lam yig* 1950: 19.

[35] CUNNINGHAM (1871b: 277–278).

manuscripts, on which dGe-'dun Chos-'phel worked as a research assistant.[36]

In a separate section at the end of his summary account of the Buddhist holy places of India, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel lays out his Tibetan version of the colonial archaeologist's method of comparing local and classical names and site data in order to accurately identify Buddhist holy sites. He adds in the obvious extra step of first rendering the names Tibetans were familiar with from their classical translations back into Sanskrit. And, in characteristic style, he takes yet another opportunity to rail against what he takes to be the common failings of his pilgrim readers:

> When some other pilgrims arrive at an unknown site and see a marvelous temple, without any evidence whatsoever they take it to be authentic, proclaiming "This is such-and-such and so-and-so holy place of the Buddha." They call out the news to one another, and so the places which are becoming famous are increasing annually. Therefore, distinguishing features ought to be properly analyzed. For example, if we illustrate this with regard to the place where the wheel of the Buddhist doctrine was [first] turned: Initially, it is necessary to know what the name of that place is in Tibetan. It is Drang-srong lHung-ba. Then it is necessary to know what earlier Sanskrit that Tibetan word was translated from. It was Ṛṣipatana. Then there is the question of what Ṛṣipatana is called nowadays: it is called Sārnāth. After gradually compiling such [evidence], and finally knowning the city which is in the vicinity [i. e. Varanasi] and even that it is within the confines of the Asi and Varaṇa rivers as well, then one holy place should be recognized.[37]

dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's biographies tell us that he could be at times an arrogant and stubborn fellow. This attitude shows though in the *Lam yig* in his repeated claims that his guide-book for India based upon his new, rational method is flawless and entirely reliable. Characteristically, he assures his

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[36] See MACDONALD (1970: 207–8), who also notes the possibility that he had access in the same manner to the important narrative of Man-lungs Guru (b. 1239), whom he also cites in the *Lam yig* (1950: 30). This and other Sankrityayan expeditions furnished further sources for his text. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel mentions various models of Bodh Gayā (*Lam yig* 1950: 4) which he saw at sNar-thang during the 1938 expedition's visit there (STODDARD 1985: 190–191, n. 41; cf. KARMAY 1975: 65). He also cites Bhāvaviveka's *Tarkajvālā* (*Lam yig* 1950: 3), a Sanskrit version of which was among the finds of the 1936 Sankrityayan expedition in Tibet (KAWASAKI 1992: 130), and likely passed through dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's hands while he worked cataloging texts in Patna for the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. For editions of Chag Lo-tsā-ba's narrative see ROERICH (1959) and ZONGTSE (1981).

[37] *Gzhan gnas bskor ba res gnas rgyus med du slebs nas lha khang ngo mtshar can re mthong ba na | rgyu mtshan ci yang med par 'di sangs rgyas kyi gnas ga ge mo dang che ge mo yin no zhes ngo bzung | gtam de gcig gis gcig la bsgrags* [orig. *sgrags*] *te grags byung ba'i gnas kyang lo re bzhin mang du 'gro bar 'dug pas | rnam dbye legs par phyed dgos te | dper na chos 'khor bskor ba'i gnas lta bu zhig la mtshon na | dang po bod skad du gnas de'i ming la gang zer shes dgos | de la drang srong lhung ba zer | de nas bod tshig de dang po rgya skad gang las bsgyur ba shes dgos | de la ri ṣi pa ta na zer | de nas ri ṣi pa ta na la deng sang gang zer dris pas sa ra na tha zer ba sogs rim par sbyar nas mthar nye 'kho gyi grong khyer dang mtha' na a si dang wa ra ṇa'i chu tshun chad kyang ngo 'phrod nas gnas gcig ngos 'dzin dgos pa yin*; *Lam yig* 1950: 31–32; cf. STODDARD 1985: 187.

readers: "I myself am not just a silly fool who believes everything he hears. My senses are naturally keen, and I am an inquisitive beggar who spent his life listening, therefore even the three doubts about things being mistaken, baseless and contrived in all this which I have related are certainly unnecessary."[38]

In spite of such bold pronouncements dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's work is itself populated by his own unique interpretations of Buddhist historical geography, fantastic stories and outright errors. This is so for even the most fundamental Buddhist traditions: to give but two typical examples: In the opening pages of the *Lam yig* he lists the eight important sites in the Buddha's life and the eight great stūpa located at them (*aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya*) to which devout Buddhists should make pilgrimages. However, in a departure from both the literary and popularly accepted *aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya* scheme he inexplicably replaces the name of Vaiśālī with that of Nālandā.[39] When referring to the well-known shrine of Animiṣa (or Animiṣalocana) at Bodh Gayā which is commonly accepted as the site where the Buddha is said to have 'gazed unblinkingly' on the Bodhimaṇḍa in the second week after his awakening, he relates the following curious tale of an environmentally destructive Buddha to his Tibetan readers: "When the Teacher first came [to Bodh Gayā] he dwelt there, and it is the place where he incinerated all the other trees which were not genuine Bodhi Trees when he emitted rays of light from his mouth. Thus that [shrine] is called the Light Radiation Caitya-temple. Accordingly, at the spot where the charcoal of the burnt trees was heaped up, a Bodhi Tree which is named the Agaru Bodhi sprouted."[40]

The over-confident tone along with the many mistakes in the *Lam yig* raised the ire of at least one Tibetan scholar, being none other than dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's own former teacher, the rDo-sbis dGe-bshes Shes-rab rGya-mtsho. As teacher and pupil theirs was never the cliché relationship of spiritual 'father and son' (*yab-sras*) depicted in much Tibetan religious

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[38] *Bdag rang yang thos tshad la yid ches pa'i blun po col chung zhig ma yin gyi | rang bzhin gyis dbang po rno zhing | mi tshe thos pa la bskyal ba'i sprang po dpyod ldan zhig lags pas | gang smras 'di kun la | nor ba dang khungs med pa dang mgo bskor ba'i dogs pa sum char yang ma dgos pa lags mod |*; *Lam yig* 1950: 45–46.

[39] The enumeration in the Tibetan version of the *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* (*Gnas chen po brgyad kyi mchod rten la bstod pa*, Peking 2024) has Vaiśālī (Yang-pa-can) at this point, with the gloss: *sku tshe 'du byed btang ba las ‖ slar yang sku tshe byin brlabs pa*, the last part of which is similar to dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's *sku tshe byin gyis rlabs pa* which he applies instead to Nālandā (*Lam yig* 1950: 3). A different version with the same title (Peking 2025) also mentions events at Vaiśālī at this point. The Chinese *Pa-ta-ling-t'a-ming-hao-ching* also gives Vaiśālī at this point (NAKAMURA 1980: 261), and a review of fourteen (mainly Tibetan) sources on the *aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya* shows Nālandā is omitted in all cases (PEMA DORJEE 1996: 11–16).

[40] *Ston pa dang por byon skabs der bzhugs te zhal nas 'od zer spros nas byang chub shing dngos ma min pa gzhan rnams sregs pa'i gnas yin | de la 'od zer 'phro ba'i gan dho la* [orig. *li*] *zer | de ltar shing tshig pa rnams kyi sol ba spungs pa'i sar a kar bo dhi bya ba'i byang chub shing zhig skyes pa*; *Lam yig* 1950: 6.

biography. When dGe-'dun Chos-'phel and dGe-bshes Shes-rab got together, debate often developed into argument and could even lead to physical violence.[41] True to form, in his long and detailed critique of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's *Klu sgrub dgongs rgyan* dGe-bshes Shes-rab devoted at least half a dozen of the introductory pages to attacking what he finds to be shortcomings of the *Lam yig* and its author. This served as a means to generally discredit his former student's work before moving to his main object of criticism, the *Klu sgrub dgongs rgyan* itself. After some sharp comments on dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's Tibetan translation of the *Dharmapada* he begins on the *Lam yig*, with the remark "In this little pilgrimage guide-book for India there are many defects as well." (*rgya gar gnas bskor gyi lam yig nyung ngu 'dir yang skyon mang*; SHES-RAB RGYA-MTSHO 1984b: 27). For example, pointing out, quite correctly, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's erroneous time reckoning relating to the birth of the founder of Sikhism, Guru Nanak (1469-1539), he states:

> [dGe-'dun Chos-'phel] wrote: "Guru Nanak Deva was born in the earth-ox [year] of the eighth calendrical cycle, and up to this present [year] of the fire-ox [=1937] six hundred and four years have elapsed." [I] take this to be utterly wrong. The duration up to that [year] was not six hundred and four years, it was no more than four hundred and sixty nine [years] ... By stating "six hundred and four [years]" he gives the impression of very detailed precision ... further, he says: "One need not have even a shred of doubt [about my accuracy]." The complete contradiction within this guide-book is just a source of senseless worry for some confused pilgrims.[42]

Despite its anomalies and the criticism these received, the *Lam yig* deserves to be credited as one of the more accurate and well-informed accounts of Buddhist India available in Tibetan language until recent times.

The Lam yig as Modern Representation

One can mention other features of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's text which qualify it as 'modern'.[43] For example, in the style of a Western travel guide, he

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[41] On the relationship between dGe-'dun Chos-'phel and Shes-rab rGya-mtsho see STODDARD (1988).

[42] *Gu ru na na ka de bo rab byung brgyad pa'i sa glang la 'khrungs te da lta'i me glang 'di bar lo drug brgya dang bzhi song zhes* [cf. *Lam yig*, 1950: 20] *bris pa 'di gtan nas mi 'thad par thal | de'i bar la lo drug brgya dang bzhi mi long ba'i phyir te | bzhi brgya dang re dgu las med pa'i phyir | ... drug brgya dang bzhi zhes zhib nan che mdog 'di'i bzo ... da dung the tshom phra mo tsam yang mi dgos zhes smras* [cf. *Lam yig*, 1950: 31] *lam yig 'di dang mi mthun pa thams cad gnas bskor pa mgo thom 'ga' re'i rgyu mtshan med pa'i ri bong cal 'drogs kho na yin*; SHES-RAB RGYA-MTSHO (1984b: 30). I am grateful to Donald LOPEZ for bringing this material to my attention.

[43] In stark contrast to the pervasive influence of modernity evident in the composition of the *Lam yig* and the *Deb ther dkar po* LOPEZ has remarked of the *Klu sgrub dgongs rgyan*: "In this his last work, we find little evidence of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's remarkable encounter with the modern world during his twelve years outside Tibet. ... Heather Stoddard ... says that in

provided a systematic outline of the Indian colonial rail system. This was carefully designed so that Tibetan pilgrims unfamiliar with such modern means of transportation and without a command of Hindi and English might easily and cheaply travel around the sites mentioned in the text. While acknowledging such interesting details, what is important to recognize is that in producing his text dGe-'dun Chos-'phel resorted to the stock-in-trade of colonial knowledge production and the representational resources of empire and later nationalist imaginings: the modern map, the orientalist's library, the printing press and the archaeological museum. This resulted in a new overall presentation of space (and time) which differs from that found in traditional Tibetan literature.

dGe-'dun Chos-'phel included three maps in the *Lam yig*, which are among some of the earliest examples of modern Tibetan cartography. Two of these are of interest: A simple mercatorian-style outline map covering the Buddhist regions mentioned in his text, spanning from Afghanistan to Thailand west to east, and from Java and Sri Lanka to Central Asia south to north; and an abstract outline route map of the rail network linking all the major Indian sub-continental sites listed in the guide. These large-scale maps, read together with the text, begin to define a new synthetic representation of the concept of the Buddhist holy land for Tibetans. This representation has much in common with the European orientalist's construction of a space which contained the 'golden age' of an earlier Buddhism, of which the archaeologically reconstituted remains provided both a scholarly and imaginative resource, and also the Buddhist modernist's vision of a pan-Asian Buddhist unity spatially and symbolically centered upon Bodh Gayā and Sārnāth.

In traditional Tibetan guide-book narratives and maps, representations of space and time tend strongly to focus on individual or specific sites and moments and link these together in a linear fashion. By contrast, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's text and maps are more typical of the way modernist projects such as nationalism and colonialism attempt to organize space into new and large-scale imaginary wholes.[44] By using mass-produced texts together with

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writing the *Klu sgrub dgongs rgyan*, he believed that be had succeeded in the [*sic*] presenting Madhyamaka in terms adapted to his age and that the scandal it created only testified to his success. Whether dGe-'dun Chos-'phel believed this or not, there appears to be nothing in the work that is marked by such modernity." (1994b: 178). This is unusual, and LOPEZ suggests it may be because dGe-'dun Chos-'phel could have derived his ideas and presentation from other sources. It may also perhaps be taken as further evidence in favour of certain Tibetan assertions that the *Klu sgrub dgongs rgyan* was for the most part actually the work of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's student Zla-ba bZang-po and not in fact from his own hand (LOPEZ 1994b: 170, n. 24).

[44] See ANDERSON (1991: 170–175); also ABE (1995: 67–68, notes 22–25) noting the fascinating and ironic parallels between Rudyard Kipling's classic novel *Kim* (written in 1901), in which the orientalist 'curator' uses the "mighty map" for displaying the "Holy Places of Buddhism" (based on Cunningham's method!) to the Tibetan lama-pilgrim, and dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's own contact with colonial orientalists and his subsequent efforts in the *Lam yig* some three decades later! Kipling's curator character was of course modeled on his own father who

abstract maps, extensive networks of disparate sites and the time periods associated with them become seamlessly connected. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's new Buddhist holy land network, based in part on the modern rail network, linked sites together regardless of whether or not they were ever connected with each other in the actual history of Buddhism. We find the Tantrists in Swat Valley, the early Elders of Sri Lanka, the local Buddhists in Kāmarūpa and those of ancient Taxila all lumped together, and thus vast differences in time periods and cultural and geographical units become blurred or erased.

Moreover, this was an abstract whole which, unlike traditional representations, was mechanically reproduced and mass-produced with the modern printing press. For the first time many Tibetans could now share exactly the same representations of space and networking of places at once. This allowed for a shared and fixed notion of a Buddhist holy land (and perhaps greater pan-Buddhist community) extending right across the Indian sub-continent and beyond to South and West Asia. It was provided in a form which could be jointly and simultaneously imagined by Tibetans living in places quite remote from one another. The text extended this modern Buddhist space even further globally by invoking places like Berlin, London and New York as the missionary centers of a new international Buddhism.

Recollecting my first ethnographic encounters with dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's small guide-book, in the hands of my modern Tibetan exile pilgrim-informants at Bodh Gayā and Sārnāth, several thoughts and questions now come to mind. In modernity, mass produced popular text and cartography both became important vehicles for the imagination in community formation and for the linking of social group with territory. The Tibetan diaspora itself took place into the Indian Buddhist holy land, a space already redefined by both orientalists and Buddhist modernists, and a version of which dGe-'dun Chos-'phel left as a literary legacy for future Tibetans. Did the *Lam yig* help modern exiles to adapt to their new home of the past 37 years? Has it informed them in any way about being modern Buddhists, who present themselves and their religion as being 'rational' in a modern scientific sense, and who know how to link a religious identity to the imaginary territorial and historical whole with constitutes the idea of the nation?

Of all the sites mentioned by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, the 'heartland' of Bodh Gayā and Sārnāth certainly received the most attention in bis *Lam yig*. In conclusion, we can note that parallel to the earlier, rather politicized, colonization of the archaeologically recovered heartland of Indian Buddhism

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worked in the Lahore museum, and the lama-pilgrim was also quite real as Sir Aurel Stein once reported: "The inspiration came to Kipling from a holy man, a Tibetan sādhu, who many years ago came as far as Lahore and enquired from the father of the poet about the holy places to be visited in India. This Lama renewed the tradition of his ancient forerunners and was certainly unaware that he was to become one of the most interesting figures of modern literature." (TUCCI 1971: 376).

by Buddhist modernists, the colonization of both sites was also consciously made by Tibetan exiles not long after the diaspora occurred. These places have become important symbolic resources for the Tibetan exile political and religious elite and their deterritorilized constituency. The most graphic examples of this in recent times are the innovation of several key institutions of Tibetan Buddhist modernism at the two sites. I am referring here to the periodic and strategic stagings at both places of the huge Dus-'khor dBang-chen (Great Kālacakra Initiation) rituals during the last few decades, which are events with powerful social implications.[43] The premier site of modern exile education, the Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, was founded recently at Sārnāth near the spot where the Buddha is believed to have first turned the wheel of the Dharma.[44]

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[43] The Kālacakra stagings at Bodh Gayā (1974, 1985) and Sārnāth (1990–91) constituted the largest mass gatherings of Tibetans in Indian exile to date. They provide an intensive occasion for a host of social relations to be transacted, elite political messages to be broadcast, symbols to be displayed and appropriated, and so forth (cf. STRÖM 1995: 175–212). The Dalai Lama also staged a mass religious teaching of the thirty-seven bodhisattva practices at Bodh Gayā in 1981. One can also mention here the ritual use of Bodh Gayā by individual Tibetan exile Buddhist schools, such as the annual stagings since 1989 there of the sNga-'gyur sMon-lam Chen-mo or so-called 'World Peace Ceremony' by members of the rNying-ma-pa tradition (see WORLD PEACE CEREMONY 1994).

[44] This institution is an example of a new modern type of Tibetan exile education incorporating Buddhist monastic and secular lay dimensions, see STRÖM (1994: 846). The Dalai Lama originally gave a week long religious teaching to several thousand refugee Tibetans at Sarnath in 1959 just after their flight to India.

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Saṃghabheda as Depicted in the Vinaya of the Mahāvihāra School

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In the year 1961 Heinz BECHERT published a paper under the title "Aśokas 'Schismenedikt' und der Begriff Sanghabheda".[1] There he demonstrates that the group of Aśokan inscriptions known as the "schism edict" is based on the terminology of the Buddhist monastic law (Vinaya) and that the "split in the order" described in this edict therefore is not identical with the formation of Buddhist schools or sects with differing doctrinal views. This paper initiated the revival of the discussion on the meaning of this edict and its connection with the "third council" of the Pāli sources.[2] In the course of this discussion the rule Saṃghādisesa 10 of the Bhikkhupāṭimokkha which is quoted as evidence in BECHERT's paper was repeatedly referred to. Against BECHERT's interpretation the objection was made that the measure following the transgression of this Saṃghādisesa rule does not conform with the measure actually described in the edict: According to the Vinaya the breaking of a Saṃghādisesa rule implies a temporary loss of some rights for the member of the order,[3] whereas in the edict a complete expulsion of such offenders is described. At the same time some authors pointed to another Vinaya regulation which seems to contradict Saṃghādisesa 10: According to Mahāvagga I.67 a so-called *saṃghabhedaka* may not be ordained and has to be expelled provided he already has received ordination.[4] This and some other misunderstandings are mainly the result of the lack of accessibility of information about *saṃghabheda* which remains to be collected from the Suttavibhaṅga and Khandhakas.[5]

[1] *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-Ostasiens* 5, 18–52. In 1982 this paper was published in English under the title "The Importance of Aśoka's So-called Schism Edict" (BECHERT, 1982).

[2] A comprehensive description of the preceding scholarly discussion is given by NORMAN (1987), 191–194.

[3] Full information on the consequences of a Saṃghādisesa is given by NOLOT (1996), 116–136.

[4] See VOYCE (1985), 46; NORMAN (1987), 211; SASAKI (1991), 187 and 192.

[5] The relevant explanations given in the Parivāra require an independent examination and are therefore not discussed here.

Saṃghabheda, a "split in the order", is consistently presented in the Vinaya as a serious disturbance of life within the Buddhist order.[6] For example four rules of the Suttavibhaṅga contain the information that the behaviour described in the rules themselves is not judged to be an offence provided the offender tries to prevent a split in the order or a disagreement within the order by his action.[7] Cv IV.10.1-2 (Vin II 85,1-14) is in full accordance with this. There it is stated that a vote may not be carried out if the monk entrusted with the organization of the voting knows or even suspects that the realization of it will lead to a split in the order.[8] In addition, before the members of the order touch upon a legal question within the order, they have to consider whether a split in the order could take place as a result.[9] Furthermore, according to Mv III.11.5-13 (Vin I 150,23-151,36) a monk or nun may interrupt their residence during the rainy season if they do not wish to take part in a split in the order within their own Āvāsa, or if they wish to prevent residents of another Āvāsa from splitting their respective order.[10] In only one passage of the Vinaya is a split in the order defined without explicit reference to a particular incident. There a clear dividing line between *saṃghabheda* and *saṃgharāji* is drawn (Cv VII.5.1). It is stated that a disagreement within the order (*saṃgharāji*) which is settled by voting can only lead to a split in the order (*saṃghabheda*) provided at least nine monks are involved.[11] At this point BECHERT adds that the odd number of monks

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[6] In this paper the term "Saṃgha" is translated by "order" and designates local communions defined by the boundary within which all members meet in order to perform ecclesiastical acts (see BECHERT (1961), 21-23).

[7] See Vin IV 37,23-25; 128,16-18; 153,26-28; 7,29-31. The relevant rules are Pācittiya 12 (Vin IV 36,18), Pācittiya 64 (Vin IV 127,29- 30), Pācittiya 80 (Vin IV 153,19-21) of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga and Pārājika 2 (Vin IV 216,31- 217,3) of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. The subject of two of those Pātimokkha rules is that members of the order may not consciously conceal a serious offence by another member of the order of the same sex. The other two rules deal with the disturbance and the bringing to a standstill of the performance of an ecclesiastical act.

[8] See BECHERT (1961), 31.

[9] Cv IX.4 (Vin II 247,36-248,18).

[10] The statement "a nun cannot split an order" (Mv VII.5.1 = Vin I 204,4-5) only refers to the order of monks (see also Sp 1071,5-7). According to the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp 1071,2-4) a split in the order which already has taken place is no legitimate reason for an interruption of residence during the rainy season.

[11] Vin II 204,1-4: *ekato Upāli cattāro honti ekato cattāro navamo anussāveti [salākaṃ gāheti ayaṃ dhammo ayaṃ vinayo idaṃ satthu sāsanaṃ imaṃ gaṇhatha imaṃ rocethāti:] evaṃ kho Upāli saṃgharāji c' eva hoti saṃghabhedo ca. navannaṃ vā Upāli atirekanavannaṃ vā saṃgharāji c' eva hoti saṃghabhedo ca*: "Upāli, on one side there are four, on the other side there are four, and the ninth (monk) announces (the point in question) [grasps the voting symbol (and says:) 'This is the law, this is the discipline, this is the instruction of the teacher — take this (voting symbol and) choose this!':] in this case it is a disagreement within the order as well as a split in the order. When nine or more than nine (persons are taking part), Upāli, it is a disagreement within the order as well as a split in the order." See also BECHERT (1961) 30-31. VOYCE (1985, 54) completely misunderstood this regulation: "[Saṅghabheda] is constituted when in any matter there are at least five unrighteous (*Adhammavādī*) monks an one side and

ensures that by majority decision it can be determined which party is right. Furthermore, according to BECHERT only the number nine ensures that a minority party which does not accept the decision can form an independent order capable of performing the most elementary ecclesiastical acts.[12] This interpretation could be objected to with the following argument: If the criterion for being a "disagreement" or a "split" is the possibility of forming two orders capable of acting out of one, a split in the order is theoretically also possible with only eight monks taking part, namely four monks on one side and three monks on the other side together with the monk entrusted with the carrying out of the vote. The question of which party is the majority is of no relevance since neither faction accepts the opinion of the other faction — an important precondition for being *saṃghabheda*. However, an investigation of the Vinaya regulations relating to voting makes clear that the person entrusted with the carrying out of the vote always belongs to the majority party. Therefore, a case ideally will only be decided by voting provided the result is clear in advance. This monk should take a secret opinion poll beforehand, the result of which is only known to him. If those monks maintaining a "wrong" stance (*adhammavādī*) form the majority, the vote should not take place.[13] However, since the monk entrusted with the carrying out of the vote is the only person who knows the result of the opinion poll, he alone decides which is the "right" stance. This most probably will be the opinion maintained by himself. Therefore the above-mentioned hypothetical case with only seven additional monks involved cannot take place: In this case the performing monk would always be supported by at least four monks.

In the introductory story to Saṃghādisesa 10 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga the "prototype" of Saṃghabheda is given. There it is recorded that Devadatta wishes to cause a split in the order by requesting the Buddha to order the monks to observe five extreme ascetic practices. However, Devadatta right from the beginning calculates that the Buddha will not consent to his request. Therefore he makes sure of the support of three other monks with whose help he is able to form an independent Saṃgha capable of performing the elementary ecclesiastical acts. In spite of this Devadatta cannot be sure of being part of the majority party, since it is neither recorded that he was formally appointed to carry out a vote nor stated that he took an opinion poll

at least four righteous (*Dhammavādī*) monks on the other. [...] Thus for a schism to occur at least nine monks must break off from the main body of the Saṅgha."

[12] See BECHERT (1961), 31-32.

[13] See Cv IV.14.26 (Vin II 98,35-99,19); see also Cv IV.10.1 (Vin II 85,4). Probably in order to prevent abuse of these regulations it is stated in Cv IV.9 that the monk entrusted with the carrying out of the vote has to be appointed formally by a (complete) order (Vin II 84,25-37).

in advance. If his party had been restricted to those three supporting monks, he and his supporters would have formed the minority party.[14]

According to the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga, Devadatta's case was the occasion for the formulation of Saṃghādisesa 10 which forbids monks to "go foward with a schism of the order ... or ... persist in taking up some legal question leading to a dissension" (BD I, 299).[15] In Cv VII.5.1 (Vin II 204,8–9) it is stated that a monk who takes up a legal question, insists on a vote, and thus splits the order like Devadatta has himself to be a "regular" monk (*pakatatta*), has to "belong to the same communion" (*samānasaṃvāsaka*), and has to be "located within the same boundary" as the order which is being split (*samānasīmāya ṭhita*).[16] The state of being a "regular" monk entails that no ecclesiastical lawsuit is taken up against the monk in question. Thus, a monk guilty of a Saṃghādisesa offence cannot split an order. So it seems that on account of the rule Saṃghādisesa 10 a split in the order cannot take place at all: A monk showing tendencies towards splitting the order has only to be found guilty of Saṃghādisesa 10. In that case he is put "out of action", since a member of the order as a consequence of transgressing a Saṃghādisesa rule has to spend a fixed time on probation (*mānatta*). During this period he is considered "not regular" (*apakatatta*) and consequently is not in a position to cause a split in the order. However, a careful investigation of the casuistry of Saṃghādisesa 10 makes it clear that the case is a little more complicated. Saṃghādisesa 10 is one of the Pāṭimokkha regulations containing a "threefold admonition". Such an admonition is initially of an informal character: First the guilty monk is admonished informally by other monks (Vin III 173,15–23) and after that by the Saṃgha (Vin III 173,23–30). This informal admonition probably is to make the guilty monk aware of his action and its possible consequences. Only then is the formal threefold admonition performed with an ecclesiastical act. An elementary part of each and every ecclesiastical act is, however, that the whole order agrees on the matter. This is always expressed by the following threefold request to the Saṃgha: "To whichever venerable one [the performance of the ecclesiastical act] seems agreeable, he should remain silent. To whom it does not seem agreeable, he should speak." If all members of the order remain silent the ecclesiastical act is performed and its consequences become effective. If, however, some of the monks share the opinion of the monk charged with the offence, they can make use of their right to appeal against the ecclesiastical act by formulating their objections. In this case the ecclesiastical act is considered to be "not performed" and the

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[14] According to the account in the Vinaya Devadatta found 500 supporters.

[15] See also BECHERT (1961), 29.

[16] See also BECHERT (1961), 29f.; for more detailed information see KIEFFER-PÜLZ (1992), A Einl. 12 and 13.

accused monk is not guilty of the offence, as can also be seen from the formula in Saṃghādisesa 10.[17]

Precisely this situation is dealt with in the following rule, Saṃghādisesa 11 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga: The three adherents of Devadatta, already mentioned in the introductory story to Saṃghādisesa 10, oppose the monks who wish to admonish Devadatta. At this point the split in the order has not yet taken place. Here the fact should be noted that in the rule Saṃghādisesa 11 itself not the action of "monks" is made punishable, but very specifically the action of "one, two, or three monks".[18] If there are more than three monks, their action cannot be punished since they can form a Saṃgha on their own and thereby put themselves out of the reach of the jurisdiction of the affected Saṃgha.[19] In this case one cannot speak of "Saṃghabhedakas" in the sense of "those responsible for a split in the order", because the result of a split in the order is the formation of two equal factions within one order which are not able to reach an agreement on a certain question. This situation leads to the formation of two distinct communions (*nānāsaṃvāsa*). These two communions from now on do not perform Uposatha and other ecclesiastical acts together, as we are told in Cv VII.3.17.[20] Again we have to turn to the above-mentioned definition of persons capable of carrying out a vote leading to a Saṃghabheda (Cv VII.5.1): They have to be "regular" monks, they have to belong to "the same communion", and they have to be "located within the same boundary" as the affected Saṃgha. After the performance of Saṃghabheda neither party can be described as "belonging to the same communion" (*samānasaṃvāsaka*) any more, but as "belonging to a different communion" (*nānāsaṃvāsaka*), since they form distinct orders with their respective adherents. Thus it is not relevant any more whether Nānāsaṃvāsakas and Samānasaṃvāsakas are "located within the same boundary" (*samānasīmāya ṭhita*) or

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[17] Vin III 177,8: *anāpatti asamanubhāsantānam*. For this reason those rules containing a threefold admonition are of highest importance for the affected order, the members of which by agreeing to the performance of the ecclesiastical act confirm that they are of one opinion and that the opinion of the monk found guilty is wrong.

[18] Vin III 175,14–15: *tass' eva kho pana bhikkhussa bhikkhū honti anuvattakā vaggavādakā eko vā dve vā tayo vā* ... The three monks are identical with Devadatta's adherents known from Saṃghādisesa 10. In the rule itself they are called *anuvattakā* and *vaggavādakā*. According to the explanations in the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp 611,13–14) they are called *vaggavādakā* because they are not on the side of the *sāmaggisaṃgha*.

[19] The author of the *Samantapāsādikā* accordingly explains in his commentary to Saṃghādisesa 11 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga that the words "one, two, or three monks" are used, because no ecclesiastical act can be performed against a Saṃgha (Sp 611,18–20). This fact becomes evident in Saṃghādisesa 9 of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, too. There the misbehaviour of "nuns" (*bhikkhuniyo*) is punished. In the relevant casuistry the additional information is given that only two or three nuns can be admonished. If there are more than three nuns behaving as described in the rule, they should not be admonished (Vin IV 240,16–17).

[20] See Vin II 198,21–24 and 33; see also P XV.10.10 (Vin V 201,37–202,3).

not, since both orders may perform Uposatha and ecclesiastical acts within the same boundary but not together with each other.[21]

One could raise the objection that the terms *samānasaṃvāsa* and *nānāsaṃvāsa* in the Vinaya refer to the relationship between suspending monks (*ukkhepakā bhikkhū*) and a group of monks consisting of the suspended monk (*ukkhitta bhikkhu*) and other monks who share his opinion (*ukkhittānuvattakā bhikkhū*).[22] However, the formation of two distinct orders as a consequence of a Ukkhepaniyakamma in Mv X.1.5 and Mv X.2.1 is equated by the Buddha himself with a split in the order. The separation of *ukkhepakā bhikkhū* and *ukkhittānuvattakā bhikkhū* prompts the Buddha to say that "the order is split".[23] Additionally, the rules prescribing the proper conduct of Samānasaṃvāsakas towards Nānāsaṃvāsakas and *vice versa* are introduced by the words: "Monks, if the order is split ..."[24] Thus, at least the result of a Saṃghabheda and the possible (but not inevitable) result of an Ukkhepaniyakamma are equated in a juridical sense, since the consequences of both proceedings do not differ at all: In both cases the communions which have separated form distinct new orders which are *nānāsaṃvāsaka*-communions with respect to each other. These new orders do not perform Uposatha and the ecclesiastical acts together. Additionally, in both cases the ordination of the members of the other faction is considered valid. Thus in Cv VII.4.2-3 it is stated that adherents of a monk who caused a split in the order who later wish to return to their original community do not have to receive Upasampadā anew but only have to confess a Thullaccaya offence.[25] Therefore, the original ordination is not anulled but is fully accepted. After a suspension the suspended monk can also return to his original community. He merely has to accept the punishment imposed on him because of his primary misbehaviour.[26]

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[21] Mv X.1.9-10 (Vin I 340,21-38). See KIEFFER-PÜLZ (1992), A 8.7. Contrary to BECHERT's opinion (1961, 34-35) only the original order is no longer capable of acting, and in its place two distinct orders now come into existence which are by all means capable of acting.

[22] See Mv X.1.1-4. A suspension of a member of the order can be performed by the Saṃgha for three reasons: The person in question does not make amends for his offence (*āpattiyā appaṭikamme ukkhepaniyakamma*; see Cv I.31), he does not recognize his offence (*āpattiyā adassane ukkhepaniyakamma*; see Cv I.25-30), or does not give up a wrong view (*pāpikāya diṭṭhiyā appaṭinissagge ukkhepaniyakamma*, see Cv I.32-34).

[23] Mv X.1.5 (Vin I 338,27-28): *bhinno bhikkhusaṃgho ti*; cf. Sp 1149,11-17.

[24] Mv X.2.1 (Vin I 341,17-18): *bhinne bhikkhave saṃghe* ... If an order is split both parties have to act friendly towards each other — in no case should they quarrel or raise their hands against each other. They even may take seats next to each other (Mv X.2.1 = Vin I 341,13-19).

[25] After the split in the order caused by Devadatta the Buddha ordered Sāriputta and Moggallāna to go and bring back the followers of Devadatta (Cv VII.4.1 = Vin II 199,19-23). After their successful return they thought it best to bestow a new ordination on the other monks. However, the Buddha decreed that these monks only had to confess a Thullaccaya (Cv VII.4.4 = Vin II 201,1.5).

[26] See Mv X.1.10 (Vin I 340,34-38), Mv I.79.2 (Vin I 97,29-32), Mv X.5.11-12 (Vin I 356,26-30 and 357,2-4).

In spite of these agreements regarding the results of both proceedings, Saṃghabheda and a suspension with a subsequent formation of distinct communions differ with regard to origin: A suspension is performed by an ecclesiastical act against single members of the order, whereas Saṃghabheda can only result from a vote within the order, provided the minority party does not follow the majority decision but insists on its view.[27] This minority party has to consist of at least four members right from the beginning. The formation of "another communion" as a consequence of a suspension, however, takes place step by step and does not accompany the suspension itself.

However, in the long run an Ukkhepaniyakamma involves the danger of a split in the order. For that reason the monks are urgently warned not to suspend other monks on account of every difference of opinion.[28] The close relationship of both proceedings can also be seen from the fact that the monks are exhorted not to suspend "wise and competent" monks, since then neither Uposatha nor Pavāraṇā nor the ecclesiastial acts can be performed together with those monks. This in turn would inevitably lead to quarreling (...), Saṃghabheda and dissension within the order.[29] On the other hand the restitution of suspended members of the order, which is accompanied by the reintegration of their faction, is followed by a so-called *sāmaggi-uposatha*, "because a split in the order and a dissension within the order is warded off".[30]

Saṃghabheda is not wished for, but sometimes is inevitable, as can be seen from the passages listed above. The term *saṃghabhedaka* is used in most cases to designate monks who purposely cause a split in the order. In the rule Saṃghādisesa 10 itself the term *saṃghabhedaka* is not applied, for the precept as such does not imply that the monk has Saṃghabheda in mind when insisting on a discussion about an unsolved legal question. We should not neglect the possibility that such a monk could be convinced that he is right or that he might in fact be right! In that case according to the casuistry other monks and the order should first point out to this monk that the continuation of the dispute involves the danger of a split in the order. Only then can one be sure that a monk who still insists on the settling of the question tacitly accepts a split in the order. Accordingly, "this monk" is explained by the old commentary as "this Saṃghabhedaka monk" (Vin III 173,15). Only

[27] A split in the order is always effected by a vote with voting symbols (salāka; see Vin II 199,1–11).

[28] Mv X.1.5 (Vin I 338,31–33): *mā kho tumhe bhikkhave paṭibhāti no paṭibhāti no 'ti yasmiṃ vā tasmiṃ vā bhikkhuṃ ukkhipitabbaṃ maññittha.*

[29] Mv X.1.6–7 (Vin I 338,33–339,25). Monks who tend to suspend others on any occasion are called *bhedagarukā bhikkhū* (see Mv X.1.6 = Vin I 339,4–5).

[30] Mv X.5.14 (Vin I 357,18–37): *katā saṃghena tassa vatthussa vūpasamāya saṃghasāmaggī nihatā saṃgharāji nihato saṃghabhedo*; see also BECHERT (1961), 34 f.

now is the ecclesiastical act of the threefold admonition performed by the Saṃgha, the successful performance of which is proof that the accused monk has no adherents within the Saṃgha (see above).

In the above-mentioned passage of the Cullavagga where Saṃghabheda is described as the result of a vote by at least nine monks, the term *saṃghabhedaka* is not used either. There it is stated that "the order is split" and that the monk who was entrusted with carrying out the vote "split the order". The nine monks involved in a split in the order do not necessarily have the intention of doing so.[31] Only a monk like Devadatta who brings a point under discussion to a vote, even though he knows that this proceeding can result in a Saṃghabheda, can be called a *saṃghabhedaka*. After the death of the Buddha and thus with no other authority than the Vinaya regulations this judgement — whether to speak of a Saṃghabhedaka or not — can only be made in retrospect, that is, when all adherents of the Saṃghabhedaka return to their original communion and the Saṃghabhedaka is thus isolated.

In one passage of the Vinaya the intentional and the unintentional splitting of the order are judged very differently. However, this difference is not expressed by differing consequences in Buddhist ecclesiastical law, but by the threat of negative consequences after this life: A person intentionally causing Saṃghabheda has to spend one Kappa in hell, whereas a monk who causes Saṃghabheda unintentionally will not go to hell at all.[32] In this passage both kinds of monks are called *saṃghabhedaka*, contrary to the above-mentioned references.

The term *saṃghabhedaka* is also used in the regulation of the Mahāvagga which is referred to at the beginning of this paper and which at a first sight seems to contradict Saṃghādisesa 10 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga. In the first chapter of the Mahāvagga eleven groups of individuals are listed who may not receive full ordination and who must be expelled if they already have been ordained.[33] One of these eleven groups are the Saṃghabhedakas (Mv I.67).[34] In the first part of this regulation the term *saṃghabhedaka* evidently

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[31] Another standpoint is maintained by BECHERT (1961), 28.

[32] Cv VII.5.5 and 6 (Vin II 205,11–206,11); see also P XV.11–12 (Vin V 202,8–203,29).

[33] These eleven groups are listed together in other contexts, too: They may not act as an Upajjhāya (Mv I.69.4 = Vin I 89,32–90,9; see also Sp 1025,13–18), they may not act as monks who transmit to the Saṃgha the declaration of a monk unable to take part at Uposatha (Mv II.22.3 = Vin I 120,26–121,24), they may not transmit to the Saṃgha the consent of a monk unable to take part in an ecclesiastical act (Mv II.23.3 = Vin I 122,8–16), they may not participate in the recitation of the Pātimokkha (Mv II.36.1–2 = Vin I 135,25–136,5), they may not transmit to the Saṃgha a declaration of a monk unable to take part in Pavāraṇā (Mv IV.3.5 = Vin I 161,15–21), they may not themselves take part in Pavāraṇā (Mv IV.14.2 = Vin I 168,5– 15), and they may not take part in an ecclesiastical act (Mv IX.4.2–5 = Vin I 320,2–31). See also Mv IX.4.7 (Vin I 321,7–24), Mv IX.4.10 (Vin I 322,5–17), Mv VIII.30 (Vin I 306,35– 308,11) and Cv VI.17.3 (Vin II 173,15–174,3).

[34] Vin I 89,13–15: *saṃghabhedako bhikkhave anupasampanno na upasampādetabbo, upasampanno nāsetabbo.*

refers to the past: An individual who does not belong to the order (*anupasampanna*) is not able to split the order (see above, Cv VII.5.1) and consequently cannot be called a Saṃghabhedaka. At the same time ordination can be conferred only on a person who is not at present a member of the order. Thus this individual at some time in the past must have been a member of the order and have split the order (intentionally).[35] The second part of the regulation can only refer to the situation where an order unwittingly confers ordination on such a person. In this case the ordination is not valid, since it is "defective in material" (*vatthuvipatti*) — the "material" of this ecclesiastical act is the person ordained.[36] It is thus proved that Saṃghādisesa 10 and the regulation in Mahāvagga I.67 are not contradictory at all: Since the ordination of an individual who formerly intentionally caused a split in the order is "defective in material", it is not legally valid, the Saṃghabhedaka is only seemingly ordained, and he consequently cannot be subject to Budhist ecclesiastical law.[37] This is reflected by the use of the term *nāsetabbo*, the application of which in turn indicates that the regulation in Mahāvagga I.67 does belong to an older stratum of the Vinaya.[38] At the same time, the wording of the edict fully tallies with the use of the term *nāsetabbo*: "the monk or nun has to be made to wear white clothes" can only refer to the so-called *liṅga-nāsanā*, which implies "depriving of the robe".[39] Thus, the edict probably was formulated at a relatively early stage in the development of Buddhist ecclesiastical law when the Vinaya was not as fully developed as the version at hand today.[40]

According to the above-mentioned description of the "prototype" of Saṃghabheda in the introductory story to Saṃghādisesa 10 and in the seventh chap-

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[35] Apart from Saṃghabhedakas there is another group among the eleven groups the designation of which can only refer to a previous membership in the order: "A person who changed to another religious group" (*titthiyapakkantaka*) must have been a member of the order at the time of this change. This is very clearly expressed in the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp 990,27-991,4). See also HÜSKEN (1997b), 2.6.2.26.

[36] See P XIX.1.9 (Vin V 222,6-14): *vatthuvipannaṃ adhammakammaṃ*.

[37] According to the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp 1024,7-11) such a person may not even receive lower ordination.

[38] See HÜSKEN (1997a).

[39] See HÜSKEN (1997a). Thus Aśoka in the edict did not "exceed the provisions of the Vinaya" as is stated by VOYCE (1985, 40 and 55f.). On page 42 of the same paper VOYCE contradictorily states that Aśoka was "enforcing by legislation the injunction found in the Mahāvagga". NORMAN thinks that Aśoka announced a "more severe penalty than that laid down in the Vinaya-piṭaka" (1987, 214).

[40] VON HINÜBER (1989, 42), however, states that the regulation in Mahāvagga I.67 belongs to a younger stratum of the Vinaya: "Da dieser Mönch [aus Saṃghādisesa 10], sollte er Erfolg haben, nicht mehr dem Saṃgha angehören würde, gibt es folgerichtig keine Vorschrift, die etwa seinen Ausschluß aus der Gemeinde fordern müßte. [...] erst im Mahākhandaka [steht] ein entsprechender Zusatz [...] ." As was shown above, a Saṃghabhedaka no longer belongs to the "original" communion (which no longer exists), but is a full member of one of the two orders which now come into existence.

ter of Cullavagga, Devadatta's demand that five extreme ascetic practices be observed by monks and nuns led to a split in the order in this particular case.[41] These practices are interpreted by SASAKI as doctrinal deviations.[42] This is his main argument for his thesis that, according to the Theravāda Vinaya, Saṃghabheda happens because of doctrinal questions. However, although it is undoubtedly true that the observance of austere ascetic practices contradicts the spirit of the "Middle Way", the demands of Devadatta relate to discipline: The five points explicitly define right and wrong behaviour of the members of the order. Therefore, in this particular case, too, the split in the order was caused by differences concerning Buddhist ecclesiastical law.

In Cullavagga VII.5.2 the eighteen general causes of Saṃghabheda are listed without reference to any particular incident (Vin II 204,10-27).[43] BECHERT (1961, 32-33) convincingly shows that all eighteen of these points refer to matters of discipline, since in this list *dhamma* means "law" and thus is synonymous with *vinaya*. SASAKI is careful neither to make reference to this passage nor to discuss BECHERT's arguments.[44] However, BECHERT's thesis is confirmed by other facts. It was shown above that Ukkhepaniyakammas do have a close relationship to Saṃghabheda in that both proceedings can lead to the formation of two distinct communions (*nānāsaṃvāsa*). The immediate consequences of the three distinct Ukkhepaniyakammas for the

[41] Devadatta demanded the following: Monks should live in the wilderness their whole lives long and should not set foot in a village, they should live only from alms and not accept any invitation, they should only wear robes made of rags and not accept any robes given by householders, they should take up residence only at the root of a tree their whole lives long and never set foot under a roof, and they should eat neither fish nor meat their whole lives long (see Vin III 171,18-25 etc.).

[42] See SASAKI (1991), 186, and SASAKI (1992), 163-164.

[43] Additionally, in the old commentary to Saṃghādisesa 10 these eighteen points are explicitly referred to (Vin III 173,11-12). A vote in the Vinaya is listed as a possible procedure for the settling of a "legal question concerning controversies" (*vivādādhikaraṇa*; see Cv IV.14.16 = Vin II 93,28). This procedure can be applied provided even a committee is not able to settle the question (Cv IV.14.24 = Vin II 97,17-23). The reasons for the development of such a legal question are identical with the reasons for Saṃghabheda (see Cv IV 14.2 = Vin II 88,20-28; see also Vin II 92,8-11). With respect to *vivādādhikaraṇa* we also find the statement that one has to differentiate between whether the legal question has been taken up with a "pure heart" or with an "impure heart" (see Cv IV.14.8 = Vin II 91,1-13). On the other hand in Cv VII.5.3 *saṃghasāmaggī* is defined as existing provided the members of an order are in agreement with each other concerning these eighteen points (Vin II 204,27-38).

[44] In addition, SASAKI (1992, 165) does not translate the term *dharma* which occurs in one passage of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin. This passage corresponds to the above-mentioned Pāli passages referred to by BECHERT. However, SASAKI without explanation assumes that *dharma* means "doctrine". The other points from this list which undoubtedly refer to discipline and which are also part of the Sarvāstivāda list, are not mentioned by SASAKI at all (1992, 164-165). Furthermore SASAKI seems to have misunderstood BECHERT's arguments, since BECHERT does not assume at all that Saṃghabheda is "the split-up of a regional order due to a confrontation regarding the performance of a group ceremony", as SASAKI states (1991, 182).

suspended person differ according to the reason for suspension. A transgression of monastic discipline is twice mentioned as being an occasion for a suspension: If the culprit does not accept his offence (*āpattiyā adassane ukkhepaniyakamma*) and if he does not make amends for his offence (*āpattiyā appaṭikamme ukkhepaniyakamma*). In both cases the offender is not allowed to live under one roof with a "regular" monk any longer (Cv I.27 = Vin II,30–31). On the other hand, a suspension because the culprit persists in holding a wrong view (*pāpikāya diṭṭhiyā apaṭinnissagge ukkhepaniyakamma*), which evidently can be performed because of doctrinal differences, does not entail this restriction, but primarily the barring of the offender from certain functions within the order (Cv I.31 = Vin II 25,1–7).[45] Thus the principle recognized by BECHERT that within one local order more than one doctrinal view could by all means be represented as long as there were no differences concerning monastic discipline[46] is implicitly expressed in the Vinaya itself. At the same time it is evident that a great variety of opinions within one communion is not desirable and should be avoided.

It may well be that during the Buddha's lifetime an event similar to the "story of Devadatta" took place. Possibly a certain monk, whether called "Devadatta" or not, wanted to establish his own order and to this end resorted to the already existing "pool" of individuals striving for salvation, the Buddhist order. According to the descriptions in the Vinaya this monk in the long run was not successful, but nevertheless the danger of a "split in the order" became evident. Thus steps had to be taken against it. This was done at a relatively early stage in the development of Buddhist monastic law by incorporating some regulations into the monastic code.[47] In the course of this Mahāvagga I.67 (among others) surely was included, the early date of which is proved by its wording. However, it cannot be ruled out that the order called on influential lay followers for help if the order itself could not handle troublemakers without transgressing some of the disciplinary rules. Possibly the two above-mentioned Saṃghādisesa rules were also formulated at this time in order to provide preventive measures against Saṃghabheda.[48] However, after the death of the Buddha in many cases the decision which of two positions was in accordance with the word of the Buddha was not clear, since many matters had not yet been regulated unambigiously. Accordingly,

[45] In this case, however, the "regular" monks should not maintain close contact with the suspended monk, as can be seen from Pācittiya 69 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga.

[46] See BECHERT (1985), 39–44.

[47] This makes it intelligible why there is not a record of the formal appointment of Devadatta to the function of carrying out the vote (see above, note 13), since the relevant regulation as well as the regulations regarding conditions necessary for the validity of a vote (Cv IV.9 and 10) were first formulated after and on account of the "story of Devadatta".

[48] However, the detailed regulations regarding the threefold admonition and possibly the threefold admonition itself certainly form part of the younger stratum of the Vibhaṅga.

many questions had to be solved with the help of the Vinaya alone. Since in the Vinaya Saṃghabheda is given a very prominent position one can conclude that the number of situations increased, in which factions were not able to come to a common decision. Thus a method for the handling of such situations had to be developed in order to prevent the Buddhist order and with it the Buddhist teaching from disappearing, since such differences did not necessarily touch the core of monastic life. At this point the regulations concerning Saṃghabheda in the Khandhakas were probably formulated, in which the necessary preconditions for the rightful application of the term *saṃghabheda* and the legal relationship between the opposing factions are defined. The regulation in Mahāvagga I.67 which had already been included into the Vinaya remained untouched since it is considered to be the word of the Buddha. It was integrated into the legal system which at this point already was much more elaborate by implicitly equating *saṃghabhedaka* and a person who intentionally splits the order.[49] In the Vinaya there is but little concrete material concerning the reasons for Saṃghabheda. The reasons given in the "story of Devadatta" certainly cannot be generalized. The list of eighteen reasons for Saṃghabheda is not completely unambiguous but points to the fact that the main factor in Saṃghabheda was seen in different opinions regarding questions of monastic discipline.

Thus it is remarkable that the Vinaya regulations ensuring the continuation of the Buddhist order as a *cātuddisa saṃgha* at the same time allow a split in local orders into distinct but mutually accepting orders.

Abbreviations and bibliography

BD = Isaline Blew HORNER, *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya Piṭaka)*, 6 Vols., London, 1938–1966 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series, 10, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25).

BECHERT (1961) = Heinz BECHERT, "Aśokas 'Schismenedikt' und der Begriff Sanghabheda", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-Ostasiens* 5, 18–52.

BECHERT (1985) = Heinz BECHERT, "Einleitung", *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, Bd. 1, ed. by Heinz BECHERT (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung III, 1), Göttingen (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 149), 20–54.

BECHERT (1982) = Heinz BECHERT, "The Importance of Aśoka's So-called Schism Edict", *Indological and Buddhist Studies, Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. L. A. HERCUS and others, Canberra, 61–88.

Cv = Cullavagga.

[49] In Cv VII.3.16 (Vin II 198.10–13) it is indiscriminately stated that a monk who splits the order has to burn in hell for one Kappa. Thus the above-mentioned passage differentiating between intentional and unintentional split in the order probably belongs to a later stratum, too.

von Hinüber (1989) = Oskar von Hinüber, *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*, Mainz (Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 11).

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Mv = Mahāvagga.

Nolot (1996) = Édith Nolot, "Studies in Vinaya Technical Terms, I-III", *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XXII, 73-150.

Norman (1987) = Kenneth Roy Norman, "Aśoka's 'Schism' Edict" (*Buddhist Seminar* [Otani], 46, 1-34); reprint: Kenneth Roy Norman, *Collected Papers* III, Oxford, 1992, 191-218.

Sasaki (1991) = Shizuka Sasaki, "Buddhist Sects in the Aśoka Period (1): The meaning of the schism edict", *Bukkyō Kenkyū/Buddhist Studies* 20, 181-202.

Sasaki (1992) = Shizuka Sasaki, "Buddhist Sects in the Aśoka Period (2): Saṃghabheda (1)", *Bukkyō Kenkyū/Buddhist Studies* 21, 157-176.

Sp = *Samantapāsādikā, Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā*, ed. J. Takakusu, M. Nagai (and K. Mizuno in Vols. 5 and 7), 7 Vols., London, 1924-1947 [Index Vol. by H. Kopp, London, 1977] (Pali Text Society).

Vin = *Vinayapiṭaka*, ed. Hermann Oldenberg, 5 Vols., London, 1879-1883 (Pali Text Society).

Voyce (1985) = M. B. Voyce, "The King's Enforcement of the Vinaya Pitaka: The Purification of the Saṅgha under Aśoka (c. B.C. 269-232)", *Zeitschrift für Religionen und Geistesgeschichte* 37, 38-57.

The 17 Titles of the *Vinayavastu* in the *Mahāvyutpatti*
— Contributions to Indo-Tibetan Lexicography II —

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In a previous article[1] I tried to show that the Vinaya entries in the *Mahāvyutpatti* are not derived directly from the canonical texts, but from Guṇaprabha's commentaries, especially his *Vinayasūtra* and *Vinayasūtravṛtti*, which seem to have strongly influenced the 'Dul ba tradition in Tibet from the very beginning.

The aim of the present investigation is, on the one hand, to corroborate the above mentioned assumption by another example. It concerns the 17 titles of the *Vinayavastu* and their sequence as found in chapter 275 of the *Mahāvyutpatti* which obviously do not follow the canonical text (see §§ 1–2). On the other hand, once Guṇaprabha is identified as the source of these *Mahāvyutpatti* entries (§ 3), the question arises, whether there are two traditions within the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, an early canonical one and, deviating from it, a later commentarial one (§ 4).

§ 1. *The titles of the Vinayavastu in the Kanjur and in the Gilgit Sanskrit manuscript*

The Buddhist disciplinary literature (Vinaya/'Dul ba) in general consists of three major parts: (a) *Vinayavibhaṅga/'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, (b) *Vinayavastu/'Dul ba gži*[2], and (c) Appendix.[3] Here, I would like to draw atten-

[1] "On the Sources of Some Entries in the *Mahāvyutpatti — Contributions to Indo-Tibetan Lexicography I*", *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur (II), Gustav Roth zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, hrsg. von H. BECHERT und P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ, Göttingen, 1997 (forthcoming). For recent studies on the Vyutpatti treatises, I refer to § 1 with notes in this article; for some considerations in general concerning the series of my studies on the *Mahāvyutpatti*, which the present article belongs to, cf. §§ 2 and 6 there.

[2] In the arrangement of these three major parts, the 'Dul ba section of the Tibetan Kanjur deviates from all other Vinaya traditions; i.e. the 'Dul ba gži/Vinayavastu is put here before the 'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa/Vinayavibhaṅga. This problem has been pointed out by H. EIMER, *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gži*, pp. 12–17, and "Zur Reihenfolge der Texte in der Abteilung Vinaya des tibetischen Kanjur". I will investigate the reason for this rearrangement more extensively in another article.

[3] For the Vinaya literature and that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins particular, cf. H. HU-V. HINÜBER, *Das Poṣadhavastu*, pp. 50–56, and further studies quoted there.

tion only to the (b) *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. This branch of the Buddhist literature, which consists of 17 parts (*vastu/gźi*), is extant in a complete Tibetan translation included in the Kanjur collection, and almost complete in the Sanskrit manuscripts found in Gilgit in 1931.[4]

As the comparative studies[5] on the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts show, the texts of the *'Dul ba gźi* in the Kanjur agree basicly with the respective Sanskrit texts from Gilgit. Particularly the fact that the 17 titles of the 'Dul ba gźi texts are exactly the same as found in the Gilgit Sanskrit manuscript of the Vinayavastu is important for the present investigation. The true sequence of the 17 Sanskrit *vastus* in the Gilgit manuscript was not that clear for a long time until K. WILLE finally in 1990 corrected the mistakes concerning the reading of the numbers of the folios.[6]

It can be seen in the following list that there is no difference between the 17 Sanskrit and Tibetan titles, neither in wording nor in sequence. I suggest to call this tradition "c a n o n i c a l" in order to distinguish it from the later development of the commentarial tradition.

The Sanskrit manuscript from Gilgit and the Kanjur text

1. Pravrajyāvastu (ordination)	1. Rab tu 'byun ba'i gźi[7]
2. Poṣadhavastu (confession)	2. gSo sbyon gi gźi
3. Varṣāvastu (rainy season)	3. dGag dbye'i gźi
4. Pravāraṇāvastu (invitation)	4. dByar gyi gźi
5. Carmavastu (leather objects)	5. Ko lpags kyi gźi
6. Bhaiṣajyavastu (medicine)	6. sMan gyi gźi
7. Cīvaravastu (robes)	7. Gos kyi gźi
8. Kaṭhinavastu (cloth given by laymen)	8. Sra brkyan gi gźi
9. *Kośāmbakavastu* (on disputes)	9. Ko śam bi'i gźi

[4] Only 7 (Vinaya-)*vastus* are extant in Chinese translation which are not relevant for the present discussion.

[5] For the studies on the different parts of the Gilgit Skt. Ms. of the *Vinayavastu* — some in comparison with the Tibetan translation — by N. DUTT, S. LÉVI, R. GNOLI, H. BECHERT, V. NÄTHER, K. CHANG and C. VOGEL/K. WILLE, cf. K. WILLE, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Vinayavastu der Mūlasarvāstivādin*, pp. 27–34. More for the relationship between the Skt. and Tibetan texts of the *Poṣadhavastu* see H. HU-V. HINÜBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–75.

[6] See K. WILLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–23. The sequence of the 17 Skt. titles in the list of the "*Vinayavastu* der Mūlasarvāstivādins" given by H. EIMER, *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gźi*, vol. I, p. 19, is wrong and confusing. EIMER who follows FRAUWALLNER puts the *Varṣāvastu* as the 3. part before the *Pravāraṇāvastu* as the 4. part, and the *Śayanāsanavastu* as the 17. part after the *Adhikaraṇavastu* as the 15. part and the *Saṅghabhedavastu* as the 16. part. EIMER obviously misunderstood FRAUWALLNER whose arrangement of the 17 *vastus* is based on a comparative analyse of all Vinaya schools. Actually, E. FRAUWALLNER, *The Earliest Vinaya*, pp. 82, 84, 114, 117 and 121, discussed, probably according to the Kanjur, each of the above mentioned five *vastus* and their sequence as arranged by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

[7] For the arrangement of the 17 *gźis* in the Kanjur, cf. Otani Catalogue, p. 160, and J. L. PANGLUNG, *Die Erzählstoffe*, pp. IX and 11–84.

10. Karmavastu (law acts)	10. Las kyi gźi
11. *Pāṇḍulohitakavastu* (trial)	11. dMar ser can gyi gźi
12. *Pudgalavastu* (proceeding)	12. Gaṅ zag gi gźi
13. *Pārivāsikavastu* (suspension)	13. sPo ba'i gźi
14. *Poṣadhasthāpanavastu* (suspension of Poṣadha)	14. gSo sbyoṅ gźag pa'i gźi
15. Śayanāsanavastu (furniture)	15. gNas mal gyi gźi
16. Adhikaraṇavastu (settling a dispute)	16. rTsod pa'i gźi
17. *Saṅghabhedavastu* (splitting the order)	17. dGe 'dun gyi dbyen gyi gźi

§ 2. *The 17 Vinayavastu titles in chapter 275 of the Mahāvyutpatti*

Comparing the above list with the 17 *Vinayavastu* titles in chapter 275 of the *Mahāvyutpatti*, the latter differs significantly from the canonical tradition in two aspects: the wording of 6 *vastus* and the arrangement of the last 13 *vastus*.

Mahāvyutpatti(S) 9099 § CCLXXV. gŹi bcu bdun la/bŹi bcu bdun la[8]

9100	(1) Pravrajyāvastu	Rab tu byuṅ ba'i gźi
9101	(2) Poṣadhavastu	gSo sbyoṅ gi gźi
9102	(3) Varṣāvastu	dByar gyi gźi/Gyar gyi gźi
9103	(4) Pravāraṇa[(!)]vastu[9]	dGag dbye'i gźi
9104	(5) Kaṭhinavastu	Sra brkyaṅ kyi gźi
9105	(6) Cīvaravastu	Gos kyi gźi
9106	(7) Carmavastu	Go lpags kyi gźi
9107	(8) Bhaiṣajyavastu	rTsi'i gźi/sMan gyi gźi
9108	(9) Karmavastu	Las kyi gźi
9109	(10) *Pratikriyāvastu*	Phyir bcos pa'i gźi
9110	(11) *Kālākālasampadvastu*	Dos daṅ dus ma yin pa(r) daṅ sbyar ba'i gźi
9111	(12) *Bhūmyantarasthacaraṇavastu*	Sa gźan du spos pa'i spyod pa'i gźi/Sa gźan du spo ba 'am sos pa'i gźi
9112	(13) *Parikarma(ṇa)vastu*[10]	Yoṅs su spyaṅs pa'i gźi
9113	(14) *Karmabhedavastu*	Las mi mthun pa'i gźi
9114	(15) *Cakrabhedavastu*	'Khor lo mi mthun pa'i gźi

[8] Cf. *Mahāvyutpatti*(I/F), no. 9036–9053, particularly for the variants of the following Tibetan titles (except for the variant *gźi/bźi* which occurs frequently): no. 9083(S. 9101), 9039(S.9102), 9043(S.9106), 9044(S.9107), 9046(S.9109), 9047(S.9110), 9048(S.9111), and 9049(S.9112).

[9] So read *Mvy*(S), H. EIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 19, and *Mvy*(I/F), no. 9040. For the correct reading *pravāraṇā*°, cf. K. WILLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29, R. SANKRITYAYANA (ed.), *Vinayasūtra*, p. 81,29 *pravāraṇāvastu* (also p. 80,26 *pravāraṇāviddhi*), H. HÄRTEL, *Karmavācanā*, pp. 39-40 (e.g. 155V1, V5, and 120V2), and E. FRAUWALLNER, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[10] *Mvy*(S) and R. SANKRITYAYANA, *Vinayasūtra*, p. 7, read *parikarmavastu*; for the reading *parikarmaṇavastu*, cf. *Mvy*(S), p. 583, n. 1, *Mvy*(I/F), no. 9049, and R. SANKRITYAYANA, *op. cit.*, p. 106,28 *pā(!)rikarmaṇa(?)vastupṛcchā*.

> *vedanāya* ... *saññāya* ... *saṃkhāresu* ... *viññāṇe sati, viññāṇaṃ upādāya viññāṇaṃ abhinivissa evaṃ diṭṭhi uppajjati* ...[12]

This view, as well as the "nihilism" (*ucchedadiṭṭhi*), which does not arise either without some attachment to the *khandha*-s, is condemned.

So much for this view. Professor NORMAN only touches upon the fifth view mentioned in our passage, viz. the one that identifies the *ātman* with the fifth *khandha*, the *viññāṇa*.[13] But the terms in which this view is expressed — *yaṃ p' idaṃ diṭṭhaṃ sutaṃ mutaṃ viññātaṃ pattaṃ pariyesitaṃ anuvicaritaṃ manasā taṃ pi 'etaṃ mama, eso 'ham asmi, eso me attā' ti samanupassati* — have given rise to some discussion.

These words have been contrasted with those of Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad:*

> *ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ. Maitreyi, ātmano vā are darśanena śravaṇena matyā vijñānenedaṃ sarvaṃ viditam (ātmani khalv are dṛṣṭe śrute mate vijñāta idaṃ sarvaṃ viditam).*[14]

However, no sensible reader of the Upaniṣads will believe that in the Upaniṣads, and particularly with the great thinker Yājñavalkya,[15] the *ātman*, the Absolute (and not the psycho-physical being), can be seen, as you see, for instance, a cow, or shown as one shows a cow by holding it by its horns.[16] This interpretation — if it can be called an interpretation at all — is contradicted by *all* statements of Yājñavalkya:

> *yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati* ... *tad itara itaraṃ paśyati, tad itara itaraṃ śṛṇoti* ... *tad itara itaraṃ manute, tad itara itaraṃ vijānāti. yatra vā asya sarvam ātmaivābhūt* ... *tat kena kaṃ paśyet, tat kena kaṃ śṛṇuyāt* ... *tat kena kaṃ manvīta, tat kena kaṃ vijānīyāt.*[17]
>
> *na dṛṣṭer draṣṭāraṃ paśyer na śruteḥ śrotāraṃ śṛṇuyā na mater mantāraṃ manvīthā na vijñāter vijñātāraṃ vijānīyāḥ.*[18]
>
> *adṛṣṭo draṣṭāśrutaḥ śrotāmato mantāvijñāto vijñātā.*[19]
>
> *adṛṣṭaṃ draṣṭṛ aśrutaṃ śrotṛ amataṃ mantṛ avijñātaṃ vijñātṛ.*[20]

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[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 182–183. See also the passage of the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* itself at *Majjhima-Nikāya* I, pp. 138–139.

[13] See "*Diṭṭham Sutam Mutam Viññātam*", *loc. cit.*, p. 11 and n. 3.

[14] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* II. 4. 5; IV. 5. 6.

[15] Cf. DEUSSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[16] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* III. 4. — *viṣpaṣṭaṃ śṛṅge gṛhītvā yathā gāṃ darśayati*, Śaṅkara *ad loc.*, p. 441.

[17] *Ibid.* II. 4, 14 (cf. IV. 5. 15). Cf. *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* VII. 24. The passage has been discussed in *L'Ātman-Brahman*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[18] *Ibid.* III. 4. 2.

[19] *Ibid.* III. 7. 23.

[20] *Ibid.* III. 8. 11.

9115 (16) Adhikaraṇavastu — rTsod pa'i gźi
9116 (17) Śayanāsanavastu — Mal cha 'i gźi

First, the titles of altogether 6 parts are changed completely in the *Mahāvyutpatti* where the following 6 titles as found in the Gilgit Sanskrit manuscript and the Kanjur:

Gilgit no. 9. Kośāmbakavastu/Ko śam bi'i gźi
Gilgit no.11. Pāṇḍulohitakavastu/dMar ser can gyi gźi
Gilgit no.12. Pudgalavastu/Gaṅ zag gi gźi
Gilgit no.13. Pārivāsikavastu/sPo ba'i gźi
Gilgit no.14. Poṣadhasthāpanavastu/gSo sbyoṅ gźag pa'i gźi
Gilgit no.17. Saṅghabbedavastu/dGe 'dun gyi dbyen gyi gźi

are replaced by:

Mvy 9109 (10) Pratikriyāvastu/Phyir bcos pa'i gźi
Mvy 9110 (11) Kālākālasampadvastu/Dus daṅ dus ma yin pa(r) daṅ sbyar ba'i gźi
Mvy 9111 (12) Bhūmyantarasthacaraṇavastu/Sa gźan du spos pa'i spyod pa'i gźi/Sa gźan du spo ba 'am sos pa'i gźi
Mvy 9112 (13) Parikarma(ṇa)vastu/Yoṅs su spyaṅs pa'i gźi
Mvy 9113 (14) Karmabhedavastu/Las mi mthun pa'i gźi
Mvy 9114 (15) Cakrabhedavastu/'Khor lo mi mthun pa'i gźi

As far as the sequence of the 17 *vastus* is concerned, it should be mentioned that the 17 parts of the *Vinayavastu* can be devided into three main topics, as suggested by J. L. PANGLUNG:[11]

(a) *Pravrajyāvastu:* dealing with the admission to the order;
(b) *Poṣadhavastu, Varṣāvastu* and *Pravāraṇāvastu:* dealing with keeping the discipline;
(c) the remaining 13 *vastus*: containing different rules regarding everyday life and punishment in case of breaking the discipline.

Coming back to the sequence of the 17 *vastus* listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, there is an interesting fact to be observed: the first two main topics (a) and (b), i.e. the first 4 *vastus*, have been kept unaltered in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. In other words, only the sequence of the last 13 *vastus*, which together constitute the topic (c) of the *Vinayavastu*, was changed in one and another way. This fact, at the same time, confirms that the division of the 17 *vastus* into three main topics seems to have been accepted by the author of the changes found in the *Mahāvyutpatti*.

[11] *Die Erzählstoffe*, p. XII; H. EIMER, *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gźi*, vol. I, pp. 19–20, and I myself, *Das Poṣadhavastu*, p. 57, agree with this division.

§ 3. *Guṇaprabha as the source of the Vinayavastu titles in the Mahāvyutpatti*

It is astonishing that the obvious disagreement between the canon and the *Mahāvyutpatti* has not yet received the due attention, nor has it been discussed so far. When H. EIMER pointed out the problem in 1983, he was unable to find an answer.[12] About three years ago, I merely presumed "another tradition" reflected in the list of the 17 *vastus* in the *Mahāvyutpatti*.[13] At that time, however, the whole interrelation between the entries in the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the respective topics dealt with in the canonical or commentarial texts was still obscure to me.

When searching for the sources of the entries in *Mahāvyutpatti* chapter 275, the solution is obvious, if one considers the result arrived at earlier[14]: the compilers of the *Mahāvyutpatti* seem to have followed Guṇaprabha's commentaries as the source for the Vinaya entries instead of using the canonical text.

Comparing the *Mahāvyutpatti* with Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*, it is evident that the wording as well as the arrangement of the entries found in both is completely identical, particularly with regard to the changed titles of that 6 *vastus* and the sequence of the last 13 *vastus* as mentioned earlier:

Guṇaprabha, *Vinayasūtra* (ed. R. SANKRITYAYANA, pp. 7 sq.)		*Mahāvyutpatti*(S):		
1	Pravrajyāvastu	9100	(1)	Pravrajyāvastu
2	Poṣadhavastu	9101	(2)	Poṣadhavastu
3	Varṣāvastu	9102	(3)	Varṣāvastu
4	Pravāraṇāvastu[15]	9103	(4)	Pravāraṇavastu (see n. 9)
5	Kaṭhinavastu	9104	(5)	Kaṭhinavastu
6	Cīvaravastu	9105	(6)	Cīvaravastu
7	Carmavastu	9106	(7)	Carmavastu
8	Bhaiṣajyavastu	9107	(8)	Bhaiṣajyavastu
9	Karmavastu	9108	(9)	Karmavastu
10	Pratikriyāvastu	9109	(10)	Pratikriyāvastu
11	Kālākālasampadvastu	9110	(11)	Kālākālasampadvastu
12	Bhūmyantarasthacaraṇavastu	9111	(12)	Bhūmyantarasthacaraṇavastu
13	Parikarmavastu (see n. 10)	9112	(13)	Parikarmavastu (see no. 10)
14	Karmabhedavastu	9113	(14)	Karmabhedavastu
15	Cakrabhedavastu	9114	(15)	Cakrabhedavastu

[12] Cf. H. EIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 2.
[13] Cf. H. HU-V. HINÜBER, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[14] See note 1.
[15] The reading *prāvaraṇa*°*vastu* given by R. SANKRITYAYANA, *op. cit.*, p. 7, is wrong; cf. n. 9.

16	Adhikaraṇavastu	9115 (16) Adhikaraṇavastu
17	Śayanāsanavastu	9116 (17) Śayanāsanavastu

§ 4. *Concluding remarks*

There can be little doubt that Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* is the immediate source of the 17 Vinayavastu titles found in chapter 275 of the *Mahāvyutpatti*. Thus, this identification is a further evidence that the compilers of the *Mahāvyutpatti* used Guṇaprabha's handbooks as the basis for their Vinaya entries.

Of course, this is only a first step in solving the problem. For further questions obviously follow such as (a) why did the compilers of the *Mahāvyutpatti*[16] not follow the canonical text, and (b) why did Guṇaprabha change the titles of 6 *vastus* in spite of the titles of the canonical texts being usually supposed to be uniform, first of all within one and the same Vinaya school. Therefore, further investigations are needed to clarify these questions.

With regard to the Vinaya literature of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, it can be assumed at least that the so-called canonical and commentarial tradition indicate two different steps in the development.

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[16] For the compilers of the *Mahāvyutpatti* s. H. HU-V. HINÜBER, *Das Poṣadhavastu*, pp. (67-)70, and "On the Sources of Some Entries in the *Mahāvyutpatti*", §§ 1 and 5.

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Notes on the Text of Pallavas 1–5 of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*

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Recently Bonnie ROTHENBERG published a new edition of the first five pallavas of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (BAK). Hers is the third edition of these chapters. The first was published in the first two fascicles of the Bibliotheca Indica edition (BI) of the BAK by SARAT CHANDRA DAS and Paṇḍit Hari Mohan VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA (Calcutta, 1888–1889). Their edition was based upon a bilingual blockprint published in 1664–1665. The blockprint contains the Sanskrit text transliterated in Tibetan characters and a Tibetan translation. In 1959 P. L. VAIDYA published a new edition of the BAK which is based entirely on the Sanskrit text of the BI edition. VAIDYA made a number of corrections but in several instances he replaced the correct reading of the BI edition with a wrong one. Bonnie ROTHENBERG's edition is based on the blockprint published in 1664–1665, the bilingual Derge edition and the Narthang and Peking translations. In many instances her edition is an improvement upon the preceding ones but in a few cases the readings of the BI edition have to be retained.

I have not been able to use a copy of the blockprint used by Bonnie ROTHENBERG. According to her the text in the Derge edition (D) reads identically to the blockprint (A) in the majority of cases, although variants in D give better readings at times. The quality of the text in D varies greatly and in some instances it is impossible to reconstruct the original readings. One of the most common mistakes is the confusion between pa and sa. 'p' and 'b' are not always easy to distinguish. The text uses 'b' for both 'b' and 'v' but the context makes it possible to decide which to read. The Tibetan translation usually agrees with the transliterated text. In some instances both have the same wrong reading(s). There are a few differences between the transliterated text and the Tibetan translation but it is difficult to know whether they are due to misunderstandings by the translators or to variant readings.

In several places it is possible to arrive at a reading different from those given by BI, VAIDYA and BR. In a few cases the readings found in these three editions are not acceptable but the correct reading remains obscure. I believe that it is useful to point out the difficulties in the hope that somebody may be able to find the right solution.

In the following notes the verses are quoted as edited by Bonnie ROTHENBERG. The Tibetan translation is the one found in the Derge edition with a few minor corrections.

1. Prabhāsāvadāna

6 sevitā satataṃ satyavratadānadayāmayaiḥ |
rājadhānīva dharmasya puṇyāvasathaśālinī | 6
chos-kyi rgyal-po'i pho-braṅ bźin |
bsod-nams khaṅ-pa bsṅags-'os-śiṅ |
bden daṅ brtul-źugs sbyin-pa daṅ |
brtse-ba'i raṅ-bźin-gyis rtag bsten | 6

C has *-śālinī* but T *bsṅags-'os-śiṅ* translates *ślāghinī*. Also in 18 b C has *śālinām* but T *bsṅags-'os* translated *ślāghinām*. In 2.30 T translates *-śālinaḥ* with *ldan-pa*.

7 abhūd bhūtitilakas tasyāṃ prabhāso nāma bhūpatiḥ |
saprabhā sādarair yasya kīrtir abhyarcyate suraiḥ || 7
gzi-brjid la brten lha-rnams-kyis |
gaṅ-gi grags-pa mṅon mchod-pa |
rab-gsal źes pa'i sa-bdag de |
der ni sa-yi thig-ler gyur | 7

For *saprabhā sādarair* T has *gzi-brjid la brten-rnams kyis* 'relying on splendour.' It is impossible to know whether this is a wrong translation or a translation based on a different text.

23 bahudāno nirudvegaḥ śaktyutsāhayutaḥ kṣamī |
ripupraghātasugatiḥ sa rājñas tulyatāṃ yayau | 23
sbyin-maṅ gduṅ-ba med-pa daṅ |
stobs daṅ spro-ldan bzod-par-ldan |
dgra-'joms legs-par 'gro-ba de |
rgyal-po ñid dan mtshuṅs-par gyur | 23

In c C has *ripupraghatisugatiḥ*. Both BI and BR correct *praghati* to *praghāta*. The meaning of *ripupraghātasugatiḥ* is not very clear. BR translates 'having an excellent gait in battles with enemies' (with reference to the elephant) and 'having excellent movement in battles with enemies' (with reference to the king).

42 kena srotorasotsiktā viṣayābhimukhī matiḥ |
adabhraśvabhravibhraṣṭaśailakulyeva vāryate | 42
yul-la mṅon-par phyogs-pa'i blo |
dga'-ba'i ro-la chags gyur-pa |

gśoṅ-gśoṅ maṅ-por ri-yi chu |
rnam-par lhuṅ bźin su-yis bzlog | 42

C has *srītirasotsiktā*. Read *prītirasotsiktā*. T *dga'-ba* translates *prīti*.

45 vṛkṣaśākhāṃ samālambya tyajemaṃ pṛthivīpate |
vyasanī patitaḥ satyaṃ pātayaty eva durjanaḥ | 45

skye-bo ṅan-pa ya-ṅar lhuṅ |
ṅes-par lhuṅ-bar bgyid-pa ñid |
sa-bdag ljon-pa'i lo-ma rnams |
yaṅ-dag bzuṅ la 'di ni thoṅ | 45

For *vyasanī* C has *vyasani* but T *ya-ṅar* translates *viṣame* which is a better reading.

48 tataḥ śāntasmaro hastī dinair abhyetya saptabhiḥ |
svayam ālānasaṃsaktas tasthau kabalalāṣukaḥ | 48

de-'og glaṅ-chen 'dod-pa źi |
ñin-źag bdun-gyis 'dod-pa'i sar |
raṅ-ñid mṅon-du 'oṅs-śiṅ chags |
bza'-ba mṅon-par 'dod-ciṅ gnas | 48

In d C has *kacalalāpaḥ*, not *kacalalāvaḥ* as indicated by BR. Read *kabalalālasaḥ*. According to the dictionaries *lāṣuka* is found only in Pāṇini iii.2.154. Note that T does not translate *ālāna*.

53 śākyā damayitum deva siṃhavyāghragajādayaḥ |
na tu rāgāsavakṣīvaviṣayābhimukhaṃ manaḥ || 53

lha-cig seṅ-ge stag daṅ ni |
glaṅ-po la sogs 'dul-bar nus |
chags-pa'i chaṅ-gis myos-pa'i yid |
yul-la mṅon-par phyogs-pa min 53

In cd C has *rāgāsavakṣībipiṣayābhimukhaṃ manaḥ*. Read *rāgāsavakṣībaṃ viṣayābhimukhaṃ manaḥ*.

59 vinimajjaj jagad idaṃ saṃsāre makarākare |
saṃtārayeyaṃ saṃbodhimuktaḥ kuśalasetunā | 59

'khor-ba chu-srin 'byuṅ-gnas-su |
rnam-par byiṅs-pa'i 'gro-ba 'di |
dge-ba'i lam-nas rdzogs-pa yi |
byaṅ-chub grol-bar yaṅ-dag bsgral | 59

C has *saṃbodhimuktaḥ* but one must certainly read *saṃbodhiṃ muktaḥ*.

2. *Śrīsenāvadāna*

2 gaṇanīyā guṇagaṇair asty ariṣṭābhidhā puriḥ |
spardhayā śakranagarī yasyā sā na garīyasī | 2

a-ri-ṣṭa źes bya-ba'i groṅ (D goṅ) |
yon-tan tshogs-kyi bgraṅ bya-ba |
'gran-zla brgya-byin groṅ-khyer ni |
gaṅ-las brliṅ-ba min-pa yod | 2

C has *yasyā na sā na garīyasī*, BI *yasyā na syād-garīyāsī*. Read *yasyā nāsti garīyasī*?

9 tasmin dharmapure rājñi babhūva sukṛtī janaḥ. |
bhartṛtulyā bhavanty eva guṇaiḥ striya iva prajāḥ | 9

chos gtsor-'dzin-pa'i rgyal-po der |
skye-bo legs-byas ldan-par gyur |
skye-rgu rje daṅ yon-tan-gyis |
mtshuṅs-pa kho-na bud-med bźin | 9

C has *dharmapure*, but BI and V *dharmapare* which is the correct reading. Cf. T 'the king who holds the dharma foremost.'

10 tasya puṇyādhivāsena janās tridivagāminaḥ |
vimānaiḥ śakranagarīṃ niḥsaṃcārāṃ pracakrire | 10

de-yi bsod-nams dbaṅ-gis ni |
skye-bo mtho-ris 'gro-ba yi |
gźal-med-khaṅ-gis (D gi) brgya-byin groṅ |
lam daṅ-bral bar rab-tu byed ||

C has *puṇyāpivāsena* but T translates *puṇyānubhāvena*.

36 tad-āśramapadaṃ prāptaḥ samāptādhyayanavrataḥ |
śiṣyo māṇavakaḥ prāha dakṣiṇā gṛhyatām iti | 36

de ni gnas-su 'oṅs-pa la |
yon ni blaṅ-bar mdzod-cig ces |
klog-pa'i brtul-źugs yoṅs-rdzogs-pa'i |
slob-ma bram-ze'i khye'u smras | 36

C has *tam āśramapadaṃ prāptam* which is the correct reading. When his guru arrived at the āśrama his pupil spoke to him.

40 sa gatvā satatasvecchāvivṛtadvāram arthinām |
viveśa svairaviśrambhaṃ bhavanaṃ bhūbhṛtāṃ prabhoḥ | 40

de ni sloṅ-mams raṅ-'dod bźin |
rtag-tu gdaṅs-pa'i sgor soṅ-nas |
sa-skyoṅ mams-kyi gtso-bo yi |
khaṅ-par yid-ches źan-pas zugs | 40 ||

C has *svairaviśrambhabhavanam*, but T 'with weak-confidence' translates *svalpaviśrambho*.

42 taṃ dṛṣṭvārthinam āyātam prahṛṣṭo 'bhūn mahīpatiḥ |
sudhāpradānasaṃnaddhasamudbhūtir ivāmbudhiḥ | 42

sloṅ-ba 'oṅs-pa (D 'oṅ-ba) de mthoṅ-nas |
sa-bdag rab-tu dgyes-par gyur |
bdud-rtsi rab-sbyin chas-pa yi |
chu-gter yaṅ-dag rgyas gyur bźin | 42

C has *-saṃnaddhasamudbhūti ivāmbudhiḥ* but according to T one must read *-saṃnaddhaḥ samudbhūta ivāmbudhiḥ*.

43 kiṃ tavepsitam ity uktvā pūjitaḥ sa mahībhūjā |
uvācānucitākhyānavailajjaskhalitākṣaraḥ | 43

khyod-kyi 'dod-pa ci-źig ces |
brjod-nas sa la spyod-pas mchod |
'os-pa min brjod ṅo-tsha źiṅ |
yi-ge 'khrul-bar de yis smras | 43

C has *-vailajya-*. Read with T *-vailakṣya-*.

52 dattāyās tyāgaśīlena priyāyāḥ pṛthivībhūjā |
cakampe tyāgabhīteva bhūmir lolābdhimekhalā | 52

sa-spyod gtoṅ-ba'i ṅaṅ-can-gyis |
dga'-ma btaṅ-bar gyur-pa la |
gtoṅ-bas 'jigs-pa bźin-du sa |
chu-gter ske-rags g.yo-ldan 'dar | 52

C has *dattayās* and *priyāyaḥ* but one must read *dattāyāṃ priyāyāṃ* as in BI.

62 aho 'tra nirvicārāṇāṃ sanmārgavimukhaṃ manaḥ |
asaṃyamāsavakṣīvam apatheṣv eva dhāvati | 62

kye-ma rtog-dpyod med-rnams yid |
yaṅ-dag sdom-min chaṅ-gis myos |
legs-pa'i lam-las phyir-phyogs te |
'dir ni g.yaṅ-sa kho-nar rgyug | 62

C has *avaṭeṣv eva* which is the correct reading. T *gyaṅ-sa* translates *avaṭa*.

71 nagarāntaram āsādya sa yayau puravāsinām |
kāruṇyadainyaduḥkhārto bhayavismayahetutām | 71

groṅ-khyer dbus-su źugs-pa las |
de ni groṅ-na gnas-rnams-kyis |
sñiṅ-rje źum daṅ sdug-bsṅal gzir |
'jigs daṅ ya-mtshan rgyu-ru gyur | 71

C has *kāruṇyadainyaduḥkhārtabhramavismayahetuṭām*. Read *kāruṇyadainya-duḥkhārtibhramavismayahetutām* or with T *-ārtibhayavismayahetutām*.

81 sarvadā sarvadātāram dīnavyasanabāndhavam |
dehadāne 'py avimukhaṃ tvām asmi śaraṇaṃ gataḥ | 81

thams-cad tshe-na thams-cad gtoṅ |
dman-ziṅ phoṅs-pa rnams-kyi gñen |
lus-sbyin las kyaṅ phyir-ma-phyogs |
khyod-la skyabs-su bdag soṅ-ṅo | 81

C has *dīnavyasanabandhavam*. Read *dīnavyasanibāndhavam*, cf. T *phoṅs-pa* which translates *vyasanin*.

87 ity uktas tena sahasā hṛdi saṃkrāntatadvyathaḥ |
saṃmohamūrchitaṃ rājā tam uvāca tvarākulam || 87

de-yis de-skad brjod-pa'i 'phral |
de-yi sdug-bsṅal sñiṅ-la 'phos |
myur-źiṅ rtabs-par rgyal-po yis |
rmoṅs-śiṅ brgyal-ba de-la smras | 87

C has *rājā tam ūrkhavācarākulam*. Read *rājā tam ūce satvarākulam?*

93 na karoti hitaṃ svāmī gajalīlānimīlitaḥ |
gaṇanīyāḥ subhṛtyānām iyatyo bhogasampadaḥ | 93

rje-bo glaṅ-chen rol-pa ltar |
mig-zum phan-pa mi mdzad na |
'khor-bzaṅ rnams kyi dbaṅ-thaṅ daṅ |
phun-tshogs 'di-sñed kho-nas rtsi | 93

C has *bhogasampadaḥ* but T translates *bhāgyasampadaḥ* which seems a better reading.

94 bhātu te suciraṃ karṇe yā kṛtā madhumañjarī |
kalyāṇakarṇikākīrṇā vāṇī vinayavādinām | 94

'dul-ba smra-ba-rnams-kyi tshig |
dge-ba'i me-tog-gis bltams-pa |
sbraṅ-rtsi'i dog-pa gaṅ-dag-gis |
rna-bar bgyis-te yun-riṅ mdzes | 94

C has *bhāti* and *yaiḥ kṛtā*, the correct readings, cf. T.

95 rākṣaso 'yaṃ piśāco vā chadmanā brāhmaṇākṛtiḥ |
rakṣāratnasya jagatāṃ śarīre yo 'rthitāṃ gataḥ || 95

'gro-rnams bsruṅ-ba'i rin-chen gyi |
sku-lus su-źig sloṅ gyur-pa |

'di ni srin-po 'am śa-za ste |
slu-byed bram-ze'i rnam-par byas ‖ 95

C has *śarīrairyorthitām*. Read *śarīrasyārthitām*.

132 sa tayā saṃgataḥ patnyā svakīrtyeva viśuddhayā |
uvāca pṛṣṭaḥ śakreṇa nikāre nirvikāritaḥ | 132

rnam-dag raṅ-gi grags-pa bźin |
btsun-mo de daṅ yaṅ-dag 'grogs |
gnod-la rnam-'gyur mi mṅa'-ba |
brgya-byin-gyis dris de-yis smra | 132

C has *nirvikāritā*. Read *nirvikāritām*.

134 abhiṣiktaḥ surendreṇa prasādya dayitāsakhaḥ |
dānapuṇyaprabhāvotthakuśalavyāpitaprajaḥ ‖ 134

lha-yi dbaṅ-pos bsṅags-byas nas |
btsun-mor bcas-pa mṅon-dbaṅ-bskur |
sbyin-pa'i bsod-nams mthus bskrun-pa'i |
dge-bas skye-rgu tshim-par byas | 134

For *prasādya* T *bsṅags-byas* has *praśasya*. C has *-kuśalāvyāpitaprajaḥ*. Read *-kuśalāpyāyitaprajaḥ*.

135 samasta(BR samāsta)sattvasaṃsārasaṃtāraṇakṛtavrataḥ |
samyaksaṃbodhisaṃbuddhamanāḥ pramudito 'bhavat ‖ 135

'khor-ba'i sems-can mtha'-dag ni |
yaṅ-dag sgrol-ba'i brtul-źugs byas |
yaṅ-dag rdzogs-pa'i byaṅ-chub-tu |
mṅon-'tshaṅ-rgya yid rab-dgar gyur | 135

C has *samyaksaṃbodhibuddhamanāḥ*. Read *samyaksaṃbodhisaṃbuddho manaḥpramudito*.

3. Maṇicūḍāvadāna

24 ajāyatāsya sahajaś cūḍālaṃkaraṇaṃ maṇiḥ |
prāgjanmāntarasaṃpṛkto viveka iva nirmalaḥ ‖ 24

de-yi gtsug-rgyan nor-bu ni |
lhan-skyes dag-tu skyes gyur-te |
skye-ba gźan sṅar 'grogs-pa yi |
dben-pa bźin-du dri-ma med | 24

C has *-saṃpakto*. Read *-saṃsakto* as in BI.

37 kucayor avivekena rāgeṇa caraṇābjayoḥ |
netrayoś cāpaleneva sā jane 'tyantalajjitā | 37

nu-ma dag ni mi-dben źiṅ |
rkaṅ-pa'i chu-skyes dmar-ba daṅ |
mig-dag g.yo-bas 'gro-la de |
śin-tu ṅo-mtshar gyur-pa bźin | 37

C has *jane tyalajjitā*. BI reads *jagaty atilajjitā* which is preferable.

50 gṛhyatām agramahiṣī sapatnī bhavatā bhuvaḥ |
viṣṇoḥ śrīr iva yogyeyaṃ tavaiva puruṣottama | 50

btsun-mo chen-po sa-gźi-yi (D yis) |
chun-mar skyes-mchog khyod-kyis loṅ |
khyab-'jug la ni dpal-mo bźin |
'di ni khyod bdag ñid-la 'os | 50

C has *patnī*. BI reads *patnītve*. Read *sā patnī*.

72 tataḥ padmāvatī devī patiṃ dṛṣṭvā tathāgatam |
vilapantī vipatitā mohamūrcchākulābhavat | 72

de-nas lha-mo padma-ldan |
bdag-po de-ltar gyur mthoṅ-nas |
smre-sṅags 'don-ciṅ rab-tu 'gyel |
rmoṅs-śiṅ brgyal-bas dkris-par gyur ||

Vipatitā is probably a misprint for *nipatitā* found in C and BI.

99 hiṃsāyāsapraśāntānāṃ saktānāṃ kalikarmasu |
raṇaraktābhiṣiktānāṃ bhaktārtho 'yaṃ samudyamaḥ | 99

'tshe-bas ṅal-la rab-chags śiṅ |
g.yul-gyi khrag-gis mṅon-bkrus-pa'i |
sems-can yaṅ-dag sbyor-ba 'di |
zas-don rtsod-pa'i las la'o | 99

C has *hiṃsayāpapraśāntānāṃ śaktānāṃ* but T translates *hiṃsāyāsaprasaktānaṃ sattvānāṃ* which is certainly the correct reading.

109 ity uktvānugrahadhiyā vidhāyāsya viyadgatim |
prabhāprasādhitadiśas te tena sahitā yayuḥ | 109

rjes-su bzuṅ blos 'di gsuṅs-nas |
de-la mkha'-gśegs bsgrubs byas-te |
'od-kyis phyogs-rnams rab-gsal źiṅ |
de-daṅ lhan-cig de-rnams gśegs | 109

C has *prabhāprasāditadiśas* which is the correct reading.

126 devī padmāvatī tatra phalamūlādhṛtivratā |
vrajantī vijane bhītā vipine muniśāsanāt | 126

der ni lha-mo pa-dma-ldan |
rtsa-'bras ża'i brtul-żugs bzuṅ |
mi-med nags-su thub-pa yis |
bstan-pa las ni 'jigs-śiṅ soṅ | 126

C has *phalamūlādhṛtivratā* but read *phalamūladhṛtavratā* as in V.

135 śamītāḥ śabarā rājñā śāpabhītāḥ pradudruvuḥ |
na nāmābhyudaye bhānor dṛṣṭaṃ sapratibhaṃ tamaḥ | 135

rgyal-po żi-bgyis śa-ba-ri |
dmod-pas 'jigs-nas rab-tu bros |
ñi-ma mṅon-par 'char-ba yis |
mthu-ldan mun-pa dman-gyur mthoṅ | 135

C has *sānvitāḥ* not *sāntāḥ* as indicated by BR. Read *sāntvitaḥ*. C has *sapratibham*, but T *mthu-ldan* 'powerful'.

140 jānāmi tvām ahaṃ kāmaṃ akāmaṃ śamasaṃyame |
saṃtoṣavañchāṃ ko nāma bhavatā na vimohitaḥ | 140

dul-ba żi-ba mi 'dod-pa'i |
'dod-pa khyod ni bdag-gis śes |
rab-tu sim-par 'dod-pa rnams |
su-żig khyod-kyis rnam mi-rmoṅs | 140

C has *saṃtoṣavāsam*. Read *saṃtoṣavatām* as in BI.

163 sa 'cintayad dehanibaddharatna-
dānena yat puṇyaphalaṃ mayāptam |
tenograduḥkhaṃ kalayāmi mā bhūd
apuṇyapāke narake narāṇām | 163

des bsams lus-bciṅs rin-chen byin-pa las |
bsod-nams 'bras-bu bdag-gis gaṅ thob des |
bsod-nams min smin dmyal-bar mi-rnams kyi |
drag-po'i sdug-bsṅal cha-yaṅ med-par gyur | 163

In c C has *kalayāmi*. Read *kalayāpi*, cf. T *cha-yaṅ*.

171 vīkṣya kṣitīśaṃ kṣatajokṣitāṅgam
akṣīṇasattvaṃ patitaṃ pṛthivyām |
pṛthuvyathākleśajuṣaṃ janānām
abhūd abhūtārthavikalpajalpaḥ | 171

khrag-gis lus-bsgos sñiṅ-stobs ma-zad ciṅ |
sa-yi dbaṅ-po sa-la 'gyel mthoṅ-nas |
ñon-moṅs gduṅ-ba che-ldan skye-bo rnams |
yaṅ-dag min don-rnam-rtog brjod-par gyur | 171

In c C has *-juṣam*. Read *-juṣām*, cf. T.

175 yeṣāṃ kṛte dainyamayaṃ prayāti
sarvārthanāś cārthijano 'rthibhāvam |
ta eva dīnoddharaṇavratānāṃ
prāṇāḥ paritrāṇapaṇe tṛṇāni | 175

gaṅ-don sloṅ-skye 'di ni sloṅ-ba'i dṅos |
kun-don gñer-la źum-par rab 'gro-ba |
źum pa 'don-pa'i brtul-źugs-can gyi srog |
de-ñid yoṅs-su skyob zoṅ rtsva-lta yin | 175

In b C has *sarvārthanāś cārthijano*. Read *sarvārthanāsv arthijano*, cf. T.

177 aho nu niṣkāraṇabandhubhāvam
ālambya rājan dayayā janasya |
prajāparitrāṇavidhānabhūmis
tanus svayeyaṃ tṛṇavad vitīrṇā | 177

kye-ma ma-la rgyal-po'i skye-rgu rnams |
yoṅs-skyob gter-gyi sa-gźi 'gro-ba yis |
rgyu-med gñen-gyi dṅos-por bsten-byas nas |
khyod-kyi brtse-bas lus 'di rtsva-bźin byin | 177

C has *-nidhānabhūmis* which is not indicated in BR. T *gter* translates *nidhāna*.

185 avāptasaṃjñā muninā pramuktā
padmāvatī rājasutena sākam |
patiṃ yayāce virahopaśāntyai
siṃhāsanākrāntisukhaṃ prajānām | 185

dran-rñed pa-dma daṅ-ldan thub-pa yis |
rab-bskul rgyal-po'i sras daṅ 'grogs nas ni |
skye-rgu'i seṅ-ge'i khrir bźugs bde-ba las |
'bral-ba źi-slad bdag-la gsol-ba btab | 185

C has *pramuktā* but T *rab-bskul* translates *prayuktā*. Read *prayuktā* as in V.

4. Māndhātravadāna

7 kartuḥ kratusahasrāṇāṃ sahasrākṣādhikaśriyaḥ |
yasya ṣaṣṭisahasrāṇi kalatraṃ sudṛśām abhūt | 7

mchod-sbyin stoṅ-gi byed-pa-po |
mig-stoṅ-pa las lhag-pa'i dpal |
gaṅ-gi btsun-mo lta (D lha)-mdzes ni |
stoṅ-phrag-drug-cu byuṅ-bar gyur | 7

C has *kalatraṃ sudṛśām*. Read *kalatrasudṛśām*.

18 yakṣo divaukaso nāma sukṛter dāsatāṃ gataḥ |
abhiṣekopakaraṇaṃ divyaṃ tasyopanītavān | 18

legs-byas-kyis ni 'baṅs-gyur-pa'i |
gnod-sbyin mkha'-yi khyim źes-pas |
de-yi dbaṅ-bskur yo-byad rnams |
mchog ni ñe-bar bsgrubs-par gyur | 18

C has *sukṛter* but T *legs-byas-kyis* translates *sukṛtair*.

33 tasmai vihagasaṃghāya karṇāpāyaparaśrute |
atisaṃvardhamānāya cukopa munimaṇḍalam | 33

rna-bar mchog-tu gnod-pa dag |
śin-tu yaṅ-dag rgyas byed-pa |
bya-yi 'dus-pa de-dag la |
thub-pa'i dkyil-'khor khros-par gyur | 33

C has *karṇaṃkāyaparaṃśrute*. BI reads *karṇajvarakare rute*, V *karṇāpāyakṛte param*. T has 'very much harming the ear.' A hopeless crux!

55 kim etat kopa ity uktvā śāpāgnisisṛkṣayā |
abhyetya devadūtas tān praharṣākulito 'vadat | 55

de-rnams 'di-ci źes brjod khros |
dmod-pa'i me ni spro 'dod der |
lha-yi pho-ña mṅon-phyogs-te |
rab-dga' rnam-par rgyas-pas smras | 55

C has *kim etat kopa ity uktaiḥ*. V reads *kopāt kim etad ity uktvā*. T *khros* translates *kopa* but it is difficult to establish the correct reading. In b V reads *śāpāgnivisisṛkṣayā*.

63 prahasann atha taṃ prāha senānāṃ pariṇāyakaḥ |
maharṣe saṃhara ruṣaṃ mā kṛthās tapasaḥ kṣayam | 63

de-nas sde-dpon yoṅs-'dren-gyis |
rab-tu bźad-ciṅ de-la smras |
draṅ-sroṅ chen-po khro-ba thoṅ |
dka'-thub zad-par yoṅs ma-mdzad | 63

C has *senānī*. T *sde-dpon* translates *senānīḥ*. Read *senānīḥ*.

91 aho abhyudayaḥ ślāghyas tejasā tejasāṃ nidhe |
bhavatā bhūṣitā bhūmir dyauś ca devena bhāsvatā || 91

kye-ma gzi-brjid gter-gyi gzi |
gaṅ-źig bsṅags-'os mṅon-par 'char |
khyed-kyis sa ni brgyan gyur-ciṅ |
'od-ldan lha-yis (D yi) nam-mkha' yaṅ || 91

C has *aho padoyaḥ*. Read *aho yasyodayaḥ?*

107 ghanodayasamutsiktā saujanyataṭapātinī |
lolaṃ kaluṣayaty eva mānasaṃ śrītaraṅgiṇī ‖ 107

stug-pos rgyas-par bsams-pa yis |
skye-bo legs-pa'i ṅogs gcod-pa'i |
g.yo-ldan dpal ni sred-bcas-kyis |
yid-kyi rdziṅ-bu dri-mar byed ‖ 107

C has *pātinī* but T *gcod-pa'i* translates *pāṭinī*. Both readings are possible.

114 bandhumatyabhidhānāyāṃ nagaryāṃ uṣitaḥ śuciḥ |
vaṇig utkariko nāma so 'bhavat pūrvajanmani ‖ 114

gñen-ldan źes ni bya-ba yi |
groṅ-khyer 'os-śiṅ gtsaṅ-ba ru |
tshoṅ-dpon ud-ka-ri-ka źes |
de-yi sṅon-gyi skye-bar gyur ‖ 114

C has *ucitaḥ śuciḥ* which is the correct reading, cf. T.

120 ity āha bhagavān buddhaḥ prītyā dānaphalaṃ śriyam |
nijajanmāntarākhyānair bhikṣūṇām anuśāsane ‖ 120

saṅs-rgyas bcom-ldan dgyes (D dges)-pa yis |
raṅ-gi skye-ba gźan brjod-ciṅ |
dge-sloṅ rnams la rjes-bstan-du |
sbyin-pa'i 'bras-bu'i dpal 'di gsuṅs ‖ 120

C has *dānaphalaṃ śriyam* but T translates *dānaphalaśriyam*. This is the correct reading found also in BI and V.

5. *Candraprabhāvadāna*

1 dugdhābdhir vibudhārthanātividhuraḥ kṣubdhaś cakampe ciram
kampante ca nisargataḥ kila phalotsargeṣu kalpadrumāḥ |
ekaḥ ko 'pi sa jāyate tanuśatair abhyastadānasthitir
niṣkampaḥ pulakotkaraṃ vahati yaḥ kāyaṃ pradāneṣv api ‖ 1

lha-rnams-kyis bslaṅs bsrubs (D bslaṅs ba srubs)-pas śin-tu 'khrugs-śiṅ 'o-ma'i chu-gter riṅ-źig 'dar
raṅ-bźin ñid-kyi 'bras-bu rab-tu gtoṅ-tshe dpag-bsam-śiṅ yaṅ 'dar-ro lo |
gaṅ-źig lus ni rab-tu gtoṅ yaṅ spu-loṅ tshogs 'dzin 'dar-ba mi mṅa'-ba
su-źig gcig-pu de ni lus-brgyas sbyin pa'i lugs 'di goms-par gyur-pa yin ‖ 1

In a C has *vibudhārthanātividhurāḥ*. Read *-ātividhuraḥ*, cf. T. *bsrubs-pas* 'stirred'. In d C has *kāyaṃ pradāneṣv avi*. Read *kāyapradāneṣv api*, cf. T.

9 pradiśaty eṣa satataṃ śriyaṃ satkośasaṃśrayām |
itīva darśane yasya saṃkocaṃ prāpa padminī ‖ 9

dam-pa'i mdzod-na gnas-pa'i dpal |
rtag-tu 'di-yis rab-ster źes |
gaṅ-źig mthoṅ-la pa-dmo-can |
zum-par rab-tu thob-pa bźin | 9

C has *itīśadarśane sya*. BI reads *iti taddarśanenaiva*. Although T *gaṅ-źig* supports *yasya*, perhaps the text read *itīśadarśane* followed by a long and a short syllable.

13 tasya ṣaṣṭisahasrāṇi puriṇāṃ pūrṇasampadām |
babhūvur lokapālasya lokapālādhikaśriyaḥ | 13

'jig-rten skyoṅ las lhag-pa'i dpal |
'jig-rten skyoṅ de'i groṅ-khyer ni |
phun-sum-tshogs-pas gaṅ-ba dag |
stoṅ-phrag drug-cu byuṅ-bar gyur | 13

C has *purīṇām*. The same reading is given by BI and V. BR has not noted that C has *purīṇām* and renders *puriṇām* with 'citizens'! One must, of course, read *purīṇām* 'cities'.

35 guṇidveṣaḥ prakṛtyaiva prakāśaparipanthinaḥ |
doṣāśrayasya ko bhedaḥ khalasya timirasya ca | 35

yon-tan-ldan-pa'i raṅ-bźin-gyis |
dgrar-gyur rab-gsal mi-mthun-phyogs |
skyon-la brten-par mi-bsrun daṅ |
rab-rib dag la dbye-ba ci | 35

C has *guṇidveṣaḥ* but the context requires *guṇidviṣaḥ*.

36 svacchandaghātī sādhūnāṃ vidveśaviṣaduḥsahaḥ |
dīrghapakṣaḥ khalo vyālakarālaḥ kena nirmitaḥ | 36

legs-pa rnams-kyi yid-gcugs 'joms |
rnam-par sdaṅ-ba'i dug bzod-dka' |
logs-riṅ skye-bo mi-bsrun sbrul (D sprul)
'jigs-su ruṅ-ba su-yis sprul || 36

C has *khalavyālakarālaḥ*, cf. BI. Read *khalavyālaḥ karālaḥ*, cf. T.

62 hemaratnaśiraḥ prāpya yātv eṣa śirasāsya kim |
cintāmaṇir viniṣpreksya bhujyate na bubhuksitaiḥ (BR babhukṣitaiḥ) | 62

rin-chen gser-gyi mgo thob-nas |
'di ni 'gro-gyur mgo-yis ci |
bkres-pa rnams-kyi yid-bźin-nor |
rnam-par brtags nas bgam-bya min | 62

C has *viniṣpaśya* which is suggested as an emendation by BR. She notes that BI's reading *viniṣpreksya* is based on T *rnam-par brtags*. However, one must correct *brtags* to *btags* for *rnam-par btags* translates *viniṣpaśya*.

69 kampanāḥ pralāpinyas taṃ mattālikūlasvanaiḥ |
nyavārayan navalatā lolapallavapāṇibhiḥ ‖ 69
'dar-ldan 'khri-śiṅ rab smras-pa |
buṅ-ba myos tshogs sgra daṅ ni |
yal-'dab rab-tu g.yo-ba yis |
lag-pa dag-gis bzlog-pa bźin ‖ 69

C has *kampanāḥ*. BI reads *kampamānāḥ*. BI suggests reading *prakampanāḥ*. T *'dar-ldan* 'having trembling' more probably renders *sakampanāḥ*.

71 asmin ratnamayodyāne puṇyarāśisamunnatam |
stūpam astu praśāstus tu sattvasaṃtāraṇocitam ‖ 71
groṅ daṅ rin-chen raṅ-bźin tshal |
'di ni bsod-nams phuṅ-bos mtho |
sems-can yaṅ-dag sgrol-'os-pa |
ston-pa'i mchod-rten 'byuṅ-gyur cig ‖ 71

C has *praṇāmastu* which BI changed to *praśāstus tu* but, to my knowledge, *praśāstṛ* is never used as a designation of the Buddha. T *ston-pa* translates 'teacher'. I do not know how to correct *praṇāmastu*.

Abbreviations

BI Bibliotheca Indica edition, fascicles one and two. Calcutta, 1888–1889.
BR Bonnie ROTHENBERG, *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra: critical text and translation of chapters 1–5*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1990.
C the transliterated Sanskrit text in the Derge edition.
D the Tibetan translation in the Derge edition [No. 4155, vol. *ke* 1b–53b2].
T the Tibetan translation.
V P. L. Vaidya's edition, *Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣemendra*, Darbhanga, 1959 (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, 22–23).
(a, b, c, d — refer to the respective quarters of each verse.)

The Concept of *Yoga* in the *Nikāyas*

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Introduction: Yoga in Indian Thought

We cannot draw hasty conclusions as to when and from what cultural background the term *yoga* originated. It seems probable, however, that the origin of *yoga* can be traced back to a cultural sphere different from the traditional Brahmanical thought of the Vedic Aryans.[1] In the Vedic period the term √*yuj* → *yoga* was used in the sense of 'to yoke, or join or harness (horses)'.[2] It is no doubt from this meaning that the term began to imply the act of fixing the mind upon an object or oneself, and that the purport of union, application or concentration of the mind, the fundamental meaning of *yoga*, began to come into use. It was in a text of the middle Upaniṣad period (ca. 300 B. C.), that *yoga* came to be employed in that very sense. The *Kaṭha* (= *Kāṭhaka*) *Upaniṣad* (II. 3. 10, 11 a–b) states:

> "When the five (sense) knowledges together with the mind cease (from their normal activities) and the intellect (*buddhi*) itself does not stir, that, they say, is the highest state. This, they consider to be *yoga*, the steady control of the senses."[3]

In this passage *yoga* is defined as the control of the senses. Further, the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* gives the following definition.

> "And thus it is said: Because in this manner he joins the breath (*prāṇa*), the syllable *aum* (*Oṃ*) and all this world in its manifoldness or perhaps they are joined, therefore this (process of meditation) is called *yoga* (joining). The oneness of the breath, the mind and likewise of the senses and the abandonment of all conditions of existence, this is designated as *yoga*."[4]

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[1] M. ELIADE, *Yoga, Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*, Paris, 1926, Avant-propos, p. viii; E. KANAKURA, *Indo-kodai-seishin-shi* ("The Spiritual History of Ancient India"), Tokyo, 1930, p. 24.

[2] Cf. H. GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda*. s.v. *yoga*; O. BÖTHLINGK, R. ROTH, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, s. v. *yoga*.

[3] Kath Up II. 3. 10: *yadā pañcāvatiṣṭhante jñānāni manasā saha, buddhiś ca na viceṣṭati, tām āhuḥ paramāṃ gatim*; II. 3. 11 a–b: *tāṃ yogam iti manyante sthirām indriyadhāraṇām.*

[4] Maitr Up VI. 25: *evaṃ prāṇam athoṃkāram yasmāt sarvam anekadhā, yunakti yuñjate vāpi tasmād yoga iti smṛtaḥ: ekatvam prāṇamanasor indriyāṇāṃ tathaiva ca, sarvabhāvaparityāgo yoga ity abhidhīyate.*

We can find two kinds of definitions of *yoga* in the passage quoted above: one definition is to join the breath (*prāṇa*), the syllable *aum* (*Oṃ*) and all this world in its manifoldness, or perhaps one is joined to oneself; and the other is the oneness of the breath, the mind and likewise of the senses and abandonment of all conditions of existence. The former has its roots in the definition found in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, and the latter implies that the oneness of the breath, the mind and the senses leads to the abandonment of all conditions of existence.

The latter definition of *yoga* is related to the *yoga* discussed in the *Yoga-sūtra* (ca. 400–450), the basic text of the *Yoga* school, which is enumerated as one of the *ṣaḍ-darśana* or "Six Doctrines". The *Yoga-sūtra* states: "*Yoga* is the restraint of mental functioning".[5] Commenting on the term *yoga*, Vyāsa's (ca. 450–500) *Yoga-bhāṣya* reads:

> "*Yoga* is contemplation (*samādhi*), and it is a characteristic (*dharma*) of the mind pervading all its planes (*bhūmi*). Wandering (*kṣipta*), forgetfulness (*mūḍha*), occasional steadiness or distractedness (*vikṣipta*), one-pointedness (*ekāgra*), and restraint (*nirodha*): these are the planes of the mind (*citta-bhūmi*)."[6]

This definition of *yoga* shows the transition of *yoga* from the meaning of "to yoke or join" (*yuj*) to that of exertion or practice by fixing one's mind upon an object, which is synonymous with yoking or harnessing of horses. Accordingly, this means that *yoga* implies the control or restraint of mental functioning, oneness, and exertion. However, in contrast to the meaning of yoking or joining, the additional meaning of fixing something, tying, or binding, which is considered to be another interpretation of *yoga*, came to be applied.

I. *Yogakkhema as an Example of Yoga in Buddhist Terminology*

Suttanipāta 641 (= *Dhammapada* 417) states:

> "Whosoever, after leaving human attachment (*yoga*), has overcome divine attachment, and is liberated from all attachment, [him I call a *Brāhmaṇa*]."[7]

The Commentary (*Paramatthajotikā*) to this verse is as follows:

> "Human attachment means human longevity and fivefold desire (*pañca kāmaguṇa*). Divine attachment means one who has overcome divine attachment after

[5] YS I.2: *yogaś citta-vṛtti-nirodhaḥ.*

[6] *Yogabhāṣya ad* YS I.1: *yogaḥ samādhiḥ. sa ca sārvabhaumaś cittasya dharmaḥ. kṣiptaṃ mūḍhaṃ vikṣiptam ekāgraṃ nirodham iti cittasya bhūmayaḥ.*

[7] Sn 641; Dhp 417: *hitvā mānusakaṃ yogaṃ dibbaṃ yogaṃ upaccagā, sabbayogavisaṃyuttaṃ [taṃ ahaṃ brūhi brāhmaṇaṃ].*

Nāgārjuna's Logic[*]

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Some years ago Claus OETKE published several articles[1] dealing with the arguments and teaching of Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (MMK) and Vigrahavyāvartanī (VV). In these articles he corrected a number of mistaken notions that existed in connection with these texts, and analysed their most important arguments. He dedicated a whole article to one type of argument, which recurs frequently in Nāgārjuna's work.[2] This article, the problem it studies and the solution it offers, is the subject of this paper. The type of argument concerned has the following structure: There can be no entities of a certain kind F that are G, and there can be no entities of the same kind F that are not-G. An argument of this type can only lead to the conclusion that there cannot be any entity of the kind F, provided, of course, that the premises are correct. It is here, however, that the difficulties begin.

Let us consider an example. It occurs in the first verse of chapter 21 of the MMK, where it is stated that there is no destruction without or together with production, and that there is also no production either without or together with destruction. OETKE draws in this connection attention to what he calls the "temporal-atemporal ambiguity" — there is no destruction while there is production, but there certainly is destruction later on — and observes: "the fallacious character of the argument, if based on the 'temporal-atemporal ambiguity', is so obvious that it seems quite improbable that the author of the MMK should not have noticed it". Indeed, saying that there is no destruction without production means that there is no destruction that has not been preceded by production; the statement that there is no destruction together with production, on the other hand, means that the two do not occur simultaneously. OETKE then concludes: "we must either assume that Nāgārjuna being well aware of the unconclusiveness of his reasoning intended for some reason to present such an argument here or assume that his argument was subject to tacit presuppositions which either strengthened the force of the reasoning or made the aim of the proof weaker than it appears to be". The

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[*] This article is the somewhat belated outcome of a seminar on Nāgārjuna organised by Prof. T. E. VETTER at Leiden University in 1979/1980. See in this connection VETTER, 1982; 1982a.

[1] See the bibliography at the end of this article.

[2] OETKE, 1990. See further OETKE, 1988: 53f.; 1989: 10f.; 1991: 320; 1992: 208 Anm. 21.

leaving human attachment. He who is liberated from all four attachments him I call a Brāhmaṇa."[8]

In other commentaries,[9] divine attachment is explained as the fivefold afflictions associated with the upper two worlds (*pañc'uddhambhāgiya-saṃyojanāni*), i.e. *rūparāga, arūpa-rāga, uddhacca, māna, avijjā,* which represent the afflictions associated with the world of form and the world of formlessness. In addition, the phrase "liberated from all attachment" (*sabba-yogehi vippamutta*) found in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, p. 213 etc.) seems to imply the state of being liberated from all afflictions.

Yoga in this sense of liberation from the four attachments is often encountered in the interpretation of *yogakkhema* (Skt. *yogakṣema*). The term *yogakṣema* is already found in the *Ṛg-veda* and occurs frequently in the *Śrauta-sūtra.*[10] In early Buddhist texts the term *yogakkhema* is used to mean the attainment of perfect peace from the four attachments, which is always an epithet of *nibbāna* (Skt. *nirvāṇa*). *Suttanipāta* 425 recounts the Buddha's recollection of his meditation near the river Nerañjarā.

> "To me, whose mind was intent upon exertion near the river Nerañjarā, having exerted myself, and given myself to meditation for the sake of acquiring perfect peace (*yogakkhema*) ..."[11]

The phrase *yogakkhemassa pattiyā* in the verse is explained in the Commentary as follows:

> "For the sake of acquiring perfect peace (*yogakkhemassa pattiyā*) means for the sake of attaining *nibbāna*, which is peacefully free from the four attachments."[12]

The same interpretation of *yogakkhema* can be found in other passages (cf. SnA II, i, p. 151 *ad* Sn 79). *Dhammapada* 23 reads as follows:

> "These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to *nibbāna*, the highest happiness."[13]

Expounding the phrase "[to attain] to *nibbāna*, the highest happiness", the Commentary (DhpA I, p. 231) reads:

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[8] SnA p. 469: *mānusakaṃ yogan ti mānusakaṃ āyu c' eva pañca kāmaguṇe ca, dibbayoge pi es' eva nayo, upaccagā ti, yo mānusakaṃ yogaṃ hitvā dibbaṃ atikkanto, taṃ sabbehi catuhi yogehi visaṃyuttaṃ ahaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ vadāmī ti.*

[9] SNA I, p. 91 *ad* SN I, pp. 35, 60 G.d pāda: *dibbayogaṃ upaccagun ti.*

[10] M. BLOOMFIELD, *A Vedic Concordance*, p. 808 s. v. *yogakṣema.*

[11] Sn 425: *Taṃ maṃ padhānapahitattaṃ nadiṃ Nerañjaraṃ pati, viparakkamma jhāyantaṃ yogakkhemassa pattiyā.*

[12] SnA II, 2, p. 386: *yogakkhemassa pattiyā ti catuhi yogehi khemassa nibbānassa adhigamatthaṃ.*

[13] Dhp 23: *Te jhāyino sātatikā niccaṃ daḷhaparakkamā, phusanti dhīrā nibbānaṃ yogakkhemaṃ anuttaraṃ.*

"[To attain] to *nibbāna*, the highest happiness (*nibbānam yogakkhemam anuttaram*) means as follows: When the multitude having the four attachments is sinking in the cycle of transmigrations, [they try to attain] to the highest [happiness] that exceeds any of the mundane and supra-mundane dharmas in the peace and fearlessness free from transmigration."[14]

The phrase *nibbānam yogakkhemam anuttaraṃ* is also found in *Therīgāthā* 6c–d = *Theragāthā* 999c–d (cf. 989) etc., and the equation of *yogakkhema* with *nibbāna* appears frequently from the *Nikāyas* onward. We can mention some of the examples of *yogakkhema* in the *Nikāyas* as follows:

anuttarassa yogakkhemassa adhigamāya (SN II, pp. 195, 226; AN II, p. 87).
anuttaro yogakkhemo (AN I, p. 50).
anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ patthayamānā viharanti (SN IV, p. 125).
yogakkhemassa pattiyā (AN II, p. 40).
ayogakkhemino janā sattā gacchanti saṃsāraṃ jātimaraṇagāmino (AN II, p. 52).
ajaraṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyesati (AN II, p. 247).
amataṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyesati (AN II, p. 248).
anuttaraṃ yogakkhemam anupāpuṇāti (AN III, p. 21).
nibbānaṃ yogakkhemam anuttaran ti (AN III, p. 294).
anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ patthayamānassa viharo (*Itivuttaka*, p. 9).
anuttarassa yogakkhemassa adhigamāya (*Itivuttaka*, p. 27).

Next, let us consider the use of the term *yogakkhema* (Skt. *yogakṣema*) found in non-Buddhist texts. The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (I. 2. 2) goes as follows:

"Both the good (*śreyaḥ*) and the pleasant (*preyaḥ*) approach a man. The wise man, ponding over them, discriminates. The wise man prefers the good. The simpleminded, for the sake of acquisition (*yoga*) (i.e. of property) and its preservation (*kṣema*), prefers the pleasant."[15]

In the *Bhagavadgītā* (1st century A.D.), the Hindu religious text belonging to the *Bhāgavata* school, the term *yogakṣema* appears twice.

"Be thou free from the three Strands, O Arjuna, Free from the pairs (of opposites), eternally fixed in goodness (*sattva*), be Free from acquisition and possession (*niyogakṣema*), self possessed."[16]

There is another verse that reads:

"To them, when they are constant in perseverance, I bring acquisition and peaceful possession (*yogakṣema*) (of their aim)."[17]

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[14] DhpA I, p. 231: *nibbānaṃ yogakkhemam anuttaraṃ 'ti ye va-cattāro yogā mahājanaṃ vaṭṭe osīdāpenti tehi khemaṃ nibbhayaṃ sabbehi lokiyalokuttaradhammehi seṭṭhattā anuttaraṃ ti.*

[15] Kaṭh Up I. 2. 2: *śreyaś ca preyaś ca manuṣyam etas tau samparītya vivinakti dhīraḥ. śreyo hi dhīro 'bhipreyaso vṛṇīte, preyo mando yogakṣemād vṛṇīte.*

[16] Bhag II. 45bc–d: *nistraiguṇyo bhavārjuna nirdvandvo nityasattvastho niryogakṣema ātmavān.*

[17] *Ibid.* IX. 22c–d: *yeṣāṃ nityābhiyuktānaṃ yogakṣemaṃ vahāmy aham.*

The term *yogakṣema* is expounded upon by Śaṅkara (ca. 700–750) and Rāmānuja (ca. 1071–1137), the chief commentators on the *Bhagavadgītā*, which we are to discuss below. Commenting on *Bhagavadgītā* II.45 and IX.22, Śaṅkara says:

> "*Yoga* implies the possession of what has not been acquired (*anupāttasyopādānaṃ yogaḥ*), and *kṣema* means the preservation of what has been acquired (*upātasya rakṣaṇaṃ kṣemaḥ*)."[18]

In contrast, although Rāmānuja agrees with Śaṅkara's interpretation of *Bhagavadgītā* II.45[19], he comments on *Bhagavadgītā* IX.22 as follows:

> "*Yoga* means that which has the quality of attaining to me (Kṛṣṇa), and *kṣema* is that which has the characteristics of being not reborn [I bestow these qualities]."[20]

Judging from the context Rāmānuja's view which emphasizes the devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Kṛṣṇa, is considered appropriate for the interpretation of *yogakṣema* in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In either case, the compound *yogakṣema* is interpreted as a dvandva, but the attitude towards the term *yogakṣema* in both interpretations is extremely mundane, realistic and utilitarian.

In practical terms, the word *yoga* has the meanings of acquisition, gain, wealth and profit (also in Hindi), and *kṣema* stands for security. Originally the term *kṣema* is derived from the root √*kṣi*, meaning (1) cl. 1: be master of, have power over, (2) cl. 2, 6: be quiet, to abide, to inhahit, (3) cl. 9: to destroy, make an end of (cf. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *kṣi*).

When the Commentary (*Aṭṭhakathā*) of the *Nikāya* gives the interpretation of "being peacefully free from the four attachments" to the term *yogakṣema*, it is used in the sense of "rest, peace (*kṣema*) from attachment (*yoga*), i.e. bondage, lust", which seems to be understood as a *tat-puruṣa*. Accordingly *yogakkhema* is understood to correspond to *nibbāna*. Commenting on *anuttarassa yogakkhemassa adhigamāya* (SN II, pp. 195, 226; AN II, p. 50), the Commentary reads:

> *anuttarassa yogakkhemassa ti arahatassa. Tam hi anuttaran c' eva catūhi yogehi khemaṃ* (SNA III, p. 164).

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[18] V. L. S. PANSIKAR, *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, with the commentaries, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1936.

[19] *Ibid. aprāptasya prāptir yogaḥ, prāptasya parirakṣaṇaṃ kṣemaḥ.*

[20] *Ibid.* IX.22: *[teṣāṃ nityābhiyuktānāṃ mayi nityābhiyogaṃ kāṅkṣamāṇānāṃ ahaṃ] matprāptilakṣaṇaṃ yogaṃ apunarāvṛttirūpaṃ kṣemaṃ [ca vahāmi].*

Thus it is to be noted that there are two kinds of interpretations of *yoga-kṣema:* one is a mundane standpoint and the other a supramundane standpoint of peace from bondage.[21]

II. Yoga in the Sense of Practice — in connection with dhyāna (jhāna) and samādhi

The system of practice in Early Buddhism is represented by the absolute knowledge (*yathābhūta-ñāṇa-dassanaṃ*) of the Four Noble Truths (*cattāri ariyasaccāni*), the Chain of Causation or Dependent Origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*), and the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭaṅgiko maggo*) by which the supreme knowledge can be achieved.[22] However, the process the Buddha actually practiced before preaching the Four Noble Truths and so on should not be ignored. We are told that just after leaving home in order to seek salvation, the Buddha approached two *śramaṇa* teachers, Āḷāra-Kālāma and Uddaka-Rāmaputta, from whom he learned a series of meditations which led to the attainment of the stage of 'sphere of nothingness' (*ākiñcañña-āyatana*) up to the stage of 'sphere of neither perception nor nonperception' (*nevasañ-ñā-nāsaññā-āyatana*).[23] However the Buddha was not satisfied with the doctrine of the two teachers and took leave of them, criticizing them as follows:

> "The doctrine does not lead to disregard or to dispassion or to restraint or to tranquillity or to insight or to awakening or to *nibbāna*."[24]

This criticism appears frequently as a stock phrase in the *Nikāyas*.[25]

Both meditations on the 'sphere of nothingness' and the 'sphere of neither perception nor nonperception' were later incorporated into a series of Buddhist meditations. They are found even among the stages of meditation practiced by the Buddha himself before his complete *nibbāna* in the *Mahāpari-nibbāna-Suttanta* (DN II, p. 156). The meditations (*jhāna*) of *rūpa-dhātu* (the World of Form) and concentrations (*samādhi*) of *arūpa-dhātu* (the World of Formlessness) are mentioned in connection with the 62 views discussed in the *Brahmajāla-Sutta*. That is to say, the four meditations (*jhāna, dhyāna*) are included in the Present-existence-*nirvāṇa* theory (*diṭṭha-dhammanibbāna-vā-*

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[21] MN I, pp. 163f *ariyā pariyesanā: ajātaṃ ajaraṃ asaṅkiliṭṭhaṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyesati.*

[22] SN 56, 11–12 *sutta.*

[23] MN No. 26 *Ariyapariyesana-Sutta*; No. 36. *Mahāsaccaka-Sutta.*

[24] MN I, pp. 165–166, 240–241: *Nāyaṃ dhammo nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānāya saṃvattati.*

[25] SN V, pp. 418–419; MN I, p. 113, III, p. 114 etc.

da) and four concentrations (*samādhi*) of *arūpa-dhātu* in the Annihilation theory (*uccheda-vāda*). The point at issue may be summarized as follows:

1) The four meditations (*jhāna*) were adopted into a series of Buddhist meditations.[26]
2) The concentrations on *arūpa-dhātu* formed the practices aimed at by the two teachers, Āḷāra and Uddaka.
3) The four concentrations of *arūpa-dhātu* and the four meditations were included in the 62 views.

The point at issue is the concept of (a) the four concentrations of *arūpa-dhātu* included in the Annihilation theory and (b) the four meditations in the Present-existence-nirvāṇa theory.

The Annihilation theory (7 views) states that the soul (*attan*) is annihilated after death, and is opposed to Eternalism (*sassata-vāda*) which maintains the eternity of the soul. Accordingly the theory states that the soul attained to the stage of *ākiñcañña-āyatana*, the 6th of the Annihilation theory, and the soul at the stage of *nevasaññā-nāsaññā-āyatana*, the 7th, disappear completely after death. Of course, both theories must be rejected by the standpoint of the Buddha[27] who did not approve of either the view of existence or non-existence. It is impossible to determine whether or not Āḷāra and Uddaka taught the Annihilation theory, but as meditation teachers in those days, they were probably interested solely in the practice of meditation itself; in other words, their aim was only to attain to the stages (*āyatana*) of concentration (*yāvad eva ākiñcañña-āyatana* [*nevasaññā-nāsaññā-āyatana*] *upapattiyā*, MN I, pp. 165–166, etc.), hence we cannot discover the Annihilation theory in the doctrine of the two teachers. On the other hand, there is no question that the two considered the stages of concentration they attained to be the supreme attainment.

As for the four meditations (*dhyāna*) discussed in the 2nd to the 5th views of the Present-existence-nirvāṇa theory, the soul (*attan*) in each stage of meditation is stated to attain to nibbāna in this birth (*diṭṭha-dhamma-nibbāna*). This seems to suggest that, according to this scheme, the stages of 'sphere of nothingness' and 'sphere of neither perception nor nonperception' included in the four concentrations of *arūpa-dhātu* followed by the four meditations (*dhyāna*), are extensions of the Present-existence-nirvāṇa theory.[28]

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[26] SN V, p. 308: *bhikkhu cattāro jhāne bhāvento cattāro jhāne bahulīkaronto nibbānaninno hoti nibbānapono nibbānapabbhāro ti.* (A monk, by cultivating the four meditations, by making much of the four meditations, flows to *Nibbāna*, slides to *Nibbāna*, tends to *Nibbāna*).

[27] SN II, p. 17: *Sabbam atthīti kho Kaccāyana ayam eko anto, sabbaṃ natthīti ayaṃ dutiyo anto. Ete te Kaccāyana ubho ante anupagamma majjhe Tathāgato dhammam deseti.*

[28] H. Ui, *Indo-tetsugaku Kenkyū* ("Studies in Indian Philosophy"), vol. III, rep. Tokyo, 1965, p. 272.

As to why the four meditations are included in the Present-existence-nirvāṇa theory, it is conceivable that they are regarded as belonging to the future time (*aparantakappika*; Chinese translation: *wei-chieh wei-chien*). In contrast, according to the classification of the 62 views, the Buddhist scheme of four meditations belongs to the world of form (*rūpa-dhātu*), and the term *diṭṭhadhamma-nibbāna* appears frequently in early Buddhist texts.[29] In Buddhist texts, the present-life-nirvāṇa (*diṭṭhadhamma-nibbāna*), as I have discussed elsewhere[30], implies achievement in this life of the cessation of passion (*rāga*), ill-will (*dosa*), infatuation (*moha*), ignorance (*avijjā*), or craving (*taṇhā*) by the function of absolute knowledge (*yathābhūta-ñāṇadassana*), not by the four meditations. Though the Buddha placed great emphasis on the four meditations, he seems not to have taught that the Present-existence-nirvāṇa is attained at the stages of the four meditations. Dr. Hakuju UI also holds the same view on this point.[31]

From the above discussion, it is clear that the meditations practiced by *śramaṇa* mendicants in the Buddha's time were fundamentally different from Buddhist meditation. Mendicants of that day considered meditation to stand for the final attainment itself. Accordingly the following stock phrase found in the *Nikāyas* must be distinguished from the issue at hand.

> Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge; he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto *nirvāṇa*.[32]

As I have discussed in another paper[33], the fact that the Buddha emphasized the four meditations can be found in the interpretation of Right Concentration (*sammā-samādhi*) and in its location in the Noble Eightfold Path. Finding the cause (*hetu*) and relation (*paccaya*) from which one's suffering arises, the Buddha formulated the system of the Four Noble Truths and the 12 element chain of causation. In order to show the means to stop suffering, the Buddha proclaimed the Noble Eightfold Path as the cardinal practice, beginning with Right View (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) and ending with Right Concentration. Right View in the Noble Path is connected with Wisdom leading to *nirvāṇa*, i.e. the

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[29] AN IV, p. 353: *bhikkhu pāpuṇāti diṭṭh' eva dhamme nibbānaṃ*; SN II, p. 18: *diṭṭhadhammanibbānappatto bhikkhu.*

[30] S. KUMOI, "Genzai-nehan-ron. (*Diṭṭhadhamma-nibbāna-vāda*) to sono ronten" (*Diṭṭhadhamma-nibbāna-vāda* and the point at issue), *Kanakura-hakase koki-kinen Indogaku bukkyōgaku-ronshū* (*Essays on Indian and Buddhist Studies, Festschrift for Dr. Kanakura's seventieth birthday*), Tokyo, 1966, pp. 19–37.

[31] H. UI, *op.cit.*, pp. 275–276.

[32] Dhp 372 etc.

[33] S. KUMOI, "Zenjō to sanmai – Bukkyo to Yōga-ha no kakawari" (*Dhyāna* and *Samādhi* – The relation between Buddhism and Yoga School), *Bukkyō-gaku seminā* (*Buddhist Seminar*), No. 23, 1976, Kyoto, pp. 1–23.

cessation of lust, and Wisdom is correlative with meditation, as stated in *Dhammapada* 372 and its commentary.[34] The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* reads:

> "Practise concentration, brethren. A brother who is concentrated, brethren, knows a thing as it really is."[35]

This passage also exemplifies the correlation of Wisdom with concentration (*samādhi*).

On the other hand, from the reflection not to make light of Right Concentration by laying stress on Right View, we can find *sūtras* stating that Right Mindfulness, the 7th of the Noble Eightfold Path, is a cause (*upanisā*) or requisite (*parikkhāra*) of Right Concentration (MN No. 17 *Mahācattārisaka-Sutta*, MN III, p. 71; cf. V, p. 121; SN V, p. 21).

As for the practices of meditation appearing frequently in early Buddhist texts, they cannot always be distinguished into *jhāna* (*dhyāna*), *samādhi* or *yoga*, since the kinds of concentrations to which these terms refer are not necessarily clear. *Jhāna* and *samādhi* imply methods aimed at concentration, leading to the stage of "one-pointedness of mind" (*citta-ekāgratā*). Needless to say, this stage is expounded even in the *Yoga-sūtra* in which *yoga* is understood as concentration. *Yoga* as concentration derives from its root √*yuj*, meaning "to fix the mind upon an object or oneself", and its practice is synonymous with three sinitic terms, *ch'an-ting* (*jhāna*), *san-mei* (*samādhi*), and *yü-ch'ieh* (*yoga*). It is therefore stated that *yoga*, *jhāna* and *samādhi* in terms of concentration stand on equal footing.

III. The Definition of Yoga in the Nikāyas

Let us continue our investigation, limiting ourselves to sources written in the so-called *gāthā* form which is believed to constitute the oldest strata of early Buddhist texts. First of all, we will discuss the definition of *yoga* in relation to *jhāna* and *samādhi* because, as we have mentioned above, in the early texts there is no clear difference among these terms.

The word *jhāyati* (to meditate) appears in the *Theragāthā* (892, 894, 895) as follows:

> "Abandoning the five strands of sensual pleasure, Anuruddha indeed meditates.
>
> Crossing over all the flood, Anuruddha indeed meditates.

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[34] Cf. DhpA IV, pp. 109–110: (30) *Natthi jhānan ti jhānuppādikāya vāyāmapaññāya apaññassa jhānam nāma natthi, paññā natthī ti ajjhāyantassa "samāhito bhikkhu yathābhūtam jānāti passatī" ti vuttalakkhaṇā paññā natthi, yamhi jhānañ ca paññā cā ti yamhi puggale idam ubhayam pi atthi so nibbānassa santike ṭhito yevā ti attho.*

[35] SN III, p. 13: *samādhiṃ bhikkhave bhāvetha, samāhito bhikkhave bhikkhu yathābhūtam pajānāti.*

Passing over these (forms, sounds, tastes, smells and things to touch) too, Anuruddha indeed meditates."[36]

The word *jhāyati* (Skt. *dhyāyati*) which appears in these verses is closely related to *Suttanipāta* 425 which reads: "To me (Gotama) whose mind was intent upon exertion" (*taṃ naṃ jhāyantaṃ*). The verse recounts the Buddha's recollection of his meditation near the river Nerañjarā for the sake of acquiring perfect peace. The Commentary (*Paramatthajotikā*) on this verse reads as follows:

"[To me,] whose mind was intent upon exertion means one who practices the meditation of holding one's breath."[37]

From this commentary we can see the relation between the Buddha's meditation and *yoga* practices. The following verse from the *Theragāthā* (580c–d) gives one of the early examples of *yoga* practices:

"But he should be content even with coarse fare, he should not seek other flavours in abundance. The mind of one who is greedy for flavours does not delight in meditation."[38]

This verse should remind us of the aspect of *niyama* (YS II, 31) in the eightfold course of training (*aṣṭāṅga*). In addition, the following phrases appear in the *Theragāthā*: *jhāne yutto* (Th 1105b), *jhāyin* (680c. *jhāyī*, 920b. *jhāyino*; cf. Dhp 110d. *jhāyino*, 111d. *jhāyino*, 276d. *jhāyino*); *mahājhāyin* (Th 112a. *mahājhāyī*, 1083b. *mahājhāyiṃ*).

In contrast, the term *samādhi* is used synonymously with *jhāyati* in the *Suttanipāta*, which reads as follows:

"The extinction of passions, dispassionateness, the supreme state of security which Sākyamuni, being collected of mind (*samāhita*), reached, there is no *Dhamma* like this. This excellent jewel is found in the *Dhamma*, by this truth may there be well-being.[39]

The purity by which the excellence of the Buddha be praised, the meditation (*samādhi*) which they call uninterrupted, there is no meditation like this. This excellent jewel is found in the *Dhamma*, by this truth may there be well-being."[40]

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[36] Respectively Th 892c–d: *pañca kāmaguṇe hitvā Anuruddho 'va jhāyati*; Th 894c–d: *sabboghaṃ samatikkamma Anuruddho 'va jhāyati*; Th 895c–d: *ete ca samatikkamma Anuruddho 'va jhāyati*.

[37] SnA II, 2, p. 386: *jhāyantan ti appānakajjhānaṃ anuyuñjantaṃ*.

[38] Th 580: *lūkena pi ca santusse, nāññaṃ patthe rasaṃ bahuṃ; rasesu anugiddhassa jhāne na ramatī mano*.

[39] Sn 225: *khayaṃ virāgaṃ amataṃ paṇītaṃ yad ajjhagā Sakyamunī samāhito, na tena dhammena sam' atthi kiñci. — idam pi Dhamme ratanaṃ paṇītaṃ, etena saccena suvatthi hotu*.

[40] Sn 226: *Yaṃ buddhaseṭṭho parivaṇṇayī suciṃ samādhim ānantarikaññam āhu, samādhinā tena samo na vijjati. — idam pi Dhamme ratanaṃ paṇītaṃ, etena saccena suvatthi hotu*.

The two verses quoted above show us the position of *samādhi/samāhita* in early Buddhist texts. As for the usage of *samādhi/samāhita*, we can also find the following phrases: Dhp 249f, 250d; Sn 226b–c; Th 160 *su-samāhito* b, d), *ajjhattaṃ susamāhito* (AN II, pp. 29, 31G), *samāhitindriya* (AN II, p. 6G). Next, regarding *yoga*, the *Dhammapada* reads as follows:

> "He who gives himself to non-application (*ayoga*), and does not give himself to meditation (*yoga*), forgetting the real aim (of life) and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation (*attānuyoginaṃ*) (Dhp 209).
>
> Through *yoga* (concentration) knowledge (*bhūri*) is gotten, through lack of *yoga* (concentration) knowledge is lost (*ayogā bhūrisaṅkhayo*); let a man who knows this double path of gain and loss thus place himself that knowledge may grow." (Dhp 282).[41]

It is, however, difficult to understand the term *yoga* in the verses quoted above as "practice" (*yü-ch'ieh*), which corresponds to the ambiguous understanding of the term *samāhita* in the sense of "having attained meditation". We must, therefore investigate the examples of (1) *yogaṃ karoti* (√*kṛ*) and (2) *yogam āpajjati* (*ā*-√*pad*).

> "Monks, do ye apply yourself (*yogam āpajjatha*) to meditation in solitude (*paṭisallāna*). The monk who is meditative knows a thing as it really is. Therefore, monks, an effort must be made to realize (*yogo karaṇīyo*), thinking: 'This is suffering'."[42]

In addition, in *Saṃyutta-nikāya* XXXV, 99, 100 *samādhi* and *yoga* are described using the same formula as that quoted above (SN IV, p. 89).

In the case of *yogaṃ karoti* and *yogam āpajjati*, the term *yoga* must be understood in the sense of "to show endeavour, to make an effort, to strive after, to be active" (cf. s. v. *yoga*, PTSD). The phrase *yogaṃ karoti* is also found in the passage of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* which reads: "For the cessation of evil influence (passion) a practice must be made (to realize)" (*āsavānaṃ khayāya yogo karaṇīyo*, AN II, p. 93), in which according to the commentary, *yoga* is clearly understood as "practice".

Regarding the phrase *yogo karaṇīyo*, the title of *Saṃyutta-nikāya* XII, 84 *sutta* (SN II, pp. 131f.), is explained in the Commentary (*Sāratthappakāsinī*, p. 128) as follows: "*Yoga* means preparatory practice" (*yogo ti payogo*). Since the Sanskrit term of *prayoga* originally has the meanings of application and endeavour in addition to preparatory practice, it can be understood as either

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[41] Dhp 209: *Ayoge yuñjam attānaṃ yogasmiñ ca ayojayaṃ, atthaṃ hitvā piyaggāhī pihet' attānuyoginaṃ*; Dhp 282: *Yogā ve jāyatī bhūrī, ayogā bhūrisaṅkhayo, etaṃ dvedhāpathaṃ ñatvā bhavāya vibhavāya ca, tath' attānaṃ niveseyya yathā bhūri pavaḍḍhati.*

[42] SN V, p. 415: *paṭisallāne bhikkhave yogam āpajjatha. paṭisallīno bhikkhave yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti. Tasmā ti ha bhikkhave idaṃ dukkhan ti yogo karaṇīyo*, cf. also IV, p. 80.

preparatory practice or endeavour. However, later in the *Vibhaṅga* of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, there is a passage that reads:

> "Apply yourself to what ought to be done."[43]

From this usage it is clear that *yogaṃ karoti* and *yogam āpajjati* were used with the same connotation. *Yoga*, as practice/endeavour is, on the other hand, understood as concentration or contemplation, and has the general meaning of meditation, as found in *Dhammapada* 209, 282. In connection with *jhāyati* and *samāhita*, we have discussed the phrases *yogaṃ karoti* and *yogam āpajjati*, which are the early Buddhist expressions using the term *yoga*. We will conclude our discussion of the usage of these terms by quoting the following verse from the *Theragāthā*.

> "For the teacher has mastered this road (*magga*) which goes beyond attachments and fear of birth and old age. Continuously vigilant, devote yourself; make resolute application of mind (*yoga*)."[44]

The Commentary (*Paramatthadīpanī*, ThA II, p. 176) on this verse reads as follows:

> "*Magga* means 'noble road' (*ariya-magga*), and *yoga* implies 'the cultivation by mind' (*bhāvanā*)."

Further, the term *yuttayoga* appears in the *Theragāthā*:

> "Possessed of energy and perseverance, he should always be earnest in application of mind (*yuttayogo sadā siyā*)."[45]

The Commentary on this reads as follows:

> "He should always practice the cultivation by mind."[46]

Conclusion

In the above, we have discussed the concept of *yoga* in the *Nikāyas*. Needless to say, the source materials of Early Buddhism are not outside the realm of Indian thought in general, and instances of the Vedic usage of *yoga* are, therefore, not so difficult to find even in the Buddhist texts. As examples, we can give the following: *nakkhattayoga* (a conjunction of the planets, *Jā* I, pp. 82, 253; III, p. 98), *Yogayogena* (practice of spells, Jā VI, p. 212) and so

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[43] Vibh(RD) p. 356: *karaṇīyesu attanā yogam āpajjatha.*

[44] Th 413: *satthā hi vijesi maggam etaṃ saṅgā jātijarābhayā atītaṃ; pubbāpararattam appamatto anuyuñjassu daḷhaṃ karohi yogaṃ.*

[45] Th 585 a–b: *viriyasātaccasampanno yuttayogo sadā siyā.*

[46] ThA II, p. 250: *yuttayogo sadā siyā ti, sabbakāle bhāvanānuyutto siyā.*

on. However, on the basis of our study of the usages of *yoga* found in early Buddhist texts, the *Nikāyas*, we conclude as follows:

(1) From the etymological meaning of √*yuj* "to yoke or join", it is appropriate to understand *yoga* as mental or subjective concentration, active endeavour or application of mind.

(2) When the etymological sense of "to yoke or join" is understood in an external and passive sense, *yoga* is understood in the sense of attachment, this being derived from the meaning of being bound. It is because of this that *yoga* is understood as bondage or as the four attachments in Buddhist terminology.

(3) The term *yoga*, in connection with action in general, means "undertaking, practice, or endeavour", instances of such usage being frequently found in early Buddhist texts.

(4) It is undeniable that in terms of concentration, the word *yoga* is closely related to *jhāna* (early Buddhist Chinese translation *ssu-wei-hsing*[a], new Chinese translation *ching-lü*[b]), and *samādhi* (early Buddhist Chinese translation *san-mo-ti*[c], *san-mo-ti*[d])[47]. This marked tendency is seen especially in the older level of early Buddhist texts.

(5) The term *yogakkhema* (Skt. *yogakṣema*) means "*nibbāna* (*nirvāṇa*)". This shows a Buddhist understanding of *yoga*, as in the meaning of (2) above.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in this article follow the *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur*, ed. H. BECHERT, Göttingen, 1990 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 3) except the following:

Bhag	= *The Bhagavad Gītā*, ed. F. EDGERTON, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1944 (Harvard Oriental Series XXXVIII-IX).
Dhp	= *Dhammapada*, ed. O. von HINÜBER, K. R. NORMAN, London 1994 (PTS).
DhpA	= *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, ed. H. C. NORMAN, 5 vols., London 1906-1914 (PTS).
G.	= Gāthā.
Kaṭh Up	= *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, in: *The Principal Upaniṣads*, ed. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, London 1953.
Maitr Up	= *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, in: *The Principal Upaniṣads*, ed. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, London 1953.
SNA	= *Sāratthа-ppakāsinī, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Saṃyutta-nikāya*, ed. F. L. WOODWARD, 3 vols., London 1929-1937 (PTS).

[47] The seven names of *samādhi*: *têng-yin*[e] (*samāhita*), *têng-ch'ih*[f] (*samādhi*), *têng-chih*[g] (*samāpatti*), *ching-lü*[h] (*dhyāna*), *hsin yi-ching hsing*[i] (*cittaikāgratā*), *chih*[j] (*śamatha*), *hsien-fa lê-chu*[k] (*dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihāra*).

SnA = *Paramatthajotikā II, Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā*, ed. HELMER SMITH, 3 vols., London 1916-1918 (PTS).
ThA = *Paramattha-Dīpanī, Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. F. L. WOODWARD, 3 vols., London 1940-1959 (PTS).
YS = *The Yoga-sūtras of Patañjali with the Scholium of Vyāsa and the Commentary of Vācaspatimiśra*, ed. R. BODAS, 1892 (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XLVI).

List of Chinese Characters

a 思惟行

b 静慮

c 三摩地

d 三摩提

e 等引（漢）

f 等持

g 等至

h 静慮

i 心一境性

j 止

k 現法楽住

A Vinaya Fragment of the Mūlasarvāstivādin from 'Bendall's Puka' in the National Archives, Kathmandu

KAZUNOBU MATSUDA, Kyoto

From 1898 to 1899, Cecil Bendall made a tour of research to the Durbar Library, Kathmandu, where he discovered ancient Sanskrit fragments on various palm leaves which date back more than ten centuries. Owing to his discovery, these palm leaf fragments came to be referred to at the Library as 'Bendall's Puka.' Afterwards, the National Archives acquired Bendall's Puka and this is where they have been deposited ever since.[1]

In recent years I have been able to make accurate identifications of a number of texts in Bendall's Puka and have published consecutive studies on my findings. Amongst them is a work registered in the National Archives under the tentative title of Divyāvadānādiprakīrṇapatrāṇi (that is, miscellaneous folios such as the Divyāvadāna) which consists of two palm leaf fragments.[2] Upon careful examination of these fragments, however, it is my conclusion that these two palm leaf fragments are completely unrelated to the Divyāvadāna. These two palm leaves are of nearly the same size and are written in Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II script, although the scribe would seem to be different.[3] One of the palm leaves was, after Cecil Bendall's death, in fact published by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, to whom Bendall had entrusted the photographs of his find, who there identified it as being none other than the

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[1] For an outline of Bendall's Puka, see the introductory remarks in MATSUDA 1996b in the bibliography listed at the end of this work.

[2] This is the title on the label affixed to the microfilm. The manuscript number is '3-737 vi avadāna 6', and the manuscript size is 50 × 4.5 cm. All of the manuscripts in Bendall's Puka begin with the call number 3-737. In the local catalogue, this item is listed as having 8 folios in Gupta script, but this is incorrect (*Bṛhatsūcīpatra* VII-1, Buddhaviṣayakaḥ Saptamo Bhāgaḥ, Prathamakhaṇḍaḥ, V. S. 2021, p. 213). This microfilm was produced under the auspices of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (cf. R. GRÜNENDAHL, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and the Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*, Stuttgart, 1989 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 31), p. CXIV, No. 1052, Divyāvadāna, microfilm number B 22/49).

[3] More precisely, when evaluating the photo reproductions of these folios, the string hole or punch hole of the folios matched perfectly, although the overall sizes of the folios were not the same. Further, one of the folios had, on its verso surface, a folio number on the left hand side, but unfortunately, due to damage, it is illegible.

Saṃyuktāgama.[4] I have been able to newly identify the remaining palm leaf as belonging to the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivādin.

The content of this one palm leaf corresponds well to the Saṅghabhedavastu of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivādin,[5] but a passage of similar content also appears in the Vinayavibhaṅga of the Vinayapiṭaka of the same order,[6] and so I would like to leave the decision as to which text this folio belongs, that is, whether it belongs to the Saṅghabhedavastu or to the Vinayavibhaṅga, until some future occasion. While we must forego a more definitive identification other than to say it belongs to the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, I wish to publish below an edited transcription of this important folio on the occasion of the sixty-fifth birthday of Professor Heinz Bechert, who, as an authority on the Vinayapiṭaka himself, will no doubt have much interest in this folio.[7]

Symbols used and abbreviations:

( ) restored letter
[ ] damaged letter
/// folio broken off at this place
* virāma
r recto
v verso
(!) sic
G Gilgit manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu[8]

Famine in Rājagṛha[9]

... (r1) [akṛ]ṣṭoptasya taṃḍulaphalaśāleḥ pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjate (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajaṃte (|) cāturmahārājikāṃs trayastriṃśāṃś ca devāṃ gatvā divyāyāḥ sudhāyāḥ pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribh[u]ṃ[ja]te (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhaja(ṃ)te (|) ye [vā te

[4] L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, "Mss. Cecil Bendall," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1907), pp. 375–379.

[5] R. GNOLI, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 2, Rome, 1978, pp. 68.10–70.3. Tibetan Tr., Peking ed., Otani No. 1030(17), *Ce* 150b7–152b2. Chinese Tr., Taisho No. 1450, vol. 23, pp. 168a5–168b18.

[6] Tibetan Tr., Peking ed., Otani No. 1032, *Che* 263b5–265b2, Chinese Tr., Taisho No. 1442, vol. 23, pp. 700b8–700c15.

[7] I was able to obtain the microfilm of the manuscripts in 1989 through the cooperation of Professor B. D. DANGOL of the National Archives, who also arranged for permission to conduct the present research and to use the photographs of these folios in this connection. I wish to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Professor DANGOL.

[8] See note 5.

[9] I follow the paragraph titles in the Gnoli edition of G. See note 5.

ja](napadāḥ ṛddhāś) [ca sph](ītāś ca kṣemāś ca subhikṣāś cākīrṇṇa)(r2)bahujanamanuṣyāś ca tataḥ śucinaḥ praṇītasya khādanīyabhojanīyasya pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjate (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajaṃte (|)

Devadatta strives to win magical powers

atha devadattasyaitad abhavat* (|) etarhi durbhikṣaṃ kṛcchraṃ kāntāraṃ durlabhaḥ piṃḍako yācanakena (|) ye bhikṣava ṛddher lābhinaḥ te yasyā jaṃbvā nāmnā jaṃbudvīpa[ḥ] (prajñāyate) (r3) tato varṇṇagaṃdharasopetānāṃ jaṃbupeśīnāṃ pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjate (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajaṃte (|) yad vā punar asyāḥ sāmantakena bilvavanaṃ kapitthavanam āmalakīvanaṃ tato varṇṇagaṃdharasopetānām āmalakīpeśīnāṃ pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjate (|) sa(taś ca bhikṣūṃ) (r4) ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajaṃte (|) uttarakuraṃ dvīpaṃ gatvā akṛṣṭo(pta)sya taṇḍulaphalaśāleḥ pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjate (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajaṃte (|) cāturmahārājikāṃs trayastriṃśāṃś ca devāṃ gatvā divyāyāḥ sudhāyāḥ pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjate (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa (saṃvibha)(r5)jaṃte (|) ye vā te janapadā ṛddhāś ca sphītāś ca kṣemāś ca subhikṣāś cākīrṇṇabahujanamanuṣyāś ca tataḥ śucinaḥ praṇītasya khādanīyabhojanīyasya pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjate (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajaṃte (|) aham api [yadi] ṛddher lābhī syād aham api yasyā jaṃbvā n[ā](mnā jaṃbū)(r6)dvīpaḥ prajñāyate tato varṇṇagandharasopetānāṃ jaṃbūpeśīnāṃ pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjīya (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajeya (|) yad vā punar asyāḥ sāmantakena bilvavanaṃ kapitthavanam āmalakīvanaṃ tato varṇṇagandharasopetānāṃ āmalakapeśīnāṃ [pāttra]pūram ādāyā[tmanā] (r7) paribhuṃjīya (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajeya | uttarakuruṃ dvīpaṃ gatvā akṛṣṭoptasya taṃdulaphalaśāleḥ pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhuṃjīya (|) sataś ca bhikṣūṃ ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajeya (|) cāturmahārājikāṃs trayastriṃśāṃś ca devāṃ gatvā divyāyāḥ sudhāyāh pāttrapūram ādā[yatmanā pa](ribhuṃ)(r8)(jeya | sa)[taś ca] bhikṣ(ūṃ) ccheṣeṇa saṃvibhajeya (|) ye vā te janapadā (ṛddhā)ś ca sphītāś ca kṣemāś ca subhikṣāś cākīrṇṇabahujanamanuṣyāś ca tataḥ śucinaḥ praṇītasya khādanīyabhojanīyasya pāttrapūram ādāyātmanā paribhujīya (|) tataś(!) ca bhikṣūṃ c[ch]eṣeṇa saṃvibhajeya (|) atha ko nu me pratibala(ḥ) (r9) syād ṛddheḥ mārgaṃ vyapadeṣṭum ity (|)

atha devadatto yena bhagavāṃs tenopasaṃkrānta upasaṃkramya bhagavataḥ (v1) (pādau śirasā) [va](ṃ)ditvaikānte 'sthād ekāṃtasthito devadatto bhagavantam ida(m avo)cat* (|) vyapadiśatu me bhagavāṃ ṛddher mārgam ity (|)

atha bhagavāṃ devadattasyedam eva(ṃ)rūpaṃ pāpakam icchāga(ta)m utpannaṃ viditvā devadattam idam avocad (|) adhiśīle tvaṃ gautamīmāta[10] yoniśo manas(i)kuru ṛddhiś ca te bhaviṣyaty anyac ca adhiprajñe [t](vaṃ gautamī)(v2)māta yoniśo manasikuru ṛddhiś ca bhavaty anyac ca (|)

atha devadattasyaitad abhavan (|) na vyapadiśati me bhagavāṃ ṛddher mārgam iti viditvā prakrāṃto yenāyuṣmān ājñātakauṇḍinyas tenopasaṃkrānta upasaṃkramya āyuṣmaṃtam ājñātakauṇḍinyam i[da]m avocat* (|) vyapadiśatu me sthavira ṛddher mārgaṃ (|)

athāyuṣmān ājñātakau(ṇḍi)(v3)nyo bhagavato mānasaṃ vyavalokya devadattasya cedam evaṃrūpaṃ pāpakam icchāgatam utpannaṃ viditvā devadattam idam avocat* (|) rūpaṃ tvaṃ devadatta yoniśo manasikuru ṛddhiś ca te hhaviṣyaty anyac ca (|)

atha devadattasyaitad abhavat* (|) sthaviro 'pi me ājñātakauṇḍinyo na vyapadiśati ṛddher mārga(m iti) viditvā ye[nāyu](ṣmā)(v4)n aśvajid bhadriko bāṣpo mahānāmā yaśāḥ[11] pūrṇṇo vimalo gavāṃpatiḥ subāhur yena paṃca sthaviraśatāni tenopasaṃkrānta upasaṃkramya paṃca sthaviraśatāni 'dam avocat* (|) vyapadiśaṃtu me sthavirā ṛddher mārgaṃ (|)

atha paṃca sthaviraśatāni bhagavato mānasaṃ [vyava]lokya sthavirasthavirāṇāṃ ca bhikṣūṇāṃ de(vadatta)(v5)sya cedam evaṃrūpaṃ pāpakam icchāgatam utpannaṃ viditvā devadattam idam avocat* (|) rūpaṃ tvaṃ devadatta yoniśo manasikuru ṛddhiś ca te bhaviṣyaty anyac ca vedanāṃ saṃjñāṃ saṃskārāṃ vijñānaṃ tvaṃ devadatta yoniśo manasikuru ṛddhiś ca te bhaviṣyaty anyac ca (|)

atha devadattasyaitad abhavat* (|) pāṃ(cāpi) (v6) sthaviraśatāni ṛddher mārgaṃ na vyapadiśaṃti (|) kiṃ punar ebhir āyuṣmadbhir bhagavatā sārdhaṃ pūrvam eva saṃgītaṃ bhaviṣyati (|) tathā hi me na kaścid vyapadiśati ṛddher mārgam ity (|)

atha devadattasyaitad abhavat* (|) atha ko nu me pratibala(ḥ) syāt* ṛddher mārgaṃ vyapadeṣṭuṃ (|)

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[10] *Gautamīmāta* < *gautamīmātṛ*. The term *gautamīmātṛ*, which means a man whose mother belongs to the Gautama family, is here being used in reference to Devadatta; the same term occurs again in the second to the last lioe in this folio. In G this term is given as *gautama*, and in the reconstruction from the Tibetan and Chinese versions this would apparently be *gautama*. However, the Tibetan translation of the Vinayavibhaṅga (Tib. *Che* 264 b5 and b6) has *gau ta ma'i bu* (*gautamaputra*?). The corresponding portion of the Chinese version of the Vinayavibhaṅga is the same as G.

[11] *Yaśas* is not found io G.

Daśabalakāśyapa teaches to Devadatta the way to obtain magical powers

tena khalu samayenāyuṣ[mā]m (daśabala)(v7)kāśyapo rājagṛhe viharati senikāguhāyāmm (|) atha devadattasyaitad abhavat* (|) ayaṃ sthaviro daśabalakāśyapo dīrgharāttram aśaṭho 'māyāvī ṛjuko ṛjukajātīyo bhrātṛsālohitasya ca me ānaṃdasya[12] upādhyāyo bhavati pratibalaś ca me upādhyāyo sthaviro daśabala(kāśyapaḥ) (v8) ṛddher mārgaṃ vyapadeṣṭum iti viditvā yenāyuṣmāṃ daśabalakāśyapam tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ upasaṃkramyāyuṣmato daśabalakāśyapasya pādau śirasā vaṃditvaikānte 'sthād (|) ekāntasthito devadatta āyuṣmantaṃ daśabalakāśyapam idam avo[cat*] (|) [vya]padi[śatu me] /// ...

Addendum

Regarding the fragments contained in Bendall's Puka, more information can be obtained from the research papers I have published to date; see list below. As the bulk of the studies were published in Japan, making them less accessible to those living outside of Japan, the author is pleased to provide photocopies of these materials to whomever should want them. Even with those studies published in Japanese, it is still possible for researchers to use to benefit the edited romanized Sanskrit texts contained in them.

MATSUDA, K.

(1990) "Newly Identified Buddhist Sanskrit Fragments in the National Archives Collection, Nepal" (in Japanese), *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 389-386.

(1994) "Sanskrit Fragments of Paryāyasaṃgrahaṇī of the Yogācārabhūmi" (in Japanese), *Hokkaido Journal of Indological and Buddhist Studies*, No. 9, pp. 90-108.

(1995) "Sanskrit Text of the Bodhisattva's Ten Stages in the Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra: Based on the Kathmandu Fragment of the Yogācārabhūmi" (in Japanese), *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Bukkyo University*, Vol. 2, pp. 59-77.

(1996a) "Sanskrit Fragment of the Madhyama-āgama (Nos. 135 & 141) from the National Archives Collection, Kathmandu" (in Japanese), *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 113-119.

(1996b) *The Two Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Daśabhūmikasūtra Preserved at the National Archives, Kathmandu (Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 10)*, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, Tokyo, 30 pp. with 108 plates.

(1996c) "Bendall's Tour of Research to Nepal (1898-99)" (in Japanese), Newsletter of the Research Institute of Bukkyo University, No. 11, pp. 18-22.

[12] *Nanda* is found for *ānanda* in G.

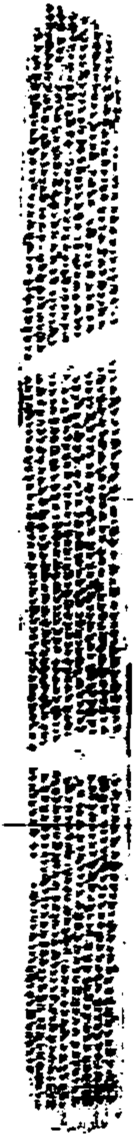
MATSUDA, K. and TODA, H.

(1991) "Three Sanskrit Fragments of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra from the Cecil Bendall Manuscript Collection in the National Archives, Kathmandu", *Memoirs of the Department of Ethics, College of General Education, the University of Tokushima*, No. 20, pp. 21–35.

MATSUDA, K. and STEINKELLNER, E.

(1991) "The Sanskrit Manuscript of Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya: Report on a Single Folio Fragment from the National Archives Collection, Kathmandu", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 35, pp. 139–149.

Saṃghabhedavastu or Vinayavibhaṅga (recto)



Saṃghabhedavastu or Vinayavibhaṅga (verso)

Lafcadio Hearn and Buddhism[1]

SENGAKU MAYEDA, Tokyo

I. Preface

Lafcadio HEARN was born in either June or August, 1850 on Santa Maura of the Ionian islands, the child of Charles Bush HEARN, an Irish surgeon major stationed in Greece, and Rosa, a Greek woman resident on the island. It was she who named him Lafcadio after Leucadia (Lefcada or Leukas), the ancient name of Santa Maura. During his infant days he was shifted to his father's hometown of Dublin in Ireland, where having parted forever from his mother, he was raised by a wealthy great-aunt. He was educated at the Catholic schools of Usaw in England and Yvetot in France, but the collapse of his family life, his inability to agree with the Catholic priests on a variety of issues, the loss of sight on his left eye owing to an unexpected accident, and his great-aunt's loss of fortune, were disasters that followed him in steady succession.

At the age of 19, he abandoned England and crossed over to the USA. Although at this time he was penniless, by dint of perseverance and labor he acquired fame as a journalist in Cincinnati. Moving later to New Orleans, he introduced French literature in English translation and published in book form journalistic reports concerning the islands of the French West Indies.

Arriving in Japan in 1890, he was employed as a teacher of English at the Matsue Middle School run by the Shimane Prefecture, but later in 1891, he moved to the Fifth Middle and High School located at Kumamoto. After working briefly as an English language journalist in Kobe, from 1896 onwards for six and a half consecutive years he lectured at the University of Tokyo on English and American literature, and then, having shifted to Waseda University, HEARN died of angina pectoris at the age of 54 years and 3 months at the Koizumi mansion at Nishi-Okubo, Tokyo, on the 26th of September 1904. HEARN's Buddhist funeral was conducted at the Kobudera

[1] The substance of this paper is based upon my paper in Japanese "Lafcadio Hearn's Understanding of Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism," published in the *Tōhō*, no.9, 1993. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Cyril VELIATH and Mr. Richard A. PAULSON who kindly took trouble to help me complete this article in English.

temple[2] located in Fukuhisamachi, Ichigaya, Tokyo. His tomb is located at Zōshigaya, Tokyo.

Various research on HEARN has recently seen a remarkable surge in Japan, the reevaluation of his life and works being a movement that has been steadily gaining momentum, from approximately of 1974, or 70 years after his death. However, it is a fact that even now, HEARN's thought[3] has not yet been fully explored. In particular, one might say that an illumination of the works of HEARN from the standpoint of Buddhistic and Indian studies, both of which seem to constitute a vital aspect of his view of life, has hardly been attempted[4].

The works of HEARN written after his arrival in Japan would amount to about 11 or 12 volumes. Among them there are a considerable number of works related to Japanese Buddhism in the form of narratives, ballads, legends, and ghost stories. The works of HEARN which are worth noting from the viewpoint of his Buddhist studies, are the following: (1) "In Yokohama" (*Out of the East: Reveries and Studies in New Japan*, 1895), (2) "The Idea of Pre-existence" (*Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life*, 1896), (3) "Nirvana" (*Gleanings in Buddha-Fields: Studies of Hand and Soul in the Far East*, 1897), (4) "The Introduction of Buddhism" (*Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, 1904), and (5) "The Higher Buddhism" (*Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, 1904).

In this article I would like to investigate what kind of knowledge or understanding of Buddhism HEARN possessed when he came to Japan.

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[2] Kobudera, which means 'The Temple of Knots' in Japanese, is a popular name of the temple which was formally named 'Jishōin Enyūji Temple.' It is also popularly called 'Hagidera' which means 'The Temple of Bush Clovers.' This is a temple which HEARN greatly loved and where his funeral took place. Cf. Setsu KOIZUMI, "Omoide no Ki (A Book of Reminiscences)" *Koizumi Yakumo*, Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1980, pp. 153–154; Yōko MAKINO, *Lafcadio Hearn*, Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1992, p. 169.

[3] As for HEARN's Buddhism, Teiichi HIRAI, "Yakumo and Buddhist Thought," *An Introduction to Yakumo Koizumi*, Tokyo: Furukawa Shobō, 1976, pp. 31–39; Tadao ONISHI, "Yakumo Koizumi and Buddhism, " *Herun*, 9, 1981, pp. 1–12. Buddhist research conducted in Europe, especially the relationship between HEARN and Eugène BURNOUF has been discussed by Nobuo TAKEUCHI in his "Une lignée interculturel: W. Jones, E. Burnouf et L. Hearn," *Studies of Comparative Literature*, 60, 1991, pp. 24–25 and "On Hearn's Nirvana," *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kanshō*, 56–11, 1991, pp. 101–09. These are researches worth paying attention to. In his *The Buddhist Writings of Lafcadio Hearn* (Santa Barbara: Ross Erikson, Inc., 1977) Kenneth REXROTH edited about 19 works of HEARN relating to Buddhism such as 'The Stone Buddha' and 'Dust'.

[4] In his work entitled "The Higher Buddhism" HEARN declares, "I venture to call myself a student of Herbert SPENCER; it was because of my acquaintance with the Synthetic Philosophy that I came to find in Buddhist philosophy a more than romantic interest. For Buddhism is also a theory of evolution, ... " Cf. "The Higher Buddhism", *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1924, p. 232; Reference note no. 14.

II. The Day that Hearn First Stepped on Japanese Soil

The earliest collection of HEARN's works concerning Japan is the one entitled *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* which was first published by Houghton Mifflin and Co., Boston, in 1894. Overflowing with a fresh enthusiasm, this work describing his first impressions on Japan won popularity, indeed, brought him instant fame. The scenes of "My First Day in the Orient," which is the first of the 27 essays of that collection, conveying so vividly the feelings of a foreigner who is making his first acquaintance with Japan, are located around the vicinity of Yokohama, Japan, where he first arrived on the 4th of April, 1890. According to HEARN he reproduced many weeks later his "first" impressions in Yokohama from hasty notes he made at the time of his arrival there[5].

HEARN started out by himself just in the morning of his arrival in Japan by rickshaw, the puller of which was called 'Cha.' But unfortunately he found it impossible to communicate with the man.

> I have been obliged to return to the European hotel, — not because of the noon-meal, as I really begrudge myself the time necessary to eat it, but because I cannot make Cha understand that I want to visit a Buddhist temple. Now Cha understands; my landlord has uttered the mystical words, —
>
> "*Tera e yuke!*"[6]

In this way, on coming over to Japan, he traveled by rickshaw to a temple, that was at the top of the list of places that he intended to visit, begrudging himself even the time necessary to eat his noon-meal. On reaching the location, a young attendant named Akira[7] who happened to be a student in the temple, slid aside the screens near to the entrance, and bowed him a gracious welcome and ushered him into the temple. To HEARN's great surprise, however, Akira then began speaking in excellent English. He spoke it "with a curious accent, but with fine choice of words.[8]" The conversation that thereupon proceeded from those two individuals was very interesting, and serves as a key with which to fathom HEARN's understanding of Buddhism and the extent of his knowledge of it, which he had prior to his arrival in Japan.

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[5] "My First Day in the Orient," *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1976, p. 1.

[6] This Japanese sentence "*Tera e yuke!*" means "Go to a temple!"

[7] Akira MANABE. He was a student whom HEARN casually came across at this temple in Yokohama, the name of which he does not record, and whom he later employed as his interpreter. He accompanied HEARN as far as Izumo, but details concerning his background are unknown. He occasionally appears in his *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. While staying at Matsue, apparently he was relieved of his employment by HEARN, on account of his attempt to deceive HEARN by conspiring with a strange woman. Cf. Kazuo KOIZUMI, *Koizumi Yakumo My Father*, Tokyo: Koyama Shoten, 1950, pp. 116–117.

[8] "My First Day in the Orient," p. 15.

"Finally he asks me —
"Are you a Christian?"
And I answer truthfully:
"No."
"Are you a Buddhist?"
"Not exactly."
"Why do you make offerings if you do not believe in Buddha?"
"I revere the beauty of his teaching, and the faith of those who follow it."
"Are there Buddhists in England and America?"
"There are, at least, a great many interested in Buddhist philosophy."
And he takes from an alcove a little book, and gives it to me to examine. It is an English copy of Olcott's 'Buddhist Catechism'.[9]"

The conversation between these two individuals in the scene following the above, reveals an even more interesting point. While they were thus engaged in conversation, some visitors only joined their hands, but others clapped them three times loudly and slowly. Then they bowed their heads, prayed silently for a moment, and rose and departed. The conversation between the two thereupon proceeds as follows:

"Why do they clap their hands three times before they pray?"
He answers: —
"Three times for the Sansai, the three Powers: Heaven, Earth, Man."
"But do they clap their hands to call the Gods, as Japanese clap their hands to summon their attendants?[10]"
"Oh, no!" he replies. "The clapping of hands represents only the awakening from the Dream of the Long Night."
"What Night? what dream?"
He hesitates some moments before making his answer: —
"The Buddha said: All beings are only dreaming in this fleeting world of unhappiness."
"Then the clapping of hands signifies that in prayer the soul awakens from such dreaming?"
"Yes."
"You understand what I mean by the word 'soul'?"
"Oh, yes! Buddhists believe the soul always was, — always will be."
"Even in Nirvana?"
"Yes.[11]"

Leaving the temple, HEARN visited a Shinto shrine and two more Buddhist temples before returning to his hotel.

After "My First Day in the Orient," there follow essays such as "The Writing of Kōbōdaishi," in which he compiled what Akira said to him con-

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[9] "My First Day in the Orient," pp. 15–16.
[10] In his footnote HEARN himself denies the correctness of Akira's answer, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[11] "My First Day in the Orient," pp. 16–17.

cerning Kōbōdaishi, founder of the Shingon Buddhist Sect to which Akira himself belonged, "Jizo," a work wherein he detailed his experiences concerning Jizō, namely Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva, being led by Akira to see the face of the Buddha which he had not yet seen, and "A Pilgrimage to Enoshima," which is an account of a journey undertaken by him, accompanied by Akira, to Kamakura, Enoshima Island, and a few other places which are famous for temples and shrines. These essays reveal to us what a keen interest HEARN had in Buddhism even prior to his setting foot in Japan, and how fascinated he was by his visit to temples.

Besides, in the dialogue between HEARN and Akira which I have quoted above, when he was informed by Akira concerning the existence of the soul, he appears to have displayed a rather vexatious reaction. He called Akira to attention with the question, "You understand what I mean by the word 'soul'? Hearing his answer to it, "Oh, yes! Buddhists believe the soul always was, — always will be," he pressed him with an additional question, namely, "Even in Nirvana?" This is indeed a fact worth our attention. What possible reason could HEARN have had for this exceptional interest in the soul and in *nirvāṇa?* To the best of my knowledge, the reason is not given in any of HEARN's writings, but in my opinion this is a fact deeply related to HEARN's understanding of Buddhism before his arrival in Japan.

III. Hearn's Understanding of Buddhism before His Arrival in Japan

It is a well-known fact that HEARN ever since his days in the USA (1869-1889), professed a great deal of interest in Indian philosophy, and particularly Buddhism. His days in the USA could be divided into two, namely his days in Cincinnati (1869-1877), and those in New Orleans (1877-1887). According to Tadao ŌNISHI[12] the former was the period when he started his research of Buddhism, and the latter was the period when he became serious in his study of Buddhism and almost made his final plan of research in Buddhism. The days from the time of his arrival into Japan until his death were the period when his plan was completed. According to Teiichi HIRAI[13] his days in New Orleans were the time when HEARN really devoured books on Buddhism and the Orient. That is to say, it extended to a period of ten years, namely from his 27th year to his 37th.

What kind of a knowledge and understanding concerning Buddhism did HEARN obtain during these ten odd years? An answer to this question will be provided first of all from the materials preserved in the Herun Bunko or

[12] "Yakumo Koizumi and Buddhism," *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[13] "Yakumo and Buddhist Thought," *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Hearn Library, and second from the works written by HEARN himself while he was in the USA.

Until he reached the age of 16, HEARN was educated in the Classics at his Senior High School in England, but after that he did not receive any systematic higher education. It is said that when his attention was drawn to the fact that his education was incomplete, he simply could not contain himself over his lack of education[14]. That might possibly be the reason why when he moved over from Cincinnati to New Orleans and could have time and money enough to spare, he indulged in voracious reading and fished around for books. In this manner he managed to accumulate a large quantity of books, a collection of which he could feel justifiably proud.

The personal library that HEARN possessed in Japan during his lifetime is at present preserved in the library attached to Toyama University, which is called the 'Herun Bunko[15].' Since this collection, which consists of 2435 volumes, contains a few titles which HEARN is believed to have acquired during his stay at New Orleans, it will be useful for us to probe his understanding of Buddhism.

This collection attracts our attention to the fact that there are to be found a number of books on Indology and Buddhology. Among the books concerning Indian thought, the followings are available: *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* by F. Max MÜLLER, the *Ṛg Veda*, which constitutes the oldest scripture of Brahmanism, and *Upaniṣads*, which constitute the fountainhead of Indian philosophy, besides the *Laws of Manu*, which are reputed to be the finest among the works of law, and one of India's two great national epics, namely the *Mahābhārata*. The *Bhagavadgītā* which forms part of the epic is also available in English translation in HEARN's collection. In fact, the works concerning Indian thought, even leaving aside those which could be purely categorized as Indian literature, come up to 10 volumes.

Also, among the works related to Buddhism are to be found *Buddhism: Its History and Literature* by the renowned English Buddhist scholar T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and his English translation of the *Jātaka*, which are tales of the former lives of the Buddha. There is also found A. J. EDMUNDS' English translation of the *Dhammapada*, which is one of the important scriptures of early Buddhism. They amount to approximately 47 titles in English, and 11 in Japanese.

Therefore, about 70 books are related to Buddhism or Indian thought; one can by no means overlook the fact that they supersede the works of Herbert

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[14] *Hyoden Lafcadio Hearn;* Elizabeth STEVENSON, *Lafcadio Hearn: A Biography*, tr. into Japanese by Masaru ENDA, Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1984, p. 169.

[15] As for the HEARN Library and the catalogue of books concerning Buddhism, please refer to my article "Lafcadio Hearn and Buddhism," *Felicitation Volume celebrating the 77th birthday of Dr. Gido Undo*, Tokyo: The Kyōiku Sinchōsha, 1993, pp. 11–26.

SPENCER in number who is said to have exerted a powerful influence upon HEARN[16]. However, the books related to Japanese Buddhism are not to be seen among those which he is believed to have purchased during his stay in the USA.

While HEARN and Akira are chatting in the manner quoted above, the chief priest of the temple, who is a very aged man, appears at the scene, accompanied by young priests. Then, HEARN tells them something about the translations of the *Sūtras* in our *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. by Max MÜLLER and about the laborious works of BEAL, BURNOUF, FEER, RHYS DAVIDS, and others[17].

Since this is an incident related to the very day on which he landed in Japan, we have no reason to doubt that the knowledge of Buddhism indicated herein was something that he was able to acquire prior to his arrival in Japan. Besides, even in the passage quoted above, when Akira took from an alcove a little book, and gave it to him to examine, HEARN wrote, "It is an English copy of 'Olcott's Buddhist Catechism,'" which clearly indicates that it is a book that he has seen before and is well acquainted with. This is not surprising at all because according to the catalogue of the Hearn Library[18] HEARN apparently obtained this book at New Orleans in June of 1885, and it right now forms part of the collection. The book of FEER cannot be found in the collection, but those of BEAL, BURNOUF, and RHYS DAVIDS became part of HEARN's personal library, like the work of OLCOTT quoted above, at the time when HEARN was in New Orleans.

Among the works that HEARN wrote about India and Buddhism while at New Orleans, we have his interesting essay "Confused Orientalism."[19] Here in this article he criticizes the *Buddhist Catechism* by the American Colonel OLCOTT who, though not a Buddhist scholar, was one of the founders of the Theosophical Society. Besides he highly evaluates *The Light of Asia* by Edwin ARNOLD[20], the masterly work describing the life of the Buddha. Also

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[16] See fn. 19.

[17] "My first Day in the Orient," *op. cit.*, p. 27. *The Sacred Books of the East*, 50 vols., ed. by F. M. Max MÜLLER have even to this day not lost their authority. Samuel BEAL (1825–1889) of England, Eugène BURNOUF (1801–1852), and Henry Leon FEER (1830–1902) both of France, T. W. RHYS DAVIDS (1843–1922), the Buddhist scholar from England, and Johan Hendrik KERN (1833–1917) the Buddhist scholar from Holland, are the prominent western Buddhist scholars of that period. As for the relation of HEARN to these scholars, esp. BURNOUF, see Nobuo TAKEUCHI's "Une lignée interculturel," *op. cit.*, pp. 42–48.

[18] *Catalogue of the Lafcadio Hearn Library in the Toyama High School*, 1927.

[19] *The Times Democrat*, 1886, October, 5; *L. Hearn's American Articles — Oriental Articles*, ed. by Albert MORDELL, Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1929, a Japanese translation of which is available in the *Lafcadio Hearn Chosaku-shū* (*Collected Works of Lafcadio Hearn*), vol. 3, Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1981, pp. 60–61.

[20] It is said that the experiences that determined HEARN's way of life were his reading *The Principles of Sociology* by Herbert SPENCER, and *The Light of Asia* by Edwin ARNOLD. In the *Item* of October 24, 1879, he published his review of those works, and even later through 1880,

in "Confused Orientalism," he criticizes the fact that the *Bhagavadgītā*, which is generally regarded as the Bible of Hinduism, was being introduced as a Buddhist text in the U.S.A. These facts suggest that HEARN was probably possessed of quite an accurate knowledge of both Hinduism and Buddhism, to the extent that he was able to criticize the views expressed with regard to both those religions.

About two years prior to this there appeared an article by HEARN entitled, "What Buddhism Is,"[21] and this serves as a a useful tool in acquiring an approximate knowledge of his views of Buddhism. In this thesis HEARN attempts a refutation of views currently held by certain theologians, who noticed a gradual increase in the appreciation of Oriental philosophy, history, and so on in the USA, namely that *The Light of Asia* is an exceedingly dangerous book, and that the *Dhammapada* was an exquisite snare, and that the public should beware of being taken in by them. Here in this essay HEARN refers in particular to Gotama Buddha's own legends as something marvelous and as for Buddhist philosophy he touches upon the Fourfold Noble Truth.

From the facts mentioned above it might be inferred that HEARN is well informed of the results of the then current pioneering research on Buddhism which has been conducted in Europe[22] and that the Buddhism that he is familiar with is not that of Japan, but that of India which does not take the existence of the *ātman* or soul in consideration or denies it.

If we were to survey more than 3000 years of the history of Indian thought, we can observe that there are two main currents of Indian philosophy: one recognizes the existence of an entity known as *ātman* within man, an eternal and indestructible soul that continues to exist even after the physical body has disintegrated and the other consists in the belief that such an

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he continued reading them. Among the writings of HEARN belonging to his New Orleans period that reveal his leanings towards Indian and Buddhist literature, *Stray Leaves from Strange Literature* (Osgood & Co., 1884) is noteworthy. This, as he has stated in his explanation in the opening page of his book, is among the most impressive and beautiful of the many foreign works of literature, that he was able to lay his hands upon. He rewrote these works and published them one by one, originally in the *Times Democrat*. These constituted 27 short articles, about eleven of which are remakes of the *Pañcatantra*, the *Avadānas*, and other works of Indian and Buddhist literature. Apart from these, and the Indian and Buddhist works that HEARN published during his residence in the USA, the following works have come to my knowledge: (i) "Sanscrit Epics — Ramayana," 1882, (ii) "The Ramayana," 1882, (iii) "Some Supposed Sanscrit Translations," 1886, (iv) "Caste," 1873, (v) "The Present and Future of India," 1885, (vi) "The Shadow of the Light of Asia," 1886, (vii) "The Two Arnolds," 1883, (viii) "Not Without Honor Save in His Own Country," 1884, (ix) "Edwin Arnold's New Book," 1885, (x) "What Buddhism Is," (xi) "Recent Buddhist Literature," 1885, (xii) "The Datavaya Bharata Karyalaya," 1884, (xiii) "Indian Female Poets," 1883.

[21] The *Times Democrat*, January 13, 1884; *Essays in European and Oriental Literature by Lafcadio Hearn*, arranged and edited by Albert MORDELL, London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1923, pp. 277–283.

[22] Cf. my articles, "Lafacadio Hearn and Buddhism," *op. cit.*; "Lafcadio Hearn's Understanding of Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism," *Tōhō*, 9, 1993, pp. 76–89.

eternal and indestructible entity does not exist. The idea that there exists an eternal and imperishable entity is one which developed many centuries before the rise of Buddhism; an idea that originated with Brahmanism and which later passed on to Hinduism, and which in course of time came to constitute the mainstream of Indian thought. In opposition to this, the negation of the idea that such an eternal and imperishable entity exists, constitutes a Buddhist stream. The Buddhists propagated the doctrine of the non-self, and denied the existence of an eternal and indestructible soul. It is possible that HEARN was well aware of such doctrinal differences between Brahmanism and Buddhism[23].

IV. Hearn and Japanese Buddhism

The dialogue between Akira and HEARN which was quoted above from his essay entitled "My First Day in the Orient," may at first sight appear to be of no particular importance whatsoever. However, if we were to accept the proposition that the Buddhism of which HEARN is well-informed is the Indian Buddhism that denies the existence of the soul, the matter then becomes profoundly meaningful and interesting.

When we observe the later development of Mahāyāna Buddhism, we notice that ideas accepting something like the soul arose, entwined around activities such as memorial services for the dead, and other activities concerning the Pure Land faith of Buddhism. Passing through China and arriving into Japan, these ideas intermingled with the beliefs of Shintoism and other folk religions, and eventually fused with the commonly accepted belief in the existence of the human soul. The Buddhism of Japan, being the so-called Mahāyāna Buddhism, manifested a strong tendency to accept the existence of the *buddhadhātu* (Buddha nature) or *tathāgatagarbha*, the concept of which, in some respects, resembles that of the human soul, although they are essentially different from each other.

To hear the existence of the soul from the lips of a Buddhist such as Akira, must have been without doubt something unexpected for HEARN. That was probably the reason why he was so careful to ascertain whether Akira truly understood what he meant by the word 'soul'.

And that was not all. Why did he continue to press Akira with a further question, namely, whether the soul would continue to exist even after entering the state of *nirvāṇa?* Was it not possibly because a wide gap existed between the Buddhist Akira's understanding and HEARN's own understanding,

[23] Cf. T. V. R. MURTI, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1974, pp. 10–35.

not only of the problem of the soul, but also of *nirvāṇa*, which the Buddhists would consider to be the ultimate objective of man.

HEARN opens his essay entitled "Nirvana: A Study in Synthetic Buddhism" with the following words:

> "There still widely prevails in Europe and America the idea that Nirvana signifies, to Buddhist minds, neither more nor less than absolute nothingness, — complete annihilation. This idea is erroneous. But it is erroneous only because it contains half of a truth. This half of a truth has no value or interest, or even intelligibility, unless joined with the other half. And of the other half no suspicion yet exists in the average Western mind.
>
> *Nirvana, indeed, signifies an extinction. But if by this extinction of individual being we understand soul-death, our perception of Nirvana is wrong. Or we take Nirvana to mean such reabsorption of the finite into the infinite as that predicted by Indian pantheism, again our idea is foreign to Buddhism*[24].
>
> Nevertheless, if we declare that Nirvana means the extinction of individual sensation, motion, thought, — the final disintegration of conscious personality, — the annihilation of everything that can be included under the term "I," — then we rightly express one side of the Buddhist teaching[25].

When with this passage in mind we recall the dialogue quoted before between HEARN and Akira, we shall be able to understand the reasons why at the time when HEARN pressed Akira for an answer to his question, he took care to ascertain whether Akira understood what he meant by the word "soul" and to this Akira responded as follows: "Oh, yes! Buddhists believe the soul always was, — always will be" and why, however, HEARN rejoined to this as though goaded by suspicion: "Even in Nirvana?" The reason for this question I believe becomes amply clear, when we take the above explication into consideration.

In other words, we may perhaps infer that either HEARN is of the view that Buddhism does not accept the soul, and that *nirvāṇa* signifies complete annihilation in Buddhism which was a view widely propounded by the western Buddhist scholars of those days, or, that he had already certain doubts within his mind with regard to the Western understanding upheld by those scholars of Buddhism. This inference may be verified by glancing through the work of HEARN entitled, "What Buddhism Is."

> The Buddhist tells us that the first things we learn are the "Four Noble Truths." These are —
>
> 1. The Existence of Pain. To live is to suffer.
> 2. The Cause of suffering is Desire.
> 3. The Cessation of pain is to be gained by the suppression of Desire.

[24] This paragraph is italicized by me.
[25] *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields, op. cit.*, p. 212.

4. Suppression of Desire is to be obtained by following the Good Law, as taught by Buddha, — through which observance *nirvāṇa*, or annihilation, is reached.

We have said annihilation; but it is still a vexing question whether Gotama regarded Nirvana as an utter extinction of being, or as a reabsorption of the soul into God, like a drop of water returning to the ocean whence it came. We do not know whether Nirvana always signified annihilation of the Ego, — as it seems to do to-day. A whole library of treatises have been written on this one point alone[26].

While explaining the Four Noble Truths which is one of the central teachings of Buddhism, HEARN refers to *nirvāṇa* in the above quotation. One might perhaps say that it corresponds more or less with the passages italicized by me in the paragraph quoted from his "Nirvana." His essay "What Buddhism Is" was written on January 13, 1884 in New Orleans while his "Nirvana" is an essay composed in Kobe, Japan and compiled in his work *Gleanings in Buddha-fields* published in 1894. Judging from the above quotation from "What Buddhism Is," when this essay was written, HEARN was unable to decide whether *nirvāṇa* signifies "utter extinction of being" or "annihilation of the Ego" as it is widely understood in Europe and America in those days, or whether it means a reabsorption of the soul into God, which is paraphrased in the above italicized paragraph as "such reabsorption of the finite into the infinite, as that predicted by Indian pantheism."

The concepts of *nirvāṇa* and the soul as understood by Japanese Buddhists, of which HEARN was informed by Akira and which contradicted his own understanding of Buddhism, possibly proved to be a powerful and unforeseen stumbling block for HEARN, upon his arrival in Japan. It seems to me that one of the problems that he needed to solve was the apparent contradiction that lay between *nirvāṇa* as understood by Japanese Buddhists, and *nirvāṇa* as understood by westerners. Why did this contradiction exist, and which of these two understandings of *nirvāṇa* is the correct one? Another problem of his lay in the difference between the concept of the soul as understood by Japanese Buddhists, and that presented by Indian Buddhism. Why did this difference exist?

It is inferred that the answer to the first of these two problems was revealed in the work entitled "Nirvana," a work accomplished for a period of three years, and included in the collection entitled *Gleanings in Buddha-fields*. In the "Nirvana" he transcends the two understandings of *nirvāṇa* which for at least 13 years he was unable to decide upon in his "What Buddhism Is", and presents his own individual understanding of the term. In order to solve the second problem, I would suppose that he had no choice but to direct his research in the way of Shintoism with which Buddhism was closely united.

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[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

A little while after HEARN, who was named "Yakumo" after an ancient poem related to a Shinto shrine "Yaegaki Jinja" when he became naturalized as a Japanese citizen in 1895, had settled down at Matsue which is called "the chief city of the Province of the Gods" by HEARN himself, at the end of a letter overflowing with emotion and delight at his arrival in Japan, and addressed to his intimate American friend, a Mrs. Elizabeth BISLAND who later became Mrs. WHITMORE, he added that it was superfluous to state that he had now grown seriously absorbed in his research on Buddhism. One might possibly guess that the fruit of such Buddhist research is revealed in his two essays, namely in the ones entitled, "The Introduction of Buddhism," in which he discusses the question as to how Buddhism managed to fuse with Shintoism, with which it was originally incompatible, and "The Higher Buddhism," which presupposes his "Nirvana." Both of these essays are included in his *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* which is said to be the graduation thesis of his 14 years of Buddhist research.

The texts that HEARN uses to prepare his Nirvana are: (1) An English translation of *The Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, by Max MÜLLER in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIX, (2) *The Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, (3) *The Questions of King Milinda*, tr. by Max MÜLLER in the Sacred Books of the East, (4) *The Sutra of the Great Decease*, (5) Shinto KURODA, *Outlines of the Mahayana as taught by Buddha*, Tokyo: Bukkyo Gakkuwai, 1893 , (6) *Chu-in-Kyo*, (7) *Hizo-Hoyaku*, (8) *Soku-Shin-Jo-Butsu-Gi*, (9) *Engaku-Sho*, (10) *Avatamsaka-Sūtra*, (11) *Attakavagga*, (12) *The Sutra of the Great King of Glory*, (13) *Mahavagga*, (14) *Daibon-Kyoi Principles of Psychology*, (15) *Cullavagga*, (16) *The Lotus of the Law*, (17) *Dai-Nichi-Kyo-So*, and the like[27]. Relying upon those about 20 works, he clearly declares "the apparent contradiction of the foregoing statements is due only to our Occidental notion of Self.[28]"

HEARN continues to say as follows:

> Self to us signifies feelings, ideas, memory, volition; ... The Buddhist, on the contrary, declares all that we call Self to be false. He defines the ego as a mere temporary aggregate of sensations, impulses, ideas, created by the physical and mental experiences of the race, — all related to the perishable body, and all doomed to dissolve with it. What to Western reasoning seems the most indubitable of realities, Buddhist reasoning pronounces the greatest of all illusions, and even the source of all sorrow and sin[29].

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[27] Concerning the materials HEARN used, more careful investigation is necessary since he quotes not only translations of the texts in Sanskrit but also those in Chinese which he probably could not read, but it is true that he read Buddhist texts very widely.

[28] "Nirvana," p. 212.

[29] *Op. cit.*, pp. 212–213.

From such an understanding of the Buddhist 'Self', HEARN asserts that "It is not the sentient and conscious Self that enters *nirvāṇa*. The Ego is only a temporary aggregate of countless illusions, a phantom-shell, a bubble sure to break. It is a creation of Karma, — or rather, as a Buddhist friend insists, it *is* Karma.[30]" Furthermore, HEARN insists that "Unconsciously dwelling behind the false consciousness of imperfect man, — beyond sensation, perception, thought, — wrapped in the envelope of what we call soul (which in truth is only a thickly woven veil of illusion), is the eternal and divine, the Absolute Reality: not a soul, not a personality, but the All-Self without selfishness, — the *Muga no Taiga*, — the Buddha enwombed in Karma. Within every phantom-self dwells this divine(?): yet the innumerable are but one. Within every creature incarnate sleeps the Infinite Intelligence unevolved, hidden, unfelt, unknown, — yet destined from all the eternities to waken at last, to rend away the ghostly web of sensuous mind, to break forever its chryslis of flesh, and pass to the supreme conquest of Space and Time.[31]" Furthermore, he declares, "... it is necessary to understand that the common Occidental idea of God and Soul, of matter, of spirit, have no existence in Buddhist philosophy; their places being occupied by concepts having no real counterparts in Western religious thought.[32]"

V. Conclusion

Including Buddhism, every religion that came into being and developed in India, accepts *nirvāṇa* or liberation from the cycle of transmigration, as its ultimate target. Among Japanese people who, owing to the influence of Buddhism, have grown familiar for many centuries with the concept of *nirvāṇa*, there is to be found no sense of incompatibility with it. However to European scholars of Buddhism, it appears as though logically *nirvāṇa* could be equated with annihilation, which in turn is no different from eternal death, something exceedingly difficult for them to understand. Barthelemy SAINT-HILAIRE, CHILDERS, T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Eugène BURNOUF, and others, are representatives of such a position.

HEARN who was under the influence of such scholars and who had not yet found any satisfactory solution to this problem, encountered Japanese Buddhism on the very day that he set foot on Japanese soil and was suddenly forced to tackle the questions such as "What nirvana is," and "What is the soul," and during his stay of 14 years in Japan he found his own personal solution to these problems.

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[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 219.
[31] *Op. cit.*, pp. 222–223.
[32] *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

In Europe, the famous Belgium Buddhist scholar who appeared after HEARN, namely Louis de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (1869-1937), also published his own book entitled *Nirvana* in 1925. Two years later the renowned Russian scholar Th. STCHERBATSKY (1866-1942) published in 1927 his famous book entitled *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* (Leningrad, 1927) and launched a severe criticism against de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN[33].

In the West the concept of *nirvāṇa* has long been a stumbling block to Western scholars' understanding of Buddhism. HEARN was also one of those who stumbled over the block and stood up, after such great efforts, by himself.

[33] As for Western interpretations of the Buddhist *nirvāṇa*, see Guy Richard WELBON's *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and Its Western Interpreters*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

The Vijñānavādin View as Depicted in the Pāli Commentaries with Special Reference to the Nirayapāla-kathā[1]

SODŌ MORI, Aichi

1. Introduction

With regard to the relations of Early Mahāyāna Buddhism and Sectarian Buddhism (Hīnayāna Buddhism) in ancient India, Prof. A. Hirakawa has concluded[2] that Abhidharmic works of Sectarian Buddhism, such as the *A-bhi-datsu-ma-dai-bi-ba-sha-ron* [a] (*Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣa-śāstra*)[3] of the Sarvāstivādin school and the *Kathāvatthu* in Pāli of the Southern Theravādin school, do not refer to Mahāyāna Buddhism, and that this textual fact proves that the Mahāyāna Saṅgha, in spite of having been in existence in North India since the first century A.D., was not regarded as an equally matched school. His above conclusion is very persuasive owing to his distinguished learning on this subject.

As time went on, however, the Mahāyāna school gradually grew more influential, and Hīnayāna schools began to be unable to ignore that. As evidence that verifies this tendency, I would like to present here an example found in the Pāli Commentaries[4] which are the Abhidharmic works in a

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[1] Abbreviations are as in the Epilegomena to V. TRENCKNER, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, vol. I, Copenhagen, 1924–28. In addition, A-ṭ = Aṅguttaranikāya-ṭīkā, D-ṭ = Dīghanikāya-ṭīkā, M-ṭ = Majjhimanikāya-ṭīkā, S-ṭ = Saṃyuttanikāya-ṭīkā, J = Jātaka, Taisho = Taisho Tripiṭaka of Chinese Version, 100 vols., Tokyo, 1897–1910, Chṭ = Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition. — References to Pāli texts are to the Pali Text Society's editions unless otherwise specified below: A-ṭ, M-ṭ I, II = Mūlapaṇṇāsaṭīkā I, II; M-ṭ III = Majjhimapaṇṇāsaṭīkā and Uparipaṇṇāsaṭīkā; S-ṭ are all Chṭ editions. As for Kv-a, Jayawickrama's edition of PTS is referred to. — As for Pāli texts, Roman numerals refer to their volume numbers, Arabic numerals to their page numbers. — In order to show Chinese characters of names and terms, different note-numbers (a, b, c, …) are adopted, which are shown in "Chinese Terms" below. — This paper is a revision of my Japanese paper on the same subject published in *The Encounters of Intelligence — Buddhism and Science: Professor Keishō Tsukamoto Felicitation Volume*, Tokyo, 1993, pp. 321–35.

I am grateful to Ms. Karen BROMBAUGH from America for her improving my English in this paper.

[2] *A Study of Early Mahāyāna Buddhism II: Akira Hirakawa Collection of Works 4* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1990, pp. iii, 436–437.

[3] Taisho, no. 1545, vol. 27, pp. 1 ff.

[4] The Pāli Commentaries refer here to the Pāli aṭṭhakathā literature that is the primary commentary of the Pāli canon, and the *Visuddhimagga*, the major work of Buddhaghosa.

broad sense. It is the case of a certain Vijñānavādin view which is quoted in them to be denied from the standpoint of the Theravādin tradition in ancient Sri Lanka. This is a very interesting case study even from the viewpoint of the relationship between the Therayādin school in Sri Lanka and the Mahāyāna school in India.

2. *The Vijñānavādin View in Question*

In the *Devadūtasutta*, no. 130 of the *Majjhimanikāya*,[5] there exists the following passage (of which only an abridged English translation will be given here):

> Indeed these worthy beings, who are endowed with right conduct in body, speech and thought, who are not scoffers at the saints, are of right view, taking up deeds consequent on right view, at the breaking up of the body after dying are born in the good bourn (*sugati*), in the heaven world (*saggaloka*), or among men (*manussa*). Indeed these worthy beings, who are endowed with wrong conduct in body, speech and thought, who are scoffers at the saints, are of false view, taking up deeds consequent on false view, at the breaking of the body after dying are born in the realm of the departed spirits (*pettivisaya*), an animal womb (*tiracchānayoni*), the place of loss and woe (*apāya*), the bad bourn (*duggati*), the place of suffering (*vinipātā*), or the Niraya hell.

To the original passage for the above translation, the next sentence continues:

> *Tam enaṃ, bhikkhave, nirayapālā nānābāhāsu gahetvā Yamassa rañño dassenti.* "Monks, the guardians of the Niraya hell, having seized that person by both arms, present him to King Yama."

And there appears a commenting passage upon the above one in the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*:[6]

> ..."*tam enaṃ bhikkhave nirayapālā*" *ti ādim āha.* "*Tattha ekacce therā nirayapālā nāma n'atthi, yantarūpaṃ viya kammam eva kāranaṃ kāreti*[7] *ti vadanti. Taṃ: atthi niraye nirayapālā ti āmantā, atthi ca kāranikā ti ādinā nayena Abhidhamme paṭisedhitam eva. Yathā hi manussaloke kammakaraṇakārakā atthi, evam eva niraye nirayapālā atthī ti.* ... "
> "... 'Monks, the guardians of the Niraya hell, [having seized] that person', etc. is mentioned. Regarding this passage, some elders explain that the beings named the guardians of the Niraya hell do not exist; the beings like *yantarūpa* [exist there and the judges] let them execute punishment for [sinners'] deeds. Against this [assertion, we claim]: based on the address that the guardians exist in the Niraya hell and that the judges also exist [there] and so on, as to the Niraya

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[5] MN III, 178–79.

[6] Ps IV, 231.

[7] Depending on Mp (see n. 9), *kareti* is revised to *kāreti*.

hell, [this assertion] is denied in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka [i.e. the *Kathāvatthu*]. Surely as do the executors of punishment for deeds exist in the world of human beings, so do the guardians in the Niraya hell."

Who are the 'some elders' in the above passage, who asserted a different opinion to the Theravādin school? In this respect, a very precious comment can be found in the ṭīkā[8] on the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā* under consideration:

Ekacce therā ti Andhakādike Viññāṇavādino ca sandhāya vadati.
"'Some elders' is referred to concerning the Andhaka school and so forth, and also the Viññāṇavādins."

If the above comment is correct, it is extremely valuable, because, to my knowledge, it is the only concrete instance for the Pāli Commentaries to refer to the view of the Viññāṇavādins as a Mahāyāna school. Moreover, it should draw our attention to the passage of the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*, and that of its ṭīkā as well, that can be found in other aṭṭhakathās and their ṭīkās respectively as follows:

1) *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā* and its ṭīkā.[9]
2) *Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā.*[10]
3) *Dīghaṭṭhakathā.*[11]

Although the passage in the *Dīghaṭṭhakathā* is not the same as those in the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā* mentioned above as well as *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā* and *Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā*, its content clearly identifies one from another:

Niraya-pālesū ti niraye kamma-kāraṇika-sattesu. Ye pana: 'Kammam eva kamma-kāraṇaṃ karoti, n'atthi nirayapālā' ti vadanti, te: 'Tam evaṃ bhikkhave nirayapālā' ti Devadūta-suttaṃ paṭibāhanti. Manussa-loke rāja-kulesu kāraṇika-manussā viya hi niraye pi niraya-pālā honti.

In addition, it is interesting to note that the last part of the passage in the *Dīghaṭīkā*,[12] which comments upon the above passage in the *Dīghaṭṭhakathā* shows as follows:

Yam pan'ettha vattabbaṃ taṃ Papañcasūdanīṭīkāyaṃ gahetabbaṃ.
"And what should be stated here is to be understood in the *Papañcasūdanīṭīkā* [i.e. the commentary to the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*]."

This passage fully proves the fact that the above comment in the *Dīghaṭīkā* has been written in close connection with the *Majjhimaṭīkā*. In any case,

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[8] M-ṭ (Chṭ) III, 360, *l.* 1.

[9] Mp II, 227; A-ṭ (Chṭ) II, 112, *l.* 7. Incidentally, the passage of the A-ṭ in question is almost identical with that of M-ṭ (n. 8), not only as to the comment on *ekacce therā* itself, but also as to the passage following it. Cf. M-ṭ (Chṭ) II, 360, *ll.* 2–7; A-ṭ (Chṭ) II, 112, *ll.* 8–14.

[10] Nidd-a I, p. 424. Its ṭīkā is still unpublished. Cf. Sodo MORI, *A Study of the Pāli Commentaries — Theravādic Aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1984, p. 73.

[11] Sv III, 809.

[12] D-ṭ II, 445.

thus, one and the same view which is recognized as a Viññāṇavādin's view can be found in the four kinds of Pāli aṭṭhakathā.

3. The Nirayapāla-kathā in the Tipiṭaka

With respect to the guardians of the Niraya hell, what is depicted in the canon as the preceding texts to the aṭṭhakathā literature? By means of using the computerized canon of the Pali Text Society's editions which was published recently by the Dhammakāya Foundation in Thailand, textual aspects related to this matter can be summed up as below:

A. The term *nirayapāla* in various declensions (mostly in the plural form) appears in 97 places in total in such texts as the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Aṅguttara*, *Mahāniddesa*, *Cullaniddesa*, and *Kathāvatthu*.[13] However, all these examples merely mention the existence, activities, and functions of the guardians of the Niraya.

B. The term *niraya-kathā* exists in 5 places in such texts as the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, *Majjhima*, and *Jātaka*.[14] However, no explanation for the term is described there.

C. Some Chinese texts corresponding to Pāli suttas also contain the term *nirayapāla*, but they do not have any abhidharmic exposition on the term just like the Pāli canon. For example, these are the *Ten-shi-kyō* [h] in the 12th fascicle of the *Chū-a-gon-kyō* [c],[15] which corresponds to the *Devadūtasutta*, the 130th sutta of the *Majjhimanikāya*;[16] the *Zen-jyu-hon* [d] in the 24th fascicle of the *Zou-itsu-a-gon-kyō* [e],[17] the corresponding text to the *Devadūtavagga* in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*;[18] and the *Tetsu-jyou-nai-ri-kyō* [f][19] with no corresponding sutta in the Pāli canon.

D. The term *nirayapāla-kathā* can be seen in the *Kathāvatthu*.[20] This is the only exceptional case as to this word and I will examine this matter in the next section.

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[13] *nirayapālā:* DN (1 p.), MN (11 pp.), AN (2 pp.), J (10 pp.), Nidd I (7 pp.), Nidd II (1 p.), Kv (16 pp.); *nirayapālānam:* J (4 pp.); *nirayapāle:* J (1 p.); *nirayapālesu:* DN (1 p.); *nirayapālehi:* J (7 pp.). However, some pages referred to above include two or more occurrences of the term in one and the same page, so that the above total number (61) does not amount to 97, the number mentioned in the body.

[14] Vin (2 pp.), Nidd I (1 p.), J (2 pp.).

[15] Taisho, no. 26, vol. 1, p. 504c. The guardian is here translated as *goku-sotsu* [l].

[16] MN III, pp. 178ff., esp. p. 179.

[17] Taisho, no. 125, vol. 2, p. 674c. The guardian is here translated as *goku-sotsu* [m].

[18] AN I, 138.

[19] Taisho, no. 42, vol. 1, p. 827a. The guardian is here translated as *nai-ri-sotsu* [n] or *nai-ri-ya* [o].

[20] Kv, p. 598, *ll.* 22.

Based on the above investigation, I would like to conclude that the canon not only in Pāli, but also in Classical Chinese did not include such abhidharmic discussions on the guardians of the Niraya hell themselves as certain later texts surely recorded, with the sole exception of the case of *nirayapāla-kathā* in the *Kathāvatthu*. Abhidharmic discussions mean here some doctrinal discourses, for instance, whether the guardians really exist in the Niraya hell or not; whether they are sentient beings or not; and so on.

4. *The Nirayapāla-kathā in the Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*

As is briefly stated already, a primitive Nirayapāla-kathā, as the only exceptional example in the canonical texts, initially appears in the *Kathāvatthu*, the newest work among the seven texts of the Pāli *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, which is also known as a book criticizing other schools' doctrines from the Theravādins' point of view. It is the case of the Nirayapāla-kathā, Chapter 20, Section 3 in that text.[21] Its controversial point is that against the Theravādin school's assertion that the guardians of the Niraya hell exist there, certain schools claim that they do not exist there. Upon the above controversy, the commentary to the *Kathāvatthu*[22] gives a comment as below:

> *Idāni nirayapālakathā nāma hoti. Tattha niraye nerayikakammān'eva nirayapālarūpavasena vadhenti, natthi nirayapālā nāma sattā' ti yesaṃ laddhi, seyyathāpi Andhakānaṃ, te sandhāya pucchā sakavādissa, paṭiññā itarassa.*
> "Here is a controversy concerning the guardians of the Niraya hell. Some, for instance, the Andhakas hold that in hell something in the shape of a hell-guardian punishes the hell-doomed actions, but there are no such beings as the hell-guardians. Against them our school [i.e. Theravādins] questions and the opponent insists as follows."

The content of the above passage is basically identical with that of the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā* and others mentioned before in Section 2 of this paper, but they are different in the following two points:

A. The *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*, etc. describe those who exist in hell as "something like a mechanical doll" (*yantarūpa viya*); while the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* describes them more simply as "something in the shape of a hell-guardian" (*nirayapālarūpa*).

B. As to those who assert the non-existence of the guardians in hell, the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*, etc. indicate the Andhaka school, etc. and the Vijñānavādin school as well, as far as we depend on the comments of the *Majjhimaṭīkā*; while the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* indicates the Andhaka school only.

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[21] *ibid.*, pp. 596–98.
[22] Kv-a, p. 187.

A comparison of these two different points makes us consider that the statement in question of the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā* and so on is obviously in advance of that of the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*. It is also notable, however, that the Theravādin school has always held the view of existence of hell-guardians in the Niraya throughout its history. This view has been unchanged even in the ṭīkā literature.

Of the two schools mentioned above, the Vijñānavādins will be discussed in the next section; the Andhakas are to be taken up here. Andhaka is a name used in the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, which is the generic name for the four fraternities of the Mahāsāṅghika school having prevailed in Andhra, the south-east area in India. According to Prof. TSUKAMOTO,[23] the Andhakas (Sk. Andhrakas) originated from the Mahāsāṅghika school founded by Mahādeva, which held the Amarāvatī Mahāstūpa as its base of activity. Needless to say, Early Mahāsāṅghikas in a certain period soon after King Aśoka were called the Caitikas (Cetiyas). As time went on, the successors of the Caitikas were divided into four fraternities: Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas, Rājagiriyas, and Siddhatthikas. The Andhaka school under consideration was the generic term given to these four fraternities by Sri Lankan Theravādins in the fifth and sixth centuries when the major Pāli Commentaries seem to have been composed, or in a slightly earlier period. As stated before, the nirayapāla-kathā of this Andhaka school was that there are no hell-guardians as sentient beings.

5. The Nirayapāla-kathā of the Vijñānavādin School

Next, I would like to proceed to examine the *nirayapāla-kathā* as expounded in some texts of the Vijñānavādin school itself. In the fourth verse (except for stanza a) and the prose following it of the *Viṃśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* of Vasubandhu (4–5c.), the below passage appears:[24]

..narakavat punaḥ,

sarvaṃ

siddham iti veditavyaṃ, narakeṣv iva narakavat, kathaṃ siddhaṃ,

narakapālādi-darśane taiś ca bādhane. [4]

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[23] K. TSUKAMOTO, "On the Formation of the Andhakas" (in Japanese), *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Tokyo, vol. 32, no. 1 (1983), pp. 85–95.

[24] Ācarya Vasubandhu, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-prakaraṇam, Viṃśatikā-kārikāḥ savṛttikāḥ atha ca Triṃśikā-kārikāḥ Sthiramativiracitabhāṣyasahitāḥ (Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, Deux traités de Vasubandhu, Viṃśatikā et Triṃśatikā, avec le commentaire de Sthiramati*, par Sylvain LÉVI), Paris, 1925, p. 4, *ll.* 10–23.

yathā hi narakeṣu nārakānāṃ narakapālādi-darśanaṃ deśa-kāla-niyamena siddham,[25] *śva-vāyasāyasa-parvatādy-āgamana-gamana-darśanaṃ cētyādigrahaṇena,*[26] *sarveṣāṃ ca naikasya eva taiś ca tad-bādhanaṃ siddham asatsv api narakapālādiṣu samāna-sva-karma-vipākādhipatyāt, tathānyatrāpi sarvam etad deśa-kāla-niyamādi-catuṣṭayaṃ siddham iti veditavyam.*[27] *kiṃ punaḥ kāraṇaṃ narakapālās te ca śvāno vāyasāś ca satvā nēṣyante, ayogāt, na hi te nārakā yujyante, tathaiva tad-duḥkhāpratisaṃvedanāt, parasparaṃ yātayatāṃ ime nārakā ime narakapālā iti vyavasthā na syāt, tulyākṛti-pramāṇa-balānāṃ ca parasparaṃ yātayatāṃ na tathā bhayaṃ syāt, dāha-duḥkhaṃ ca pradīptāyām ayomayyāṃ bhūmāv asahamānāḥ kathaṃ tatra parān yātayeyuḥ, anārakāṇāṃ vā narake kutaḥ sambhavaḥ.*

"It should be recognized that [the stanzas of the verse,] *and everything is like the hell* is established. [Here] 'like the hell' means 'like in hells'. How is it established? It is [established] *in case of seeing the hell-guardians and so on, and also of being tormented by them.* [4]

For instance, it is just realized that the sinners in hells, at a particular place and occasion, see the hell-guardians and so on. And by a word, 'and so on', to see dogs, birds, iron-mountains, and [the act of] coming and going, is indicated. Moreover, not one person but all persons see them, and, in spite of no hell-guardians really existing, due to the consequence of their [=sinners'] own common deeds [in their previous births], the torment by the hell-guardians is to be recognized. In other cases, too, it ought to be realized that all the four kinds of things including the restriction as to space and time are proved. Then what is the reason why these hell-guardians, dogs, and birds are not realized as sentient beings? Because, it is unreasonable: it is unsuitable to regard them as the beings of hell, for [they do] not feel any suffering [unlike the hell-sinners]. And if they distressed each other, it would become impossible to discriminate that these are the hell-sinners and those are the hell-guardians. And if both were the same in their figure, size and power, and mutually distressed, such a fear [as the hell-sinners feel against the guardians] could not exist. Moreover, in the place where the fired ground made of iron is burning, how is it possible for those who cannot bear the [pain from] heat to torment the others there? Or how is it that those who are not the living beings of hell are born in hell?"

In accordance with the above passage, we are able to confirm that the Vijñānavādins did not admit the real existence of the living hell-guardians in hell.

By the way, according to the *Yui-shiki-ni-jyū-ron-jyukki* [g],[28] a Chinese commentary by Ji-on Dai-shi Ki [h] (632–682) to the *Viṃśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, among various schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism, the Mahāsāṅ-

[25] To the original passage quoted, the two commas ("| ") and a full stop (" ‖ " instead of "|") are added based on corrigenda made by Prof. Ui. Cf. H. Ui, *A Study of the Viṃśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi — in Comparison of a Japanese and Three Chinese Translations* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1953, p. 20 (from the reverse). Here a comma is added.

[26] do. Here a comma is added.

[27] do. Here a full stop is altered from a comma.

[28] Taisho, no. 1834, vol. 43, p. 987a, *ll.* 17–23.

ghikas and the Saṃmatīyas thought that hell-guardians were really existing sentient beings, while on the other hand the Sarvāstivādins and the Sautrāntikas, etc. did not regard them as such, and then the Mahāyāna school [i.e. the Vijñānavādins in this case] did not regard them as sentient beings either. If the above statement can be acceptable, it was Mahāsāṅghikas and Saṃmatīyas that held the view of the hell-guardians as real sentient beings; accordingly this results in a disagreement of view with the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* referred to earlier. In addition, it says in the Tibetan version of the *Prakaraṇa-viṃśaka-ṭīkā* written by Vinītadeva,[29] another commentary to the *Viṃśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* that those who held the view of the hell-guardians as real sentient beings, were the Vaibhāṣikas, i.e. the Sarvāstivādins, not Mahāsāṅghikas and Saṃmatīyas.

In any case, although the Andhakas was a fraternity belonging to the Mahāsāṅghikas, there were still many other fraternities of the Mahāsāṅghikas' extraction than the Andhakas, and we have no evidence that all such fraternities deriving from the same Mahāsāṅghikas kept one and the same opinion concerning the nirayapāla-kathā. To the contrary, it would be more probable that the various separated fraternities of this school came to have different abhidharmic views on the hell-guardians in the process of expansion in the large country of India through their very long history. Consequently, this possibility would be much higher, and it should be understood that the view of the Andhakas in question would be nothing but that of the Mahāsāṅghikas in South India, i.e. the so-called Southern Mahāsāṅghikas, in a certain period perhaps between the third and the fifth centuries A.D. Some other Mahāsāṅghikas in different areas in different periods might have held other views.

Now I will take a matter up whether or not the same simile as *yantarūpa viya* or *yantrarūpa iva* (Sk.) (like a mechanical doll, marionette or puppet) appeared in the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*, etc., can be found in any text of the Vijñānavādins. Although it is at present impossible to perfectly check all numerous texts of this school, to my knowledge, we should pay attention to the simile, *nyo-boku-jin* [i] (like a wooden person) used in the *Jyou-yui-shi-ki-hou-shou-ron* [j][30] that was written by Dharmapāla (530–560) and translated into Classical Chinese by Gi-jyou [k] (635–713) in 710, one of the commentaries on the *Viṃśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*. This simile for the hell-guardians appears in a passage which explains the hell-guardians as non-sentient beings. If the above "wooden person" means a marionette made of wood, in other words, a sort of simple robot or doll made of wood, this

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[29] *The Otani Catalogue to the Tibetan Tripiṭaka Peking Edition*, no. 5566: Dul-baḥi lha (Vinītadeva), *Rab-tu byed-pa ñi-śu-paḥi-ḥgrel-bśad (Prakaraṇa-viṃśaka-ṭīkā)*, tr. by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, Dānaśīla, Ye-śes sde; vol. 113, pp. [312-5-8]–[325-1-8]. Cf. S. YAMAGUCHI, J. NOZAWA, *A Study of the Vijñānavādin Texts of Vasubandhu* (in Japanese), Kyoto, 1953, p. 43.

[30] Taisho, no. 1591, vol. 31, p. 87b, *ll.* 22–29, esp. *l.* 28.

simile expression, *nyo-boku-jin* is most probably a free translation of *yantarūpa iva*. Incidentally, a marionette in ancient India is sure to have been made of wood in this case, not of any kind of metal or cloth. Accordingly the simile, *yantarūpa iva*, cannot be sure to have been created by Pāli commentators in aṭṭhakathā literature, but can be sure to have originated inside of the Vijñānavādins in India, which was later accepted by the Theravādins in Sri Lanka.

6. Some Textual Remarks

Some textual remarks regarding the nirayapāla-kathā as expounded in the aṭṭhakathās will be discussed here.

Firstly, the question who insisted on the view of non-existence of the hell-guardians as sentient beings as recorded in the *Kathāvatthu* can not be answered by the text itself. Needless to say, the *Kathāvatthu* refers to the above view itself, but it does not record who asserted this view: we can be aware of the name of the holders of this view as "heresy" only through its commentary, the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*. It is at least clear, however, that the view of the existence of the hell-guardians as sentient beings in question, had already appeared in or before about the first century B.C. when the *Kathāvatthu* seems to have been composed. Yet those who insisted on this view remain still unknown by that text itself. As is commented by the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* upon the *Kathāvatthu*, the fraternity holding this view was most likely to be a Mahāsāṅghika school named the Andhakas or their lineage. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether or not the same Andhakas of whom the author of the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* was aware, had already been founded in the first century B.C.; much less had the Vijñānavādins as a Mahāyāna school been in existence at that time.

Secondly, in the period when the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* was written, maybe in the fifth century A.D. or thereabouts, the Andhakas as a Mahāsāṅghikas surely existed in South India. The reason for my above view is as follows: The *Andhakaṭṭhakathā* being written in the Andhaka language and being introduced into Sri Lanka from the Andhra area in South India,[31] as one of the many source materials of Indian origin for the present Pāli commentaries, is referred to 19 times in total only in the *Samantapāsādikā*, commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka. But the doctrinal views from this source aṭṭhakathā are mostly criticized and denied in that text from the Theravādin standpoint. In addition, the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* judges as heresy many views of the Andhakas concerning various doctrinal matters taken up in the

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[31] As regards the Andhakaṭṭhakathā, see MORI, *op.cit.* (n. 10), pp. 169–73.

Kathāvatthu. According to Prof. TSUKAMOTO,[32] among the altogether 217 doctrinal matters discussed in the *Kathāvatthu*, which are criticized as heresy by the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, 72 views are regarded as of the Andhakas. This number is the largest among the number of views of which the names of the holding fraternities are stated.

Thirdly, as is explained in Section 2, although the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā*, etc. which are mainly Buddhaghosa's works do not clearly refer to the Vijñānavādins as to the *nirayapāla-kathā*, and just refer to an anonymous source, *ekacce therā* (some elders), Buddhaghosa definitely knew the Vijñānavādins, since he certainly refers in his works to the simile, *yantarūpa viya*, which was no doubt created by the Vijñānavādin school itself as I verified already. Unless he had known the Vijñānavādins, he could not have made a reference to the above simile even; in other words, without exact and detailed knowledge about the matter, how could it have been possible to refer to *ekacce therā*?

Fourthly, as has been discussed in detail,[33] the original sources for the present aṭṭhakathās can be primarily classified into two categories: one is the older stratum of Indian origin closely related to the Pāli canon together with the semi-canonical texts, or Early Buddhism, and the other is the newer stratum closely related to the Pāli ṭīkā literature or Sri Lankan Theravāda Buddhism. With respect to their chronology, even the newer stratum seems to have been mostly composed before A.D. 100 or so, with certain exceptional later additions. And even such additions seem to have ceased in the reign of King Mahāsena (276-303). After that time, the source materials had been stocked unchanged in Sri Lanka till the period of Buddhaghosa, the first writer of the Pāli commentaries, who was active in the first half of the fifth century. Since his period, these source materials, the so-called Sīhala sources were fully made use of by himself and his succeeding commentators such as Dhammapāla, Buddhadatta, Upasena and Mahānāma for writing the new aṭṭhakathās in Pāli.

In consideration with the above circumstance regarding the present aṭṭhakathā literature, the statement that only the Andhaka fraternity was the holder of the view of non-existence of the hell-guardians as recorded in the *Kathāvatthu Commentary*, is likely to have been made on the basis of the older sources. On the other hand, the addition of the new simile expression, *yan-*

[32] TSUKAMOTO, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

[33] See Sodo MORI, "Chronology of the 'Sīhala Sources' for the Pāli Commentaries, I, II", *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō Kenkyū)*, Hamamatsu, Japan, 26-27 (1987-88), pp. 151-82, pp. 119-67, esp. pp. 150-61 (conclusion) in vol. 27, or Sodo MORI, *Studies of the Pāli Commentaries*, Tokyo, 1989, pp. 21-105, esp. pp. 88-99. Cf. MORI, *op.cit.* (n. 10), pp. 309-466, esp. pp. 457-66.

tarūpa viya as found chiefly in Buddhaghosa's aṭṭhakathās,[34] and the addition of the name of the Vijñānavādins to that of the Andhakas, which appeared mainly in Dhammapāla's ṭīkās,[35] seem to have been made by Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla respectively on the basis of their own direct observation and study, not of the old source materials.

Moreover, this assumption is well proved by the commenting passage of Dhammapāla's ṭīkās, i.e. the *Majjhimaṭīkā*, etc.: *Andhakādike, Viññānavādino ca sandhāya vadati* as is shown in Section 2 of this paper. That is to say, in the above passage *Viññānavādino ca* is a phrase clearly added to *Andhakādike* as a later insertion; since a word, *ādi* (and so on) should normally be affixed as the last word: the original passage in the source materials referred to by Dhammapāla was simply *Andhakādike sandhāya vadati*, which is exactly identical with what the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* recorded. Adding *Viññānavādino ca* to *Andhakādike* in this original passage, he was sure to have inserted the phrase, owing to his own observation and knowledge of the Buddhist situation in the Indian sub-continent in his days, which resulted in the present passage in question.

In this connection, Buddhaghosa came most probably from South India, not from North India, and after travelling round in South India, etc. in the first half of the fifth century, he sailed to Sri Lanka from a port, maybe either Negapataṃ or Kāñcipura in South India.[36] Therefore he must have been a man of abundant knowledge on contemporary Buddhist affairs especially in South India. In addition, his period roughly corresponds to that of Vasubandhu, the author of the *Viṃśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*: he was most likely to have had exact knowledge about Vasubandhu and his thought.

Dhammapāla, the major successor to Buddhaghosa, was also from India; some say, from Kāñcipura in South India. Accordingly, before coming to Sri Lanka, I am sure that he also acquired detailed knowledge on Mahāyāna Buddhism including the Vijñānavādins in India as well as Indian Buddhism in general.[37]

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[34] Exactly speaking, the texts referred to here are Ps, Mp, and Sv of Buddhaghosa along with Nidd-a I of Upasena. However, Upasena was a commentator later than Buddhaghosa, because his Nidd-a refers to Vism and Smp of Buddhaghosa several times, but Buddhaghosa never refers to Upasena's Nidd-a. Therefore, I do not take up Nidd-a as a later text for my present discussion. As for Upasena and his works, see MORI, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 549–53.

[35] The texts referred to here are M-ṭ and D-ṭ of Dhammapāla, and A-ṭ by Sāriputta. Yet Sāriputta being active in the Polonnaruva Period was a much later person than Dhammapāla, and in fact his A-ṭ refers to Dhammapāla's M-ṭ and Vism-ṭ, so that I do not feel the necessity of taking A-ṭ into consideration in this matter. Cf. Lily de SILVA, *The Dīghanikāya Aṭṭhakathāṭīkā*, vol. I, London (PTS), 1970, p. xlviii.

[36] As for Buddhaghosa's bibliography, see my book (n. 10), pp. 469–529.

[37] *ibid.*, pp. 530–39 for Dhammapāla's bibliography and his works.

List of Chinese Characters

a) 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論
b) 天使經
c) 中阿含經
d) 善聚品
e) 增一阿含經
f) 鐵城泥犁經
g) 唯識二十論述記
h) 慈恩大師基
i) 猶如木人能有所作
j) 成唯識寶生論
k) 義淨
l) 獄卒
m) 獄卒
n) 泥犁卒
o) 泥犁耶

"Adopting the Domestic Way of Life"

K. R. NORMAN, Herts

Introduction

The discovery by Rāhula SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA of a MS of a BHS[1] version of the Dharmapada in Tibet,[2] and the subsequent publication of editions of this by SHUKLA (1979),[3] ROTH (1980)[4] and CONE (1989), have proved a great stimulus to the study of the Dharmapada genre of literature. Scholars are now able to make comparative studies of the Pāli Dhammapada, the Gāndhārī Dharmapada, the Patna Dharmapada (to give it the name by which it has become known, because the photographs are in Patna), and the versions of the Udāna-varga edited by BERNHARD (1965) and NAKATANI (1987). Such comparative studies of all these versions have led to the solution of many of the problems which faced early scholars who, when studying the Pāli Dhammapada, had little in the way of parallel versions to help them.

I should like in this short article, offered in honour of Heinz BECHERT on his 65th birthday, to examine a problematic passage in the Dharmapada literature, in the hope that a comparative study of the various versions of the Dharmapada will enable us to suggest a possible solution to the problem.

Pāli versions

The problem occurs in pāda c of Dhp 266:

na tena bhikkhu hoti yāvatā bhikkhate pare
vissaṃ dhammaṃ samādāya bhikkhu hoti na tāvatā.

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[1] Abbreviations of titles of Pāli texts are as in *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (= CPD). Other titles: GDhp = Gāndhārī Dharmapada; Mhv = Mahāvastu; PDhp = Patna Dharmapada; Udāna-v = Udāna-varga. Other abbreviations: AMg = Ardha-Māgadhī; BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Skt; CP I, II = Norman, 1990, 1991; EV I, II = Norman, 1969, 1971A; GD II = Norman, 1992; MIA, MIndic = Middle Indo-Aryan; MS(S) = manuscript(s); Skt = Sanskrit; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS's Pali-English Dictionary.

[2] For a survey of Rāhula SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA's MSS see BANDURSKI (1994).

[3] SHUKLA's edition of PDhp was made in 1964 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of M.Litt. in Buddhist Studies at the University of Delhi.

[4] Corrections to ROTH's edition appeared in ROTH, 1986, pp. 452–55.

There is no variant reading for *vissaṃ* at Dhp 266, but there is a variant reading *visaṃ* where the verse occurs at Dhp-a III 392,16*.

Dhp-a III 393,2 explains: *vissan ti visamaṃ vissagandhaṃ vā kāyakammādikaṃ dhammaṃ samādāya.* CARTER & PALIHAWADANA translate *visama* literally as "uneven" and *vissa-gandha* as "foul" (1987, p. 303). The second part of the explanation seems to be taking *vissa* as < Skt *visra*. PED translates *vissa* as "a smell like raw flesh", and lists *visama* as having the meanings "(morally) discrepant, lawless, wrong".[5] Some translators have doubtless taken *visama* in this sense and *vissa* in the sense of "foul-smelling", used metaphorically, to be almost synonymous.

Translators have frequently differed about the meaning of this pāda. MÜLLER translates "he who adopts the whole law" (1881, p. 66), taking *vissa* as < Skt *viśva*, although this meaning seems to be attested in Pāli only in the names *Vissantara* (or *Vessantara*) and *Vissakamma*. RADHAKRISHNAN also translates "he who adopts the whole law", which is unexpected in view of the fact that he appends a note "*vissaṃ*: Skt *viṣvak*, on all sides, completely" (1950, p. 142). He is perhaps following MÜLLER blindly. BUDDHARAKKHITA translates: "not by adopting outward form" (1986, p. 49); NARADA translates "by following the whole code (of morality)" (1993, p. 216); JAYASEKERA translates "by embracing an impure doctrine" (1992, p. 89); KALUPAHANA translates "by taking upon himself a loathsome tradition" (1986, p. 138); CARTER & PALIHAWADANA translate "having taken up a foul dhamma" (1987, p. 303). It would seem that most of these translators are taking *vissa* as being from either Skt *viśva* or *visra*. BUDDHARAKKHITA appears to be seeing a connection between *vissa* and *vesa* "disguise, (assumed) appearance" (see PED s. v.).

The verse also occurs at S I 182,19*, where the PTS edition reads *visaṃ*, with the variant reading *vissaṃ*. Other editions read *vissaṃ*.

RHYS DAVIDS reads *vissaṃ* in S and translates "a tainted norm", rejecting MÜLLER's translation "the whole law" (1917, p. 231 note 1). She refers to Dhs 141,28 where *vissa-gandho* "putrid odours" occurs in the section on smells. This meaning is confirmed by the gloss at As 319,34. GEIGER suggests changing *vissaṃ* to *visaṃ*, which he translates as "eine falsche Lehre" (1930, p. 285), possibly equating *visa* with *vesa*.

Spk I 266,6 explains: *vissaṃ dhamman ti duggandhaṃ akusala-dhammaṃ.* This is much the same as the second explanation in Dhp-a. WOODWARD comments "*visaṃ* seems preferable" (1929, p. 266 note 2). He gives no reason for this statement, and so it is not clear whether he had *visa* < Skt *viṣa* in mind, or whether he saw a connection with *vesa*.

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[5] cf. Pj II 109,16: *kāyaduccaritādimhi ca visame niviṭṭho* (ad Sn 57).

Despite the commentarial explanations, the meaning of *vissa* is not at all clear, and the presence of two glosses in the Dhp-a explanation shows that the early tradition was not certain about the meaning either. Clearly, we must consider anything which could develop into MIA *vissa*.

Other versions

In his discussion of GDhp 67, where the reading is in all probability *veśma dharma samada'i*, BROUGH quotes (1962, p. 192) the verse as it occurs in other traditions, and draws attention to the fact that the Gāndhārī reading agrees with Udāna-v 32.18 which has *veśmāṃ dharmāṃ samādāya* — the earlier reading *veśyāṃ* which EDGERTON comments upon[6] being rejected as an (incorrect) conjecture. BROUGH refers to an Agnean bilingual where *veśmadharmāṃ samādāya* is found. BERNHARD's edition, which had not been published when BROUGH wrote, reads *veśmāṃ*. The verse is missing in NAKATANI's edition. The corresponding pāda at Mvu III 422,13* has *viṣamāṃ dharmāṃ samādāya*, which JONES translates "as long as he harbours wrong states of mind" (1956, p. 424). Here *viṣamāṃ* clearly corresponds to Pāli *visamaṃ*.

It might be thought that Udāna-v *veśma* was simply the invention of a redactor who, faced with the MIA form *vissa*, guessed that it was the equivalent of *veśma* or, perhaps even more likely, had a Gāndhārī version with *veśma* in front of him, which was a guess on the part of the Gāndhārī redactor. This, however, cannot explain Mhv *viṣama*. There is no reason for the redactor of that text, if he received *vissa*, to have invented the form *viṣama*. This could only be a reconstruction from MIA *visama*, showing that the reading in the Dhp-a exegesis is not a late commentarial aberration, but is older than the Skt reconstruction. We see then that the Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṃghika-lokottaravādin and Sarvāstivādin versions of the verse, and a part of the Pāli commentary tradition, all go back to a form with *-s(i)m-*, and we have therefore to find an explanation which will embrace both *vissa* and *visama*. The need to find an etymology which will explain the *-m-* rules out most of the suggestions which can be, and have been, made for Pāli *vissa*.

It would seem that the only way of taking *visama* and *viṣama* as equivalents of *vissa* and *veśma* is to assume that they depend upon the insertion of a svarabhakti vowel, i.e. we are dealing with an earlier **visma*, which was assimilated to *vissa* (western MIA form) and also resolved to *visama* (eastern

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[6] EDGERTON comments (1953, s.v. *veśya*): "adj. with *dharma*, acc. to Tib. *groṅ pahi*, of the village, i.e. common, vulgar?" He asks: "Could *veśya* be a false Sanskritisation of MIndic (AMg) *vesiya*, from Sanskrit *veṣa*, of garb or external appearance (only)?".

MIA form), i.e. *vissa* and *visama* are etymologically parallel, and represent different dialect forms of the same word.[7]

It is not easy to think of anything other than *veśman* as the Skt antecedent of **visma*, which would then be an orthographical variant of **vĕsma*. We do not, however, normally find *vessa* in Pāli, where only *vesma* is attested. Nevertheless, as VON HINÜBER says (1994, pp. 171–72), we should expect *-ss-* from *veśman*, and *-sm-* in Pāli *vesma* must be an artificial restoration. There is no doubt that both *-śm-* and *-sm-* normally develop > *-ss-* in MIA. There are not many examples of this change in Pāli, which perhaps helps to explain why *vissa* was not connected with *veśman* in the Pāli tradition, but there is *vi-ssarati* < *vismarati* and *(s)sita* < *smita*,[8] and *usā* which is probably metri causa for **ussā* < *ūṣman*.[9] There are, however, rather more examples in other dialects of MIA, e.g. the locative ending *-assi* < *-asmin*, *bhassa* < *bhasman*, *rassi* < *raśmi*, and *vissaa* < *vismaya*.[10]

BROUGH's explanation of this problem has met with little comment. Although CARTER & PALIHAWADANA refer to BROUGH (1987, p. 481), they do not follow him in their translation. It is possible that others have seen BROUGH's explanation, but have been unwilling to accept it because they find it difficult to understand how there could be an equation between *viṣamāṃ* in a BHS canonical text and *visamaṃ* in a Pāli commentary. To meet this objection, I can only repeat an explanation I have already given elsewhere (1980, pp. 71–72),[11] which, although referred to by VON HINÜBER (1994, p. 171), seems not to have been widely noticed, perhaps because of the context in which it appeared, i.e. as an example of the way in which there is sometimes a parallelism between a canonical form in one tradition and the commentarial explanation in another.

If we accept *veśman* as the antecedent of *vissa*, then it presumably has the sense of "(connected with a) house", i.e. "domestic". This is supported by the Agnean translation which has "accepting a domestic manner (of life)". SPARHAM's rather free translation of the Tibetan version of the Udāna-v has "one who holds on to city things" (1983, p. 146). EDGERTON's translation "village" for Tibetan *groṅ* agrees with that of ROCKHILL (1883, p. 177), who translates "they who are attached to the ways of the world", with a footnote: "Lit. the practice (*tchos*) of the village, which the commentary explains by selfishness". BROUGH, however, points out (1962, p. 192) that *groṅ* refers to a house, rather than to a village.

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[7] See NORMAN, 1978, p. 34 (= CP II, p. 37).

[8] See GEIGER, 1994, § 50.6.

[9] So VON HINÜBER, 1994, p. 171.

[10] See PISCHEL, 1900, § 313.

[11] (= CP II, pp. 140–41).

It could be argued that the meaning "domestic" would be unusual for *vessa-dhamma*, since one would expect the *dhamma* of a *vessa* to be to protect its inhabitants. Against this, one might well say that the *dhamma* of a *gāma* is also to protect its inhabitants, but in fact Pāli *gāma-dhamma* means the way of life or customs of the inhabitants of a village, i.e. immorality. We could suggest that the *dhamma* of a *veśman* is the observances of the inhabitants of a *veśman*, i.e. (in the case of a brahman) brahmanical sacrifices, etc.

We should, moreover, note that Udāna-v, the Agnean bilingual, and the Mvu version all have a plural form *dharmāṃ*, which explains JONES' translation "states of mind" (1956, p. 424). GDhp *dharma* can also be plural and if we accept this, then it is possible to suggest that *dharmaṃ* at Dhp 266 is another example of an accusative plural in *-aṃ* in Pāli.[12] We are then dealing with "things", i.e. "domestic things". In the Agnean bilingual the two words form a compound. In the case of GDhp 67 *veśma dharma samada'i*, we cannot tell whether the first two words are a compound or not. The other versions do not have a compound, but this may be because the exemplars upon which they are based did not write, or at least did not write consistently, the anusvāra *-ṁ*. If we are correct in thinking that Udāna-v is dependent upon a Gāndhārī version, then we can see that this was indeed the case. Those redactors who made two words of the compound must have been thinking of *vissa*, etc., as an adjective, as EDGERTON suggested for his reading *veśyāṃ*. In the case of the Pāli version this is not surprising, if the tradition thought that *vissa* was connected with *visra*, as the commentary shows. Such an explanation cannot apply to Udāna-v, and we would have to suppose that *veśmāṃ* was interpreted as **vaiśmya;* cf. Skt *vaiśmīya* and *vaiśmika*.[13]

The framework stories

BROUGH's suggestion is very plausible, and it becomes all the more so if reference is made to the context in which, according to the Theravādin tradition, the verse was first set — something which BROUGH did not do. He imagined (1962, p. 192) a preacher making a pun on *vissa* = "whole" and "a *dharma* no better than that of living in a house", i.e. a *dharma* connected simply with getting enough food to live on. His suggestion may well be correct in respect of the way in which the verse was explained in later times, but I think that in its original context only the domestic idea, i.e. the actual living in a house, was intended. In the Saṃyutta version the verses are addressed to a brahman who was a beggar (*bhikkhaka*) and could see no difference between himself and the Buddha, since both were *bhikkhaka*. The

[12] See NORMAN, 1971B, p. 215 (= CP I, pp. 114–15).

[13] See MONIER-WILLIAMS, 1899, s. vv. *vaiśmīya*, *vaiśmika*.

implication is that he wanted, on that account, to be called "bhikkhu". The Buddha said that mere begging did not make a bhikkhu (*na tena bhikkhu hoti yāvatā bhikkhate pare*), nor could someone who was [a brahman] still living at home [as a *gṛha-stha*, and who had not become a *pabbajita*] be called a bhikkhu.

Dhp 266 and 267 are commented upon as a pair. The equivalent verses in S I are also together, as they are in Udāna-v, Mvu and GDhp. I therefore assume that 267 makes a contrast to 266. Udāna-v has *tu* in pāda a, while GDhp has *du* and Mvu *ca*. I suggest that Pāli *dha* is another example of an early miswriting (because Aśokan Brāhmī *ca* and *dha* are very similar) of *dha* for *ca* in the meaning "but".[14] The second verse of the pair states that a bhikkhu wanders in the world (*loke carati*), with the implication that a householder, who by definition does not wander, cannot be a bhikkhu.

The Dhp-a version adds to the background story, presumably to make it more intelligible when the meaning of *vissa* had been forgotten. To explain why the brahman was begging it states that he had gone forth (thereby destroying the point of the verse). To make it even clearer why he could not be regarded as a bhikkhu it adds the detail that he had gone forth in a heretic order (*bāhirasamaye*).

BURLINGAME, who translated the story and the verse (but not the grammatical portion of the commentary), translated *vissa* (1921, p. 145) as "(a man) who adopts and practices all the forms" in the story and as "(he that) adopts the religion, forms and all" in the verse,[15] presumably deriving it from *viśva*.

In his translation, which includes both the story, the grammatical portions of the commentary and the verse, SARADA translates *vissa* in the story as "a man ... who practices all the forms",[16] presumably taking *vissa* as < *viśva*. In the exegesis of the verse *vissaṃ dhammaṃ* is translated as "repulsive belief", presumably taking *vissa* as < *visra*. In the translation of the verse pādas c & d are taken separately and in reverse order: "Not just by this a bhikkhu, but from all dhamma doing", again seemingly taking *vissa* as < *viśva*, while the rubric to the story states "nor by adopting any commoners' way". I do not know what etymology this is based on — perhaps *vaiśya* ? The inconsistency of the translations seems strange although, given the Indian delight for *śleṣa*, it cannot be ruled out that there is a word play intended on the several possible meanings of *vissa*. If, however, the original MIA version of the verse had **visma* < *veśman*, as we surmise, then such a word play is more difficult to imagine.

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[14] See NORMAN, EV I, p. 169 (ad Th 237). For the scribal confusion of *dha* and *ca* see EV II p. 57 (ad Thī 7) and GD II p. 141 (ad Sn 26–27).

[15] BURLINGAME, 1921, p. 145.

[16] SARADA, 1993, ad Dhp 266.

Conclusions

It seems clear to me that the occurrence of *vissa* in Dhp 266 is a reference to brahmanical teaching about the householder, and to the incompatibility of being a (brahmanical) householder with being a *bhikkhu* in the Buddhist sense of the word. In support of this belief, we may compare ThI 112–16, on which I commented (EV II, p. 86) "As I understand it, [Paṭācārā's] teaching was an attack upon the brahmanical teaching, in particular the householder stage of a brahman's life, which meant that a man who stayed at home and carried out all the usual duties of a householder was nevertheless coming nearer to his goal in life, i.e. *dhanaṃ vindati*".[17]

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[17] For other Buddhist rejections of brahmanical practices, see Dhp 344 (a comment upon the *vāna-prastha* stage of a brahman's life); S I 182–83 (a rejection of ritual bathing: cf. ThI 236–51); ThI 283 (an allusion to storing food); ThI 87–91 143 (tending the fire, etc.).

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Taking the Myth Seriously: The Buddha and the Enlightenment

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Heinz BECHERT was one of the first Indologists to study modern Buddhism and Buddhist modernism and take seriously the work of the human sciences in the interpretation of Buddhism. This was clearly manifest in his early pioneering work *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländern des Theravāda-Buddhismus* and it continued in his work on Buddhist syncretism, his criticism of Max WEBER, and his most recent work on the chronology of the Buddha. I pay homage to BECHERT's contribution to the ethnography and sociology of Buddhism by dealing with an issue that Indologists have generally shied away from, namely, the rich repertoire of myths in the seemingly "rational" Buddhist tradition. Take the case of the "historical" Buddha. The Theravāda texts give us virtually no information on the actual life of the Buddha prior to his "Enlightenment". Undeterred by this limitation scholars have constructed the real Buddha from the mostly mythic material of the texts. Almost any text on Buddhism can give a good standard account of his life and death. I am not against this procedure; but I want to adopt another strategy and take seriously the myths about the Buddha's birth, renunciation and Enlightenment for what they can tell us about his quest for salvation through specific forms of askesis.

In my thinking the Buddha could be a "historical" figure without being a figure of contemporary empirical historiography. That is, Buddhists right down the ages thought that the Buddha was a historical being and yet they literally believed in what we would call his mythos. Buddhism is also a historical religion in another sense; it traced its chronology from the death of the founder. It was immaterial, from the subjective viewpoint of Buddhists, whether or not different Buddbist traditions had different chronologies. In looking at mythic texts sympathetically I am arguing against a very powerful opinion among European scholars that Buddhism was a "rational religion" without a saviour and a cult, a view that native Buddhist intellectuals also have begun to accept, thereby Europeanizing, perhaps even inventing, the Buddha's "Enlightenment". Scholars and educated laypersons are aware of the seemingly miraculous elements in the Buddha mythos but only as accre-

tions to a pristine Buddhism that can be elicited by a critical reading of the Pali Canon.[1]

Certainly Buddhism permits this rationalist interpretation. There is no central mystery in doctrinal Buddhism such as the resurrection; it has no creator god, no theodicy. Yet, on the other hand, the Buddha appears as a mythic persona even in the earliest body of texts, and while this belief is not necessary for salvation, it is the case that practically every Buddhist thinker believed that the Buddha was a supernormal, if not a supernatural being, that he possessed the thirty two marks of the Great Man (*mahāpurisa*), and that he was born in a miraculous manner outside of normal bodily processes. Buddhist thinkers, until modern times, never made the distinction between the rational and the miraculous elements in their religion. They did emphasize the historicity of the Buddha but their's was not the literal or empirical historicity of the scholarly imagination.

The references to the miraculous birth of the Buddha occur in several ancient texts of the Pali Canon. In the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta* or "The Discourse on Wonderful and Marvellous Qualities" the Buddha asks Ānanda, his personal attendant, cousin and favorite disciple, to relate to the assembled monks the miracle of the Buddha's birth.[2] According to Ānanda, the Buddha-to-be was born in the Tusita heaven, and, after his life span there was over, he decided to be reborn in the human world, "mindful and clearly conscious". He entered the Mother's womb, mindful and clearly conscious, and when this happened the "ten-thousand-world system quaked, trembled and shook, and there appeared the illimitable glorious radiance surpassing even the *deva* majesty of the *devas*".[3] As he enters the womb, four gods guard the four quarters to prevent any human or non-human from annoying the Buddha-to-be or his mother. As for the mother, the text continues: "When, Ānanda, the Bodhisatta is entering his mother's womb, no desire connected with the strands of sensual pleasures rises in the Bodhisatta's mother towards men, and the Bodhisatta's mother is not to be transgressed against by any man of infatuated thoughts".[4] More miracle: the mother sees the Buddha-to-be in her womb as an emerald jewel, and the child is "complete in all his limbs, his sense organs perfect".[5] She gives birth to him exactly at ten months and she does so while in an upright position. Moreover, as the Buddha is born "he issues quite stainless, undefiled by watery matter,

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[1] These are broadly speaking the views of scholars like RHYS-DAVIDS, Hermann OLDENBERG, E. J. THOMAS and, more recently, that of the distinguished Belgian scholar, Étienne LAMOTTE.

[2] *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings* (*Majjhima-Nikāya*), vol. 3, trans., I. B. HORNER, London: The Pali Text Society, 1959, 163–69.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 165–66.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 166

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

undefiled by mucus, undefiled by blood, undefiled by any impurity ...".[6] He is "pure and stainless".[7] The reason is also given in the text: it is due to the purity of both mother and son. It lists other miracles also, and mentions the fact that the Bodhisatta's mother dies seven days after he is born and this is true of all Buddhas because they possess an identical life history.[8]

Clearly then conception did not occur through sexual intercourse; moreover though Māyā, the mother of the Buddha, could not be converted into a virgin in the historical traditions of Buddhism, she does avoid sexual relations at the time of conception. She observes the five precepts of Buddhism from her very birth; and she conceives the Buddha when she was observing celibacy (i.e., the ten precepts on *uposatha* days one of which enjoins celibacy or *abrahmacariya*.) Yet what about the necessity for the mother to die in seven days? Some Theravāda commentators say that this is to preserve the purity of the mother "because no other child is fit to be conceived in the same womb as a Buddha".[9] The most interesting answer is given in the *Mahāvastu*, the famous text of the Lokottaravādins or Transcendentalists, which says that it is due to sexual rather than childbirth pollution. "I will descend", says the Bodhisattva, "into the womb of a woman who has only seven nights and ten months of her life remaining". And why so? "Because", says he, "it is not fitting that she who bears a Peerless One like me should afterwards indulge in love."[10] It therefore seems that the death of Māyā seven days after the Buddha's birth cannot be taken literally; or even to mean that "she died soon after," as many texts assume. Rather, Māyā's death is a structural requirement of the myth: the pure womb from which the Buddha was born could not thereafter be contaminated by childbirth or sexual pollution.

And where was the Bodhisatta born? Most popular and doctrinal texts agree that he was born in a grove of *sāla* trees in Lumbini. Let me present one well known version. The queen, Mahāmāyā, informs Suddhodana, her husband, of her desire to visit her parents' home at Devadaha to give birth to her child (a perfectly normal custom in both India and other patrilineal societies to ensure the psychological welfare of the woman at a critical stage in her life). Suddhodana consents, decorates the road between Kapilavatthu, his capital, and Devadaha with plantain trees, pots full of water, and banners and streamers. "Now between the two towns there is a pleasure grove of

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Similar statements are repeated in the *Mahāapadāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. They are also elaborated further in later texts like the *Jātaka Nidāna* and the *Buddhavamsa*. These latter texts state that the Bodhisatta entered his mother's womb while she was observing the Buddhist vow of celibacy; and reaffirms the fact that Māyā, his mother, must die seven days after his birth.

[9] G. P. MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Nouns*, vol., II, London: Pali Text Society, 1974, p. 609.

[10] *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, 1952, J. J. JONES, trans., London: Luzac and Company, 1952, p. 3.

Sāla-Trees, called the Lumbinī Park, belonging to the citizens of both towns. At that time all the trees were one mass of blossoming flowers from the root to the topmost branches. In between the branches and the flowers swarms of bees of five varieties and flocks of birds of many species moved about warbling in sweet tones."[11] The Bodhisatta is born in a liminal space, neither in the home of the mother nor of the father but in between, in a space that belonged to the citizens of both towns. The implication of the liminal space is clear enough: the hero does not belong to his father or mother but to the people or the world in general. The *sāla* trees under which he was born are not the trees found in Indian forests but a mythic *sāla* blooming from the root to the topmost branches. As he is born he takes seven steps and from each step a lotus flower blooms, presumably to prevent dust from touching his feet. I suspect that this mytheme is derived from the seven steps of the Soma cow named *Dakṣiṇā*; ritual substances are put on each step and the symbolism of the seventh step on which gold and ghee are put, according to Heesterman, is "the head of the earth" or "the sacrificial spot of the earth".[12] In similar fashion, the Buddha also *surveys the four quarters of the world*, the locus of his transcendental and universal teaching. This miracle of the child-Buddha is, on another level, deliberately constructed to surpass that of the god Viṣṇu crossing the earth in three strides and thereby symbolically acquiring dominion over the earth.

When the Buddha was born, the sage Asita predicted that he would be either a world-conquering monarch or a world-renouncing Buddha. Both are models of heroes or great men (*mahāpurisa*) but of radically different orientations: one totally involved in the world of wealth and power and the other totally removed from it. Their births and deaths are heralded with miraculous events. Both have the thirty-two marks of a great man spelled out in great detail in Theravāda texts like the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*.[13] Modern scholars who tell us that the Bodhisatta's father was a minor chief or *rāja* are not only missing the point but they are guilty of extrapolating an empirical reality from a mythic or symbolic set of events. For all you know the *empirical* Buddha might not have had a father at all; or more likely, he had plain ordinary parents like yours or mine. The *real* Buddha of the Buddhist imagination was born apposite to a world conqueror: the texts make this clear by the mythicization of his father who is presented as a great king, living in wealth, splendor and power. The father also wanted the Bodhisatta to be a

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[11] *The Story of Gotama Buddha (Jataka Nidana)*, translated by N. A. JAYAWICKRAMA, Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1990, p. 69; Cf. Buddhadatta, *Clarifier of Sweet Meaning (Madhuratthavilāsini)* translated by I. B. HORNER, London: Pali Text Society, 1978, pp. 392–93.

[12] J. C. HEESTERMAN, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, p. 65.

[13] *Dialogues of the Buddha (Dīgha Nikāya)*, Vol., II, trans., T. W. and C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, London: Pali Text Society, 1959, pp. 14–16.

world conqueror as befits his heritage and kept him confined to the walls of the palace. The mansion of the prince has everything to satisfy the senses: women, music and dancing, luxury. Given this context, the birth of the Buddha makes sense: he is cast in the heroic mould of the world-conqueror (*jina*), the conqueror over the very things that embodied his other and more profound birthright — that of Buddhahood.

The confrontation of the two ideal models — royalty and renunciation — occurs in the famous myth of the four signs. The great Buddhist scholar, Aśvaghoṣa, says that the four signs were created by the gods; and the popular *Jātaka Nidāna* says that the deities thought thus: "Prince Siddhartha's time for Enlightenment is drawing near; let us show him the Omens [signs]."[14] As I read this myth, the prince was a prisoner of hedonism literally prevented from knowing the outside world by his well intentioned father. One day the prince goes for a drive into the city with his charioteer, Channa. There he meets with the spectacle of a feeble old man, a sight that he has never seen before. In subsequent visits to the city he sees the spectacle of sickness, then death, and then the transcendence of all of these in the serene calm of the yellow-robed renouncer. The hero is confronted with the skull beneath the skin, the true nature of the world from which he had been insulated: the world of transience and decay, and he is also presented a model for overcoming them all in that of the renouncer. Note the setting: the hero goes in his chariot in splendour into the city; what confronts him there is the very opposite of that which exists within the walls of the palace. When he comes back from his last trip to the city and witnesses the sign of the *homeless* renouncer, he is told that a son is born to him, reminding him that he is trapped in a life of domesticity, that of the *home*. The child is named Rāhula: etymologically it is the diminuitive of Rahu, the demon who swallows the moon and causes the world to darken. Perhaps this signifies that the birth of the heir is a threat to the aspirations of the Buddha, the moon. Theravāda Buddhists, however, have ignored this etymology and invented their own: Rāhula is the "fetter", the chain that binds the Bodhisatta to the home. But be decides to break this fetter and silently bidding his wife and son farewell, he prepares to leave the palace. OLDENBERG summarizes this part of the myth as follows: "In his palace the prince was surrounded by beautiful, gaily attired handmaids, who sought to dissipate his thoughts with music and dance: but be neither looks upon nor listens to them, and soon falls into sleep. He wakes up at night and sees by the light of the lamps those dancing girls wrapt in slumber, some talking in their sleep, some with running mouths, and of others again their clothes have become disarranged and exposed repulsive deformities of the body. At this sight it was to him as if he were in a burial

[14] Aśvaghoṣa, *Buddhacarita*, trans., E. H. JOHNSTON, New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1972, p. 39; *The Story of Gotama Buddha (Jātaka Nidāna)*, Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1990, p. 78.

place full of disfigured corpses, as if the house around was in flames ..."[15] The skull beneath the skin once again and the metaphors of disgust. This powerful myth is known to practically every Buddhist; it is also a "myth model" for other stories and other lives in the Buddhist tradition — that of someone who is a prisoner of hedonism, then seeing its unsatisfactory nature decides to renounce the world.

Satiated with hedonism, the Bodhisatta leaves his palace accompanied by Channa, his charioteer, and his horse, Kanthaka. Again the horse is portrayed in heroic dimensions, almost everywhere in popular conceptions. It was eighteen cubits long from neck to tail and similarly broad, white in colour; it cleared the ramparts of the city at one bound. The Buddha rode the horse while Channa clung to his tail. It reached the river Anoma which it also cleared in one bound and landed on the other shore, where the Bodhisatta cut his hair and beard, shed his royal clothes and then donned the mendicant garb. The gods carry his hair to heaven to enshrine it in the *Cūḷāmaṇicetiya* in the Tavatimsa heaven. This part of the text constitutes a myth charter for the enshrinement of the Buddha's relics in later times. Crossing the river in this and in similar cases is also a symbolic act: a movement from one form of life to another, from the world of the world-conqueror to that of the world-renouncer. The cutting off of worldly ties is complete: but he has still not achieved his goal. It should be remembered that the Buddha's personal name is Siddhartha, meaning "he whose aim is accomplished". But the Bodhisatta is still not a Buddha; he still remains a liminal persona.[16] He has given up his royal status but he has not yet accomplished his aim. Like neophytes in initiation rites and like other heroes of myth, the Bodhisatta has many obstacles to overcome before he reaches his goal. These are not physical obstacles however, but ones that are moral and spiritual. Let me mention two such obstacles well known in both the popular and doctrinal traditions.

After he renounces the world the Bodhisatta seeks the help of gurus as is customary in the Indic traditions. Following such advice he courts forms of extreme physical penance and deprivation, also common at the time, for six years. The pain, endurance and suffering of the Bodhisatta is described in the first person in several texts and his physical emaciation is vividly represented in memorable Buddhist sculptures. One of the most powerful texts dealing with this topic is the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta* ("The Greater Discourse on the Lion's Roar"). Here the Buddha tells Sāriputta, his major disciple, that he lived on virtually nothing "unclothed, flouting life's decencies, licking my

[15] Hermann OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1904, p. 47.

[16] My understanding of liminality is based on the classic work of Arnold VAN GENNEP, *The Rites of Passage*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960; and the equally well known paper by Victor TURNER, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*" in Victor TURNER, *The Forest of Symbols*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967, pp. 93–111.

hands (after meals) ..."[17] The Buddha then describes the types of tabus pertaining to the acceptance of food that perhaps were common practice among ascetic sects of the time and totally against the highly decorous practices initiated by the Buddha after the monk order got established. So with the kinds of cloths he wore: "I wore rags taken from the dust heap, and I wore tree-bark fibre ... I wore a blanket of human hair, and I wore a blanket of animal hair, and I wore owls feathers. I was one who plucked out the hair of his head and beard ... I made my bed on covered thorns ... Thus in many a way did I live intent on the practice of mortifying and tormenting my body."[18] And the effect of these practices? "Because I ate so little, all my limbs became like the knotted joints of withered creepers; because I ate so little, my buttocks became like a bullock's hoof; because I ate so little my protruding backbone became like a string of balls; because I ate so little my gaunt ribs became like the crazy rafters of a tumble-down shed; because I ate so little, the pupils of my eyes appeared lying low and deep in their sockets as sparkles of water in a deep well appear lying low and deep; because I ate so little, my scalp became shrivelled and shrunk as a bitter white gourd cut before it is ripe becomes shrivelled and shrunk by a hot wind. If I, Sāriputta, thought: 'I will touch the skin of my belly,' it was my backbone that I took hold of. For because I ate so little, the skin on my belly, Sāriputta, came to be cleaving to my backbone. If I, Sāriputta, thought: 'I will obey the calls of nature' I fell down on my face then and there, because I ate so little ..."[19]

What then is happening here? The Bodhisatta is now the prisoner of asceticism! Let me now reflect back on the earlier part of the Buddha myth: the Buddha's father, the great Suddhodana has a palace for each of the three seasons; he provides hedonistic pleasures for his son, including music and dancing women. In practising asceticism, the Bodhisatta has moved from the indulgence of sensual pleasures to its very opposite — the mortification of the body. He must overcome this obstacle also to achieve the "middle path".

The night he gave up asceticism he dreamt five dreams prognosticating that he would be a Buddha. The Buddha decides to eat food; his first meal is appropriately one consumed on auspicious occasions, namely milk-rice. It is given to him by a woman from the merchant class (*varṇa*) who had vowed to offer food to the deity of the banyan tree under whicb the Buddha was seated. She was the first human witness to the new birth or awakening; hence she is Sujātā, "happy birth". Aśvaghoṣa, more in tune with the larger tradition of Indian myth, has the milk-rice given to the Buddha by Nandabalā, daughter of a chief of cowherders — nurturant, milk producing folk. After the

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[17] *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya)*, vol. I, trans., I. B. HORNER, London: The Pali Text Society, 1987, pp. 103–104.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp.104–105.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Buddha consumes his meal, he wants to know whether he is going to achieve true knowledge or not. He makes a vow that if his begging bowl goes upstream when placed in the river Nerañjarā, it would be a sign that he has achieved the true knowledge. This happens and the bowl is carried by the river's vortex into the realm of the nāgas, always devotees of the Buddha, and there it met the bowls of three previous Buddhas. The symbolism here I think is clear: the Buddha in practising austerities has experienced a kind of death; he is reborn by the food offered by a woman of the caste that supported Buddhism later on, the merchant *varṇa*. But this physical rebirth or awakening is not the crucial one; it is followed by a psychological and spiritual reawakening to come later. The bowl that goes "against the current" symbolizes a teaching that goes counter to people's normal drives.

The Buddha now moves from the banyan tree to the Bodhi tree (*ficus religiosa*) nearby, the tree under which he would achieve an "Awakening". Facing the East, again symbolizing a rising, he decided not to move till he had found out the truth of existence. The next great mythic episode occurs when meditating under the Bodhi tree he is assailed by Māra, Death himself, who is also Ananga, the Indian Cupid, and wages war against the Buddha. This episode is described in graphic detail in the popular traditions and I shall not deal with them here except to say that Māra attacked the Buddha with multiple weapons but the imperturbable sage remained untouched, such being the power of the perfections (*pāramitā*) practised in past births. In the first watch of the night he entered into the four states of meditative trance leading to complete equanimity which permitted him to recollect in all details his former existences, hundreds and thousands and hundred thousands of them. During the second watch he saw, with his newly acquired divine vision, the passing and rising of human beings through the universal action of karma and rebirth. And in the last watch, he discovered the nature of error and the Four Noble Truths of Buddhism, and according to some accounts, the critical theory of causality known as *paṭiccasamuppada* or "dependant origination." After his Awakening, he spent seven weeks in meditation where he met with further spiritual adventures. The most famous of these is where Māra entices him with the sensual passions represented by his voluptuous daughters. After the seven weeks are over, the hero is reborn again, or in Buddhist terminology, he is the "*Fully* Awakened One", a term which European scholars influenced by their own Enlightenment thinkers have generously sanctified as "the Enlightenment." The double entendre of "awakened" is I think very significant: first, the Buddha has passed the liminal stage and emerged into a new life form and the founding of a new order; second, his is a spiritual Awakening, a discovery of a way of salvific knowledge, an "Enlightenment", if you want to call it that.

The genealogy whereby the Buddha's spiritual Awakening was fused with that of the European Enlightenment is outside the purview of this paper. The

idea that Theravāda Buddhism in particular was a "rational religion" was a popular nineteenth century Eurocentric view of the religion. It was soon transferred into the thinking of Buddhist intellectuals through such popular sources as Theosophy. It was OLCOTT who asserted that "Buddhism was, in a word, a philosophy, and not a creed."[20]

One way to rethink the role of rationality in Buddhism would be to reflect on the work of another rebirth theorist from the Greek Enlightenment, Plato, for whom Reason is the objective faculty that helps one to understand the nature of the world, both external and internal. Reason is the reflective and ratiocinative element of human consciousness available for anyone but in reality is the special preserve of the virtuous philosopher. In texts like *Phaedrus* and *Timeaus* Plato brilliantly explores cosmological and soteriological thought through Reason, even while recognizing its fallibility. Yet, while Plato thought that Reason was the only safe path to true knowledge, he did not scoff at practices that thinkers of the eighteenth century European Enlightenment considered alien to reason. Plato believed with other intellectuals of his time in the Delphic oracle; the evidence of the *Phaedrus* and other texts indicate that he also took for granted such things as possession by spirits and forms of mantic madness. However, these life forms existed outside the faculty of Reason; they could not be justified by Reason, nor could Plato's Socrates indulge in them himself. As Peter GAY says, the European Enlightenment thinkers in their "rationalistic myopia" were not wholly sympathetic to Plato, perhaps for trafficking with what they considered superstition.[21] As far as religion was concerned they could at best tolerate a rationalized Deism shorn of mythic elements.

Contrary to modern Buddhist intellectuals, the Buddhist ratio is radically different from both Platonic and Enlightenment versions. The Buddha *discovered* the truth of existence through his meditative trance; or, to express it differently, truth was intuitively discerned. Other Buddhas had discovered the same truths before; and when the knowledge of the doctrine will have faded, yet other Buddhas will arise who will rediscover it. The Platonic type of Reason or the Enlightenment rationality has second place in Buddhism: the Buddhist ratio consists of the elaboration and discursive exposition of the intuitively discovered truths. Yet, like its European and Greek parallels, the Buddhist ratio is full of abstract terms to describe the nature of the world and the release from it, even though, at least in the suttas, they are embodied in a specific type of narrative framework (which is also true of their Platonic counterparts). Finally, relegation of the Buddhist ratio to secondary importance is once again apparent in its soteriological stance: as in the case of the

[20] Henry Steele OLCOTT, *Old Diary Leaves: The History of the Theosophical Society*, Volume 2, Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1974, p. 169.

[21] Peter GAY, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, New York: Vintage Books, 1968, p. 83.

Buddha's own Enlightenment, forms of discursive and rational thinking must be abandoned at a certain stage in the quest for salvation. It is these truths about the Buddhist askesis and soteriology that are expressed in the powerful mythos of the birth, upbringing, renunciation and the final Awakening of the Buddha.

Tib J 380, a Dunhuang Manuscript Fragment of the Sūtrasamuccaya

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Due to the fact that such luminaries as Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, Kamalaśīla or the foremost Tibetan exegetes either refer to or even quote from the Sūtrasamuccaya (in Tibetan: *mDo kun las btus pa;* hereunder abbreviated to SūS) as being an anthology-cum-compendium ascribed to Nāgārjuna, the author of the Mūlamadhyamakakārikās, SūS has received the close attention of modern scholars. First of all their interest in SūS is focused on the authorship of this work. For a number of scholars the traditional ascription of SūS to the originator of the Madhyamaka school has — for some decades — been a bone of contention, and the dispute bearing on this issue is by no means settled.[1] In order to facilitate research on SūS and as its Indic original is lost, in the 1980s I attempted a critical edition of the Tibetan version of this text[2] after making a provisional English translation of it which had appeared in a journal.[3] In the meantime, two more editions of SūS have become known: the Tanjur text included in a) the *Phug brag Kanjur* and in b) the *Golden Manuscript Tanjur.* In this place I should like to express my gratitude to Dr. Helmut EIMER of Bonn University for his generously providing me with a copy of the Phug brag SūS, and to Dr. Günter GRÖNBOLD of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich for sending me xeroxes of the *Golden Tanjur* edition of the same text. It was only in 1995 that, through the kindness of Dr. Jonathan SILK of Western Michigan University, I learnt of the existence of a Dunhuang fragment of SūS kept in the India Office Library in London. I am obliged to Dr. Ulrich PAGEL, Curator of the Tibetan Collections in the British Library, through whose good offices I could obtain a photocopy of the said Dunhuang fragment, designated as 'Tib J 380'.

In the following, the romanised text of Tib J 380 is presented together with the corresponding passages of the Phug brag edition. The outcome of a

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[1] Bibliographical references concerning the treatment, both marginal and full-scale, of SūS, including an updated and completed bibliography, are given in my "The Concept of *avipraṇāśa* in Nāgārjuna", in: A. TILAKARATNE *et al.* (eds.), *Professor Y. Karunadasa Felicitation Volume* (forthcoming from Colombo).

[2] Bh. PĀSĀDIKA, *Nāgārjuna's Sūtrasamuccaya: A Critical Edition of the mDo kun las btus pa* (including a reproduction of the Chinese version of SūS (Taishō ed.)), Copenhagen, 1989.

[3] "Nāgārjuna's Anthology of [Quotations from] Discourses", *Linh Son - publication d'études bouddhologiques*, nos. 2–20, Joinville-le-Pont (Paris), 1978–1982.

collation of the Phug brag text with those of the *Golden Tanjur* and the four xylograph Tanjur editions (Chone, Derge, Narthang, Peking) consulted in my SūS edition, is taken down in the footnotes to the romanised Phug brag text. Then, along with textcritical remarks and by considering Tib J 380 readings vis-à-vis those pertaining to the other editions mentioned, an English translation of the Dunhuang fragment is offered without, however, providing notes dealing with subject-matter, with the identification of sources etc. Such notes will be reserved for my revised SūS translation in preparation. Finally, a few remarks are made on some aspects of the textual history of the *mDo kun las btus pa* and, furthermore, with all due reservation, from the available pieces of evidence some preliminary conclusions may be drawn in respect of the above-mentioned authorship debate.

I. Tibetan Text of Tib J 380

In his catalogue of the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts,[1] L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN gives all the details relevant to catalogue no. 380. This number denotes a scroll (as for its age, see the remarks on textual history below) which contains 'an extract (*Mañjuśrī-tantre kevala-gāthā*), 29 *ślokas*', and the Tib J 380 fragment. In addition DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN's introduction includes the physical description of the manuscripts, notes on pagination, on orthographical features, writing and punctuation. For this reason none of these details need be repeated here. Special features of Tib J 380 are a number of scribal peculiarities. In the following transliteration, all spelling inconsistencies have been retained, whilst the section divisions are my own, not to be found in the manuscript fragment. The reversed *gi gu* vowel is marked as î, ྀ as "; dots indicate illegible or erased letters, and braces { } letters and syllables written below the preceding or following letter; in *brjod* {*pa*} *l̲as*, for example, *pa* is written under the l.

‖ rgya gar skad du *su trasa*[2] *mu tsa*[3] |
| bod skad du *mdo kun las btus pa* bam po daṅ po |
| saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ cub sams dpa̲{'} thams chad la phyag 'tshal lo ‖
| saṅs rgyas "byuṅ śin du rñed par dka" ste ‖ saṅs rgyas "byuṅ ba rñed par dga' ba ji mṅon źe na | | | mdo sde du ma tshad mar gyur.pa las | śes ste ‖

[1] Louis DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library*, with an appendix on the Chinese Manuscripts by Kazuo ENOKI, London, 1962.

[2] Syllables/letters written together, *passim*, indicate that in MS a *tsheg* is wanting.

[3] For the missing syllable *ya* the MS has *sa*, afterwards crossed out. As for special cancellation signs, cf. Peter SKILLING, "A Brief Guide to the *Golden Tanjur*", *The Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 79, part 2, Bangkok, 1991, pp. 139, 146, note 17.

| dam pa'i chos pad ma dkar po las "byuṅ ba | | | dge sloṅ dag de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom ba yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'ī saṅs rgya. ....s[4] nī 'byuṅ brñed[2] par dkaste | | | bskal pa bye ba khrag khrig brgya stoṅ phrag maṅ po yaṅ | | | 'jig rten du de bźin gśegs pa mthoṅ yaṅ sri myi mthoṅ srid de || dper na u du ma" ba ra'ī me tog bźin no źes gsuṅs so ‖

| rnam par gtan la bab pa"ī rgyal po'ī mdo ias "byuṅ ba || kun dga' bo 'di lta ste || u dum ba ra'ī men tog nī || saṅs rgyas skye ba daṅ | dus gcig du "byuṅ ste | daṅ |[5] kha dog daṅ ldan źiṅ gsal te || "od bzaṅ la dris nī dpag tshad gcig khor khor yug khyab par byed do ‖ men tog nī rab rīb myī [ ][6] yoṅsu[7] sbyor nar[8] byed do | nad kyaṅ rab[9] du źi bar byed | drī [ ] yaṅ sel ciṅ snaṅ bar byed | dri źim po yaṅ 'byin to ‖ dri des khams bźī daṅ | bar gyur te | 'khor los bsgyur pa'ī rgyal po thams chad la yaṅ men tog de myi "byuṉ{na} | sems can tshul khrims "chal pa rnams la || saṅs rgyas "byuṅ ba daṅ mtshuṅs pa'ī me tog lta "byuṅ bar ga la 'gyur źes gsuṅs so ||

| men tog de ji 'dra gaṅ du nam[10] skye źe na | rtogs pa brjod {pa} las "byuṅ ba | mtsho chen po ma dros pa "das pa'i byaṅ phyogs na rī rtse lṅa źes bya ba de'ī pha rol na" | u du ma'na ra'i tshal yod de ‖ nam saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das dag dga' ldan lha'ī ris nas bab ste | yum kyī lhun su bźugs {pa} de"i tshe tshal de 'kha bu bar 'gyur ro | nam yum kyī lhums nas bltam ba de"ī tshe ‖ tshal de yaṅ kha bye bar "gyur ro ‖ nam bla na myed pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'ī byaṅ cub du mṅon bar rdzogs par saṅs rgyas pa" ī tshe tshal de'i mentog kyaṅ rab du rgyas par "gyur ro | nam de'i tshe 'du byed bor ba'ī tshe | tshal de rñiṅs par "gyur ro ‖ nam yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'das pa'ī tshe | tshal de'ī lo ma daṅ men tog daṅ 'dab ma daṅ 'bras bu yaṅ lhags par "gyur ro ‖ u dum'ba ra'ī men tog de'i tshad nī śiṅ rta'i phaṅ lo tsam mo ‖ nam saṅs rgyas bcom ldan "das dag rgyal rigs kyī de'ī[11] naṅ du 'byuṅ ba de'ī tshe ‖ me tog kha dog dkar rab du "gyur ro || nam bram ze de'ī rigs kyī naṅ du "byuṅ ba de'i tshe || me tog dkar por 'gyur ro źes gsuṅso[7] ‖

| byaṅ cub sems dpa'ī sde snod las kyaṅ || kye rgyal ba'ī .... [12]źin gśegs nī rñed par dkaste | mchog du rñed dka'o źes gsuṅso[7] ||

| bcom ldan "das ye śes śīn du rgyas pa'ī mdo[13] ...

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[4] Lacuna; the missing *akṣaras* are [s] (r)(n)(am)*s*.

[5] *daṅ* | is neither found in the Phug brag MS version nor in any of the Tanjur editions.

[6] Here and below [ ] indicate that through scribal inadvertence some words are omitted.

[7] MS has contracted spellings instead of *yoṅs su, gsuṅs so.*

[8] Clearly a *lapsus calami* for *bar*.

[9] MS *add.: ruṅ*, afterwards crossed out.

[10] MS *add.: du źa*, afterwards crossed out.

[11] MS: *de kyī'ī; kyī* first added beneath the line and subsequently crossed out.

[12] Lacuna; the missing *akṣaras* are: (sras d)*e* (b)*źin*.

[13] Of the last line, on the lower edge of the fragment, only vowel signs are preserved.

2. *Tibetan Text of the* Phug brag *Edition*[1] *Corresponding to* Tib J 380

(F 63a4)[G 230b1] ‖ rgya gar skad du ‖ *svu*[2] *tra sa mud*[3] *tsa*[4] *ya* |
| bod skad du | *mdo kun las bsdus pa* | bam po dan po'o[5] |
| sans rgyas dan byan chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo |
| sans rgyas 'byun ba śin du[6] rñed par dka' ste | sans rgyas 'byun ba de śin du[6] rñed par dka' bar ci mṅon źe na | mdo sde du ma tshad mar gyur pa las[7] te ‖

| dam pa'i cbos pad ma dkar po las 'byun ba ‖ dge slon dag de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yan dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas rnams ni 'byun ba rñed par dka' ste ‖ bskal pa bye ba phrag[8] khrig brgya ston phrag man por yan | 'jig rten du de bźin gśegs pa mthon yan srid |[9] mi mthon yan srid de | dper na u dum bar[10] ri'i[11] me tog bźin no ‖ źes gsuns so |

| rnam par gtan la dbab pa'i rgyal po'i mdo las byun[12] | kun dga' bo 'di lta ste[13] u dum ba[14] ri'i[11] me tog ni sans (F 63b) rgyas skye ba dan dus cig[15] du[6] 'byun ste | kha dog dan ldan źin gsal[16] te[13] 'od bzan[17] la dris[18] ni dpag tshad cig[15] khor yug du[6] khyab par byed do | me tog[19] ni rab rib med par byed ‖ dran pa yons su sbyor bar byed | nad kyan rab du[6] źi bar byed | dri na ba yan sel cin snan bar yan byed | dri źim po yan 'byin to |[20] dri des[21] khams bźi dan bar 'gyur te | 'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po

[1] See Jampa SAMTEN, *A Catalogue of the Phug-brag Manuscript Kanjur*, Dharamsala, 1992, pp. 104f.: No. 271, A. 63a4ff. Helmut EIMER, *Location List for the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Phug brag Kanjur*. Compiled from the Microfiche Edition and Jampa Samten's Descriptive catalogue, Tokyo, 1993, p. 27: 271 #883 11F-28C/74. As for the *Golden Manuscript Tanjur* and its reprint, see P. SKILLING, *op. cit.*, p. 143, no. 54, Dbu ma, A (118), B 1-271.

[2] sū G(CDNP).

[3] mu G(CDNP).

[4] ts-tsha G(CNP).

[5] btus pa | bam po dan po G(CDNP).

[6] tu G(CDNP).

[7] G(CDNP) *add.*: śes.

[8] khrag G(CDNP).

[9] | *om.* G(CDNP).

[10] du mba G(NP).

[11] ra'i G(CDNP).

[12] 'byun ba G(CDNP).

[13] G(CDNP) *add.*: |

[14] dumba G (du mba NP).

[15] gcig G(CDNP).

[16] bsal G(N). (gsal CDP).

[17] gsal G(CDNP).

[18] dri G(CDNP).

[19] G(NP) *add.* : de (des CD).

[20] *For* to ‖ G(CDNP) *have* pas.

thams cad la yaṅ me tog de mi 'byuṅ na | sems can tshul khrims 'chal pa[22] rnams la | saṅs rgyas 'byuṅ ba daṅ ||[23] mtshuṅs pa'i me tog 'byuṅ bar lta[24] ga la 'gyur |[9] źes gsuṅs so[25] |

[G 231a] | me tog de ci 'dra[13] gaṅ du nam skye źe na | rtogs pa brjod pa las 'byuṅ ba | mtsho chen po ma dros[26] pa 'das[27] pa'i byaṅ phyogs na || ri rtse lṅa[28] źes bya ba de'i pha rol na |[9] u dum ba[14] ri'i[11] tshal yod de || nam[29] saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das dag |[30] dga' ldan gyi lha'i ris nas babs te | yum gyis[31] lhums[32] źugs pa de'i tshe || tshal de la 'du[33] bar 'gyur ro || nam yum gyi lhums nas bltam pa de'i tshe || tshal de kha 'bye bar 'gyur ro | nam bla na med pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs[34] par saṅs rgyas pa'i[35] de'i tshe || tshal de'i me tog kyaṅ rab tu rgyas par 'gyur ro | nam tshe'i dus[36] byed bor ba de'i tshe |[9] tshal de rñiṅ[37] par 'gyur ro || nam yoṅs su mya ṅan[38] 'das pa'i[39] tshe ||[23] tshal de'i lo ma daṅ | me tog daṅ | 'dab ma daṅ ||[40] 'bras bu yaṅ lhag[41] par 'gyur ro | (F 64a) u dum ba[14] ri'i[11] me tog de'i tshad ni śiṅ rta'i 'phaṅ lo tsam mo ||[42] nam saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das dag[43] rgyal rigs kyi naṅ du 'byuṅ ba de'i tshe | me tog[44] kha dog dkar por[45] rab du[6] 'gyur ro | nam bram ze'i[46] naṅ du 'byuṅ ba de'i tshe me tog dmar[47] por 'gyur ro[48] źes gsuṅs so[49] |

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[22] dri des *om.* G(CDNP).
[23] pa FG(ba CDNP).
[23] | *om.* G(CDNP).
[24] *For* 'byuṅ bar lta G(NP) *have* ltar (lta CD) 'byuṅ bar.
[25] gsuṅso FG.
[26] *Thus also* CDNP, gros G.
[27] *Thus also* CD, gnas G(NP).
[28] G(CDNP) *add.*: pa.
[29] *Thus also* CDNP, G *add.*: yaṅ.
[30] dag | *om.* G(NP).
[31] gyi G(CDNP).
[32] G(CDNP) *add.*: su.
[33] *For* la 'du G(CDNP) *have* kha 'bu.
[34] G(CDNP) *add.*: pa'i byaṅ chub mṅon par rdzogs.
[35] pa G(CDNP).
[36] 'du G(CDNP).
[37] brñiṅs G(N) (rñiṅs CD, bsñiṅs P).
[38] G(CDNP) *add.*: las.
[39] pa de'i G(CDNP).
[40] | G(CDNP).
[41] lhags G(CDNP).
[42] || *om.* G(NP).
[43] dag *om.* G(NP).
[44] G(CDNP) *add.*: de.
[45] por *om.* G(CDNP).
[46] G(NP) *add.*: rigs kyis (rigs kyi CD).
[47] dkar G(CDNP).

| byaṅ chub sems dpa'i sde snod las kyaṅ ‖ kye rgyal ba'i sras de bźin gśegs pa ni rñed par dka' ste ‖ mchog tu rñed par dka'o źes gsuṅs so[49] |

| bcom ldan 'das kyi ye śes śin du[6] rgyas pa'i mdo ...

3. *Translation of Tib J 380*

In Sanskrit: *Sūtrasamucca(ya),*
in Tibetan: *mDo kun las btus pa*[1] — Fascicle I

Homage to all[2] Buddhas and Bodhisattvas[3] !

It is rare, indeed,[4] for a Buddha to make his appearance. What is the authority[5] for this statement[6]? It is found in many discourses testifying to its authenticity (*pramāṇabhūta*); it occurs [, for example,] in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: "O monks, it is rare[7] for Tathāgatas, Arhats,[8] Fully and Completely Enlightened Ones to make their appearance. Even during vast num-

[48] G(P) *add.*: ‖

[49] gsuṅso F.

[1] "*Nāgārjunakṛta*" is given in G(NP), but is neither found in Tib J 380 nor in F; in CD Nāgārjuna is not mentioned in the title either, but in their colophons "Ācārya Ārya-Nāgārjuna" occurs, as in G(NP).

[2] Standard spelling: *thams cad*. The Tib J 380 spelling (occurring twice) is also found in the Dunhuang MSS of the Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa; see Jan Willem DE JONG, *The Story of Rāma in Tibet, Text and Translation of the Tun-huang Manuscripts*, Stuttgart, 1989, p. 110 (A 119) and *passim* (cf. also the standard spelling on p. 90 (E 24, B 22). The standard spelling is also given — together with another variant reading: *tham cad* — in another Dunhuang MS, viz. in a Tibetan translation of the *Heart Sūtra*; see W. ZWALF *et al.*, *Buddhism, Art and Faith*, London, 1985, p. 61, illustration no. 69.

[3] Standard spelling: *byaṅ chub sems dpa'* (also found in the Dunhuang *Heart Sūtra*); *byaṅ cub* throughout MS, *sams dpa'*, in one instance, because of scribal inadvertence. As for *byaṅ cub*, see J. TERJÉK, "Fragments of the Tibetan Sūtra of 'The Wise and the Fool' from Tun-huang", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22 (1969), p. 296. I am thankful to Professor J.-U. HARTMANN for supplying me with this reference.

[4] MS: *śin du;* MS throughout (F also in most instances) *du* wherever standard spelling *tu* is required; *du* instead of *tu* also in the Dunhuang *Heart Sūtra*, in DE JONG, *op. cit.*, e. g., p. 86 (E a2): *śig du* (for *gcig tu*). With reference to the frequent "antiquated spelling" of *śin du* and *kun du* particularly to be found in a Berlin MS, see Johannes NOBEL, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, II, *Die tibetische Übersetzung mit kritischen Anmerkungen herausgegeben*, Leiden, 1958, p. VI.

[5] Lit.: *kutaḥ*, *ci mṅon;* for *ci* MS has *ji*. According to A. H. JÄSCHKE (*A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, cf. under *ji*), *ci* and *ji* are frequently confused due to their well-nigh identical pronunciation.

[6] Lit.: [for the statement] "It is rare for a Buddha to make his appearance"; *dga' ba* here for *dka' ba(r)* is certainly due to scribal inadvertence.

[7] For *'byuṅ brñed par dkaste* read *'byuṅ ba rñed par dka' ste.*

[8] For *dgra bcom ba* read ... *bcom pa.*

bers of aeons[9] a Tathāgata may[10] or may not[11] be seen in the world. [He is as rarely seen] as the *udumbara* flower."

It is said in the Nirṇayarājasūtra[12]: "It is like this, Ānanda: The *udumbara* flower[11] appears at the very time that a Buddha arises. It is bright-hued and emits a clear light;[13] its fragrance fills [the air] one *yojana* in circumference.[14] That flower chases away[15] all mistiness (*timira*) and makes [one] perfectly concentrate one's mind.[16] Even [in case of] sickness it has a very soothing effect (*praśamana*). It dispels bad[17] smells thanks to which the four elements become pure.[18] When that flower is not seen (*na prādurbhavati*) even by any of the universal monarchs (*cakravartin*),[19] how could beings who neglect their moral obligations (*duḥśīla*) see[20] it which is as [rarely] found as a Buddha?"

What[5] is that flower like? Where and when does it appear? [These questions] are answered in the Avadāna: "To the north of the big lake Anavatapta beyond[21] [the mountain-range] called Pañcaśikhara, there is a grove of *udumbara* [trees]. When a[22] Buddha, an Exalted One, has descended[23] from

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[9] Lit.: "during many crores, *nayutas*, lakhs of *kalpas*". For *stoṅ phrag maṅ po* read, after CDFGNP, ... *maṅ por*.

[10] For *mthoṅ yaṅ sri* read ... *yaṅ srid*.

[11] For the standard spelling *mi* ('not') MS has (likewise Dunhuang *Heart Sūtra*): *myi* and *myī*; in DE JONG, *op. cit.*, p. 87 (D 12), *passim*, *myi* and *myī* also occur, meaning, according to context, 'not' or 'man/men'. S. V. BEYER describes *myi* as a palatalised labial initial with a front vowel, being an example of variations in Old Tibetan. As another example of such variations without palatalisation he cites *men-tog*, which is also found in Tib J 380 (seven times) together with *me tog* (four times); see Stephan V. BEYER, *The Classical Tibetan Language*, New York, 1992; reprint: Delhi, 1993, pp. 31, 33–34. One example of additional palatalisation not mentioned by BEYER, but occurring in Tib J 380 once, is *myed pa* for *med pa*. As for *myed pa*, see also Dunhuang *Heart Sūtra* and DE JONG, *op. cit.*, p. 87 (E 14) and *passim*. Furthermore: TERJÉK, *op. cit.*, p. 302, on *myi*, *myed*, *men tog*.

[12] A conjectural retranslation; for *gtan la bab* read, after CDFGNP, *gtan la dbab*.

[13] MS (also F) lit.: *suprabha*, *'od bzaṅ* (CDGNP: *'od gsal*, *prabhāsvara*).

[14] Only MS reads *khor khor yug* (same meaning as *khor yug*); but read after CDGNP: ... *yug tu*.

[15] Here MS seems to be corrupt; for *rab rīb myī* read with other editions: ... *med par byed*.

[16] Corrected spelling: *sbyor bar byed*, *yojayati*; the other editions additionally have as object *dran pa*, *smṛti*; F has 'it wholly employs recollection', CDGNP: 'it makes [one's] recollection become very refined', *yoṅs su sbyoṅ bar byed*.

[17] Read after CFGNP: *dri ṅa ba*.

[18] For MS *daṅ* | *bar gyur* read with all other editions: *daṅ bar 'gyur*.

[19] MS reading *'khor los bsgyur* also correct; but for ... *bsgyur pa'i rgyal po* read ... *ba'i rgyal po*.

[20] MS, like CD, has *lta*; preferably after GNP: *ltar*.

[21] MS *pha rol na*" ? Read: ... *na*.

[22] For an examination of the particle *dag*, see Michael HAHN, "On the Function and Origin of the Particle *dag*", *Tibetan Studies*, Zürich, 1978, pp. 137–147.

[23] For MS *bab ste* read *babs te*.

Tuṣita[24] heaven and stays[25] in his mother's womb,[26] [the trees of] that grove begin to put out buds (*mukula*),[27] and when he is born[28] from his mother's womb, they begin to blossom (*phull*).[29] When he has realised the Highest, Full and Complete Enlightenment and has become the Perfectly[30] Enlightened One, the flowers of those trees, too, are in full bloom (*prasphuṭita*). When he renounces the conditionings of his life (*āyuḥ-saṃskāra-parityāga*),[31] those trees begin to wither, and at the time of his *parinirvāṇa* their leaves, flowers, petals and fruits begin to rot away. As for the size of an *udumbara* flower, it is that of a cart-wheel.[32] Whenever a Buddha, an Exalted One, is born into a royal family,[33] the [*udumbara*] flower's colour will be white, and when [a Buddha] is born into a brahmin family,[34] it will [again] be white."[35]

In the **Bodhisattvapiṭaka**, too, it is stated: "O son of the Victor (*jinaputra*), it is rare, extremely rare, for a Tathāgata [to arise in the world]."

[Again in] the **Bhagavajjñānavaipulyasūtra**[36] ...

4. Remarks on some Aspects of SūS Textual History and Its Likely Bearing on the SūS Authorship Debate

The complete text of SūS is preserved only in the *Golden Tanjur* (G) and in the xylograph Tanjur editions whereas the *Phug brag Kanjur* version of SūS (F), showing a number of gaps, is lacking in text of considerable length.[1] Hailing from Dunhuang, Tib J 380 is the oldest of all SūS materials so far available to us. In order to estimate the approximate age of this manuscript

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[24] For MS *dga' ldan* read *dga' ldan gyi*.

[25] MS: *bźugs pa* (*sthā, vihṛ*); the other editions have *źugs pa* (*praviṣṭa*).

[26] For MS *yum kyi lhun* read *yum gyi lhums*.

[27] For MS *'kha bu* read, after CDGNP, *kha 'bu*.

[28] For MS *bltam ba* read *bltams pa* (CD) or *bltam pa* (FGNP).

[29] For MS *kha bye bar* read *kha 'bye bar*.

[30] For MS *mṅon bar* read *mṅon par*.

[31] More literally: "When it is the time of his renouncing the conditionings ..."

[32] MS *phaṅ lo* is a variant reading of *'phaṅ lo* (cf. Mahāvyutpatti, nos. 5633, 6242).

[33] *de'i* in MS *rgyal rigs kyi de'i naṅ du* is tautological and is not found in the other editions.

[34] For MS *bram ze de'i rigs* read *bram ze'i rigs*.

[35] Instead of *dkar por* in Tib J 380 and CDGNP, F has *dmar por*, 'red', which would nicely fit in with the context. Unfortunately the Chinese translation of SūS does not give any information about the colours because the last sentence of the Avadāna quotation is missing in the Chinese text (cf. Taishō, no. 1635, p. 50a14).

[36] For MS *bcom ldan "das ye śes* ... read *bcom ldan 'das kyi ye śes* ...

[1] F omissions will be indicated and briefly discussed in my revised SūS translation in preparation.

fragment, it is useful to consult DE JONG who has done extensive research on Dunhuang manuscripts. According to him, presumably most of the Dunhuang documents in Tibetan were written by local scribes. Many Tibetan texts, says DE JONG, written on the verso of Chinese manuscripts, must have been written in Dunhuang during the Tibetan occupation which lasted, according to DEMIÉVILLE and FUJIEDA respectively, from 787 or 782 to 848. Since the manuscripts DE JONG is dealing with are closely related to each other and since two of them are written on the verso of Chinese texts, he assumes that in all likelihood they were written during the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang.[2] In a brief description of the Dunhuang *Heart Sūtra*,[3] it says that the Tibetan translation of the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya, written in ink on the back of a draft letter in Old Turkish, is datable to the 9th century and that the Tibetans occupied Dunhuang for about a hundred years from AD 766. As for the provenance of this latter date, however, no hint is given. The reproduction of the Dunhuang *Heart Sūtra* is of great help, enabling us to compare it with Tib J 380. A comparison of both manuscripts reveals a striking similarity not only in orthographic peculiarities, but also in the style of writing. Without going into graphological details, it does not seem too risky to conclude that, like the Dunhuang *Heart Sūtra*, Tib J 380 can be dated to the 9th century.

In the SūS colophons of all the xylograph Tanjur editions and in that of G, the translators Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye śes sde are mentioned. According to SEYFORT RUEGG, the three translators' *floruit* was ca. 800.[4] Already a cursory glance at the above notes to the transliteration of F and at the respective F readings in relation to those of Tib J 380 discloses — notwithstanding the above-mentioned orthographical peculiarities if not vagaries of the latter fragment — that Tib J 380 is much closer to the later Tanjur editions[5] than to F, especially with respect to the most significant variant readings and in spite of the numerous editorial changes contained in the Tanjur editions. One could venture to conclude that Tib J 380 was written not very long after the translation of SūS into Tibetan by the above-named translation team, that is within the 9th century, and that in all probability it cannot be considered independent of that team's translation.[6] It seems remarkable that

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[2] See Jan Willem DE JONG, *Tibetan Studies*, Swisttal-Odendorf, 1994 (Indica et Tibetica, 25), p. 1; originally published as the author's "An Old Tibetan Version of the Rāmāyaṇa", *T'oung Pao* 58 (1972), pp. 190–202.

[3] Cf. above, note 2 of section 3, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

[4] See David SEYFORT RUEGG, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*, Wiesbaden, 1981, pp. 59, 69 (note 224), 85 (note 278), 86 (note 279).

[5] For want of space and expertise, Tib J 380 and F in the context of the complex Kanjur (Tanjur) history cannot be treated here. For this topic see below HARRISON 1992 and SKILLING 1994 (notes 13, 14) with copious references to other specialists, notably EIMER.

[6] Similarly, as for the ascertainment that translations due to Ye śes sde *et al.* are found among the Dunhuang MSS and that a Dunhuang fragment of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra, viz. Fonds Pelliot tibétain N° 611, cannot be independent of Dharmatāśīla's — Ye śes sde's contem-

SūS was deemed worthwhile translating on the part of such distinguished scholars as Ye śes sde *et al.* and also worthwhile copying at such an early date and keeping at Dunhuang, so remote from the old centres of Tibetan culture. SūS would certainly not have caught this attention if the Indo- Tibetan scholars had not been convinced that it was the originator of the Madhyamaka school who was the compiler of this anthology-cum-compendium. Furthermore, it is good to recall that Ye śes sde's and his Indian co-translators' SūS rendering is older by roughly speaking 200 years than its Chinese version done during the Northern Song dynasty in ca. 1000.[7] As the Chinese translation of SūS is silent on an author's/compiler's name this fact could be cited as an argument against its Nagarjunian authorship. On the other hand, the translator to whom the Chinese version of SūS is due is also given as having translated into Chinese the Śikṣāsamuccaya, which he attributes to a Dharmakīrti.[8] Now this dubiousness attaching to the latter attribution rather invalidates the above counter-argument, for in the history of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist literature the authorship of the Śikṣāsamuccaya is well established.

It is fairly puzzling that SūS is included in the *Phug brag Kanjur* against the Tanjur classification. As the bulk of SūS consists of quotations from both Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna scriptures traditionally considered as canonical and as no author/compiler of SūS is either mentioned in the title or colophon of F, it might seem plausible to find the text in a Kanjur collection and to argue against the traditional ascription of SūS to the Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna. Nevertheless this plausibility is only apparent. Even in the short introductory portion of SūS contained in Tib J 380 it can be noticed that this anthology of scriptural quotations also includes brief statements introducing each quotation, thus unmistakably betraying a compiler's hand. The fact that the designation 'Kanjur' given to the Phug brag collection as a whole is apt to cause misunderstanding, is further corroborated by the work listed after SūS, that is Śāntideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya.[9]

The first publication in which Phug brag texts are dealt with is by Michael HAHN, viz. his "Bemerkungen zu zwei Texten aus dem Phudrag-Kanjur".[10] The Phug brag manuscripts, written between 1697 and 1705,[11] have

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porary's — translation of the same text, cf. Jan Willem DE JONG, "Fonds Pelliot tibétain Nos 610 et 611", in: Gregory SCHOPEN (ed.), *Buddhist Studies by J. W. de Jong*, Berkeley, 1979, pp. 437f.

[7] See Paul DEMIÉVILLE, Hubert DURT, Anna SEIDEL, *Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais. Fascicule annexe du Hōbōgirin*, Paris/Tokyo, 1978, p. 254 (under HŌGO 法護 963–1058, translator of 大乘寶要義論).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 138, no. 1636.

[9] See SAMTEN, *op. cit.*, p. 105 (no. 272); EIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[10] See Helmut EIMER (ed.), *Indology and Indo-Tibetology. Thirty Years of Indian and Indo-Tibetan Studies in Bonn*, Boon, 1988 (Indica et Tibetica, 13), pp. 53–80.

[11] Other dates are given by PAGEL: 1696 and 1706. See Ulrich PAGEL, "New Material for Tibetan Textual Studies", *The British Library (OIOC) Newsletter* 50–51 (1994), pp. 17f. In this article PAGEL conveniently surveys the versions of the Kanjur and offers valuable information

been assessed by HAHN as an extremely valuable collection in that it differs in content and arrangement from all other hitherto known manuscript and xylograph editions. On the other hand, as far as his examination of *stotra* texts in the *Phug brag Kanjur* is concerned, HAHN judges the Phug brag orthography, in comparison with that of standard classical Tibetan, to be almost invariably full of mistakes and, moreover, he notes a dearth of genuine variant readings most of which prove inferior.[12] In their respective evaluations of portions of the *Phug brag Kanjur*, HARRISON and SKILLING have arrived at conclusions similar to those of HAHN: The Phug brag edition is unpredictable, frequently distorted by corruptions, but indispensable for textual criticism.[13] As for some texts, the quality of F 'varies from poor to passable'; F is 'a poor edition, rife with omissions, haplographs, misspellings, and misinterpretations,' and yet as an 'independent, local and cumulative' Kanjur it is of great value as mentioned.[14] To supplement the above-named edition of SūS, I have collated much of my romanised text with both G and F. Concerning G, but for a few exceptions, SKILLING's observations hold good also in the case of SūS: the readings of G generally agree with Narthang/Peking against Chone/Derge.[15] As for F, I have found to a large extent confirmed what HAHN, HARRISON and SKILLING have noticed in their respective investigations.

Taking into consideration all the above pieces of information about F, in connection with the SūS authorship debate I think Tib J 380, on account of its antiquity and close affinity with the subsequent Tanjur editions, and these later editions carry much more weight than F. Although in this context Ye śes sde *et al.* are names to conjure with, one should not turn a blind eye to the problem posed by the possible existence of several Nāgārjunas and the rather indiscriminate ascription of a variety of works to the founder of the Madhyamaka school rather than later namesakes.[16] None the less *vyavahārataḥ*, I think, it is justified to speak of 'Nāgārjuna's SūS' on the strength of

on the history of the *Phug brag Kanjur*, stressing its great importance to textual criticism.

[12] *Op.cit.*, p. 56, note 1.

[13] Cf. Paul HARRISON, *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra. A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text based on Eight Editions of the Kanjur and the Dunhuang Manuscript Fragment*, Tokyo, 1992 (Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series, VII), pp. XXXII, L.

[14] Cf. Peter SKILLING, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha*, vol. I: Texts, Oxford, 1994, pp. XXXf; see also his article "Kanjur Titles and Colophons" in: Per KVAERNE (ed.), *Tibetan Studies*, Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes 1992, vol. 2, Oslo, 1994, p. 769. The great value of the Phug brag tradition is borne out by interesting results arrived at by Siglinde DIETZ; see her "Remarks on the textual transmission of four stanzas from the *Lokaprajñaptiśāstra*", Michael HAHN, Jens-Uwe HARTMANN, Roland STEINER (eds.), *Suhṛllekhāḥ, Festgabe für Helmut Eimer*, Swisttal-Odendorf, 1996 (Indica et Tibetica, 28), p. 14 f. I am very grateful to Dr. DIETZ who has gone through this article and offered some valuable suggestions and corrections.

[15] SKILLING, *op.cit.*, p. 139 — see above note 3, section 1.

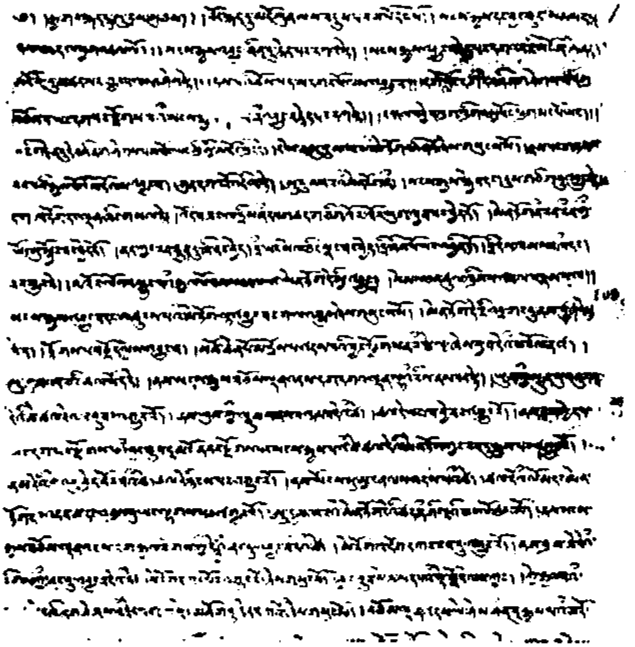
[16] Cf. David SEYFORT RUEGG, "Le Dharmadhātustava de Nāgārjuna", *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, pp. 452f.

Candrakīrti's Madhyamakaśāstrastuti 10[17] and as long as his attribution has not been completely disproved.

Sigla, Symbols and Abbreviations:

C	Chone (Co ne) xylograph *Tanjur*
D	Derge (sDe dge) xylograph *Tanjur*
F	Phug brag manuscript *Kanjur*
G	"Golden Manuscript" *Tanjur*
N	Narthang (sNar than) xylograph *Tanjur*
P	Peking (Qianlong ed.) xylograph *Tanjur*
add.	additionally
om.	omits, omit

(as for lacunae:)
( ) restored *akṣara*
[ ] damaged *akṣara*
(preserved *akṣaras* in italics)



The Dunhuang fragment Tib J 380 (courtesy of the India Office Library, London)

[17] Cf. DE JONG, *op. cit.*, pp. 542, 545, 547, 549 — see above note 6.

An Inscribed Buddha Image in Wat Ket Sī

HANS PENTH, Chiang Mai

In 1955 CHAM Thòngkhamwan, then the chief epigraphist of the Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, published an inscription on the pedestal of a bronze Buddha image in the monastery Wat Ket Sī (Vát Keś Śrī) in the province of Chiang Rāi, north Thailand.[1] The inscription, he explained, dealt with the Four Noble Truths and was written in Singhalese letters and Magadha[2] language. No photograph accompanied the article, he did not describe the image nor the position of the inscription on the image, and he also did not indicate where in the vast province of Chiang Rāi the monastery was located. Quite possibly he never saw the image himself but worked from a rubbing supplied to him by a field team of archaeologists as was then the usual division of work within the Fine Arts Department. CHAM gave a transcription of the inscription from which it seemed probable that the original text had been written as one long line along the pedestal of the image; here it is in its romanized form:

Paṭhamaṃ sakalakkhaṇamekapadaṃ dutiyādipadassa nidassanato samani dunimā samudū sanidū vibhije kamato paṭhamena vinā.

Next, CHAM slightly amended the orthography in three instances and arranged the text as a *toṭaka chanda*, a metre of 4 times 12 syllables ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑–, in which, according to some Thai experts, the letter 's' should be a prominent feature:

Paṭhamaṃ sakalak – khaṇamekapadaṃ
dutiyādipadas – sa nidassanato
samanī dunimā samadū sanidū
vibhaje kamato paṭhamena vinā.

CHAM then offered a Thai translation of this *gāthā* and a learned explanation. The explanation, according to him, was taken from the book *Nangsü Huajai Phra Thammajak* "Book on the heart (*huajai*) of the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta" but he did not say what kind of book that was, nor did he indicate its bibliographical details.

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[1] CHAM 1955. The inscription is also known as Inscription No. 80 and Phò Yò 32; the code name at the Archive of Lan Na Inscriptions (ALI) is 1.5.3.2 Wat Ket Sī.

[2] "Magadha language" is an old Thai namesake for "Pāli".

Huajai "heart" here has to be understood as "principal letters". It is a technical expression which means the letters at the beginning of key words of a certain text; these 'heart letters' thus represent the entire text in a very succinct form. Such a short string of letters or open syllables forms a *gāthā* that is easy to memorize and can quickly be recited when necessary. There are many of these heart letter *gāthās*. One favourite of the Northerners is "*pā-mā-nā, u-ka-sa, na-tu-e*". It is called *Kāthā Pahung*[3] because the first stanza of the main text begins with "*bāhuṃ*", pronounced "*pāhung*"; the remaining 8 stanzas begin with the other letters.[4]

As for CHAM's book, it presumably is an old, anonymous treatise handed down by tradition which explains the heart letters derived from key words of the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta and interprets the key words themselves; but I have not been able to trace the book.[5]

At the time I did not, and still do not, fully understand the Pāli text of the inscription, nor CHAM's Thai translation of it, nor his explanation of the contents. I therefore leave the matter to those who are more knowledgeable and shall only mention that, so far as I can make out, the *gāthā* is a statement of the Four Noble Truths, *Catu-ariya-saccāni*,[6] and that the 4 variously repeated

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[3] Or *Khāthā Phāhung* in central Thai.

[4] The text is also known as *Thawāi phòn phra* "The Blessing" (THAWI 1986: 76–79) and *Phuttha Chaya Mongkon Khāthā* (Buddhajayamangalagāthā "The Victorious Buddha"; PHRA SĀSANA SÔPHON 1974: 292–295); it is regularly recited by monks on merit-making occasions.

Another heart letter *gāthā* ascribed to Lān Nā reduces a group of 18 texts, known as *The 7 Tamnān*, to a mere 5 syllables: *ye-ya-kā-dha-vi*, which are derived from: *ye santā* ... (beginning of the preface to the Maṅgalasutta); *yānīdha* ... (beginning of the Ratanasutta); *karaṇiya* ... (beginning of the Karaṇiyametta Sutta; the Yuan pronunciation is '*kārani*'); *Dhacakkasutta* (name of the sutta); *Vipassi* ... (beginning of the Āṭānāṭiya Paritta). Cf. PHRA SĀSANA SÔPHON 1974: 49, 57, 66, 76, 86.

Similarly, the entire Abhidhamma is reduced to merely 4 letters in the *Khāthā huajai phra Aphitham: ci-ce-ru-ni*, derived from: *citta, cetasika, rūpa, nibbāna*. — *Nān* Sīlao Ketphrom, Archive of Lān Nā Inscriptions, kindly provided the information on the three aforementioned *khāthā huajai*.

[5] Professor Sommāi PREMJIT, Fac. of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, informs me that he once saw such an old treatise on the Tipiṭaka, printed as a brochure: *Nangsū Huajai Phra Traiphidok*.

He also provided me with a set of heart letters of the Tipiṭaka, from central Thailand, and here it is interesting to note that those for the Abhidhamma are different from those quoted by *Nān* Sīlao above which are of northern provenance:

- Vinaya Piṭaka: *ā-pā-ma-cu-pa*: Ādikammika, Pārājika, Mahākhandaka, Culakhandaka, Parivāravagga.

- Suttanta Piṭaka: *dī-ma-san-an-khu*: Dīgha Nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya, Saṃyutta Nikāya, Anguttara Nikāya, Khuddaka Nikāya.

- Abhidhamma Piṭaka: *sam-vi-dhā-pu-ka-ya-pa*: Dhammasanganī, Vibhanga, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka, Mahāpaṭṭhāna.

[6] *Dukkha* "suffering"; *dukkha-samudaya* "the cause of suffering"; *dukkha-nirodha* "the cessation of suffering"; *dukkha-nirodha-gāmini-paṭipadā* (= *magga*) "the (noble eightfold) path to the cessation of suffering".

letters or syllables, which make up the 12 syllables of line 4, seem to be the heart letters of, and to stand for, the 4 key words of the sutta:

sa-ma-ni	=	*samudaya, magga, nirodha*
du-ni-ma	=	*dukkha, nirodha, magga*
sa-ma-du	=	*samudaya, magga, dukkha*
sa-ni-du	=	*samudaya, nirodha, dukkha.*

CHAM's article was reprinted in 1965 without changes except that his name as author was omitted, and it was recently reproduced two more times, again without mentioning his name.[7]

In the early 1970s, when I began to collect material for the future Archive of Lan Na Inscriptions, it was necessary to locate Wat Ket SI in order to document the inscription. The monastery was found to be situated in the village Bān Ròng, Tambon Dong Jen, Amphö Phayao, Chiang Rāi Province,[8] about 12 km northeast of the city of Phayao. In 1975, during a joint excursion with colleagues Sommāi PREMJIT and Puangkham TUIKHIAO who were looking for certain manuscripts, we visited it. The image was hidden in the monks' private quarters out of public view and its existence was kept as little known as possible because theft of Buddha images then was rampant. However, we were permitted to take the image into the open and to photograph it.

The image is 103 cm tall including the pedestal, is seated in the position *māravijaya* "victory over Māra" (popularly known in north Thailand as *hām Mān* "opposing, restraining Māra", elsewhere perhaps better known as *bhūmisparśa* "calling the Earth to witness"), with the legs in the simple *vīrāsana* position. According to local tradition, the image has always belonged to Wat Ket SI, an assertion that may appear doubtful in view of the agitated history of Phayao, though possibly it was manufactured and then stayed in the same general region. No legend or story was said to be connected with the image and its age was unknown.

While inspecting the image it was found that the pedestal had not one but two inscriptions of different length and different written characters. The longer one at the front, with Singhalese letters, had been studied by CHAM but the shorter one at the back, with Grantha letters, had escaped earlier notice and does not seem to have been published as yet.

[7] CHAM 1965; KANNIKĀ *et al.* 1991, I.1: 169–171; SUJIT 1995: 415–419.

[8] At present Amphö Müang, province of Phayao; in 1977 the southern part of the province of Chiang Rāi was detached and became the province of Phayao.

The Inscription on the Front Side

The inscription on the front part of the pedestal consists of one continuous line without space between words or groups of words, with one exception: there is a short interval between "ekapada dutiyā", as if the scribe had tried to indicate paragraphing or versification. As noted by CHAM, the inscription is written in Singhalese letters and in the Pāli language. Here is the transliteration I arrived at after reading the inscription on the image and on the photographs:

Paṭhamaṃ sakalakkhaṇaṃ ekapada
dutiyā dipadassa nidassanateā
samanī dunimā samudū sanidū
vibha[j]ekamateā paṭhamena vinā.[9]

It so happened that sometime afterwards Professor BECHERT was in Chiang Mai. Since I do not read Singhalese and Grantha letters very well, and also could not make enough sense of the contents, I showed the professor photographs of the inscriptions. He confirmed that the *gāthā* was not immediately comprehensible and needed closer study.

Thereafter I had no occasion to pursue the matter further, being occupied with other inscriptions, and if I am not mistaken the text still awaits a transliteration, translation and explanation in a Western language.

The *gāthā* is known as *Khāthā Phra Phuttha Sihing* "Gāthā of the Phra Sing Buddha Image(s)" and indeed seems to be inscribed chiefly on images of the Phra Sing type.[10] The *gāthā* is found already on the oldest known dated Lān Nā bronze Buddha image of 1465 and in general on the older Lān Nā images.[11] It has also been found on a Lān Nā-style Buddha image in Kamphāng Phet (northern central Thailand) on the Mā Ping river[12] and even on a sculpted stone slab serving as an additional pedestal beneath a (stone ?) Buddha image from either Chiang Sān or Fāng.[13] More recent translations

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[9] I transliterate the original spelling in the inscription, *e-ā*, which is read "o" in Pāli words but "ao" in Thai words.

[10] *Phra Sing/Sihing* "lion Buddha image" means any sitting Buddha image of a certain type or style, and also a certain famous Phra Sing image (cf. PENTH 1994: 153). A Phra Sing image is characterized, a.o., by a strong upper torso with a well-developed chest and has generally a proud, self-conscious posture. The present image is not a Phra Sing type.

[11] PENTH 1976: Images No. 1 (1465, Phra Sing type, standing [!]); No. 3 (1473, Phra Sing type); No. 5 (1482, no Phra Sing type); No. 6 (1482, no Phra Sing type); No. 19 (1520, Phra Sing type); No. 282 (c. 1490–1520 ?, Phra Sing type); No. 285 (c. 1490–1520 ?, Phra Sing type).

[12] ALI 2.3.3.2 Wat Khū Yāng; PRASĀN 1986: 63–67. The image is a sitting Phra Sing type and probably dates from about 1500 or somewhat earlier.

[13] This pedestal stone has yet another inscription in which the manufacture of (pedestal and) image are dated to 1480. ALI 1.4.1.1 Wat Dōn Yāng 1480; KANNIKĀ *et al.* 1991, 1.1: 27; 1.2: fig. 23.

and explanations contained in publications of the *gāthā*[14] do not seem to go beyond what CHAM wrote in 1955 but merely paraphrase, shorten or directly repeat his words.

This inscription is, to my knowledge, the only inscription in Lān Nā with Singhalese letters. A certain passage in the chronicle Jinakālamālī has been taken to show that the religious alphabet of the Yuan in North Thailand goes back to the Ceylonese alphabet which some Chiang Mai monks learned there in 1423-24.[15] If that were the case, there should be more Singhalese inscriptions in north Thailand. But the Jinakālamālī text must have been misunderstood[16] because the Yuan religious alphabet, i.e. the Tham (Dhamma) script, almost certainly goes back to the Mon alphabet of Lamphūn between 1200-1300.[17]

The Inscription on the Back Side

The inscription on the back side of the pedestal is one short line in Grantha letters. During his visit here Professor BECHERT kindly promised to consult with others and later wrote in a letter dated 4 August 1976 that Dr. RUELIUS, Göttingen, had tentatively read the inscription with some possible variants:

i ni ma jo ve (khe?) bho k(?) ka ca ku (kra, kta?) vi (rva, pi?) ne ta sa

Professor BECHERT added that Grantha, in the Tamil language region, was used for writing Sanskrit, but that the Göttingen team had also found some manuscripts of Singhalese texts that were written in Grantha. The letter-signs of the inscription were ambiguous and would be readable with certainty only if the language were known. But the language of the inscription had not been identified.

Also in Thailand the language was unknown to those I asked. Probably the text is not 'language' but a *gāthā* that consists of a group of heart letters; if so, this assumed heart letter *gāthā* has likewise not been recognized. Thus, the second inscription on the image raises even more questions than the first.

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[14] For instance: PENTH 1976: 55-56. PRASĀN 1986: 65-67; Bunlöt Senānānon in KANNIKĀ *et al.* 1991: 27.

[15] "... the writing system adopted by the Northern Thais when they ceased to use Sinhalese characters in writing Pali ..." (JAYAWICKRAMA 1968: viii). The passage in Jinakālamālī was translated: "Quand ils eurent appris l'écriture de Lankā ..." (CŒDÈS 1925: 105); "... learned the orthographic system in vogue in the Island of Lankā ..." (JAYAWICKRAMA 1968: 130).

[16] PENTH 1994: 114-115.

[17] PENTH 1973.

Grantha was not unknown in Thailand[18] and a possible connection with king Rām Khamhāng's alphabet of Sukhōthai (1283) has been suggested.[19] The central Thai letter 'n' certainly looks as if it were taken from Grantha.[20] To my knowledge, there is no other inscription with Grantha letters in North Thailand.

Age and Origin of Image and Inscription

There is not much doubt that the image is a product of the later part of Lān Nā's golden age, say from the period 1475–1550.

Alexander GRISWOLD, relying on photographs I sent him, thought that it was made between c. 1500–1525 and kindly wrote in a letter dated 23 August 1976:

> "The statue is evidently a product of the 'Golden Age' of Northern Thailand, which extended from the mid-15th to the mid-16th century. Comparing it with the illustrations in Griswold, *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam* (Ascona, 1957), we observe that it shares several stylistic features with a number of them, but not a great many with any single one of them. Perhaps the nearest resemblances, though they are admittedly not very near, are to the following: Pl. XVII, No. 22 (cast in 1492); Pl. XIX, No. 25 (1500); Pl. XX, No. 27 (1500); Pl. XXIII, No. 30 (1501). I should be inclined to assign the statue to the first quarter of the 16th century."

The image is unique in the sense that it seems to be the only one with Singhalese and Grantha letters, both of which alphabets were not used in Lān Nā. Presumably a native monk from Laṅkā who came to live in Lān Nā, or a Yuan monk on his return from Laṅkā, commissioned the image locally but inscribed it in these foreign alphabets. At the time, monks frequently travelled between Laṅkā and Lān Nā.[21] For instance, the so-called Sīhaḷabhikkhus returned in 1430 from Ceylon to Chiang Mai[22] and an inscription of 1523 from the Rattavanārāma, a monastery only a few kilometers distant from Wat Ket Sī, says that in 1497 a group of monks "brought the religion of Laṅkā to the country of Hariphunchai", meaning that a group of monks came from Ceylon and established their particular school in Lamphūn (25 km south of Chiang

[18] MARR 1969, 1972.
[19] SINGARAVELU 1969.
[20] PENTH 1992: 48, 50.
[21] Someone in a hurry probably might have made the voyage within 3 months.
[22] PENTH 1994: 224.

Mai), from where they presumably set up a filial monastery at Phayao.[23] Perhaps a monk of that school took part in the casting of the image.

Benefit-Producing Texts

In Lān Nā and neighbouring Lān Chāng (Luang Phra Bāng and north Laos) are known a number of religious texts which are reputed to quickly bring rewards, viz. religious and, especially, worldly gains. Some texts recommend certain actions in order to win certain desired results. Others bring benefit by simply reading them, or just by listening to them, or by being near when they are recited, because the texts themselves are loaded with power; besides, it is not necessary to comprehend the texts. Again other texts need not be recited in full; a reciting of only the titles will already bring their full benefit. By making shrewd use of such texts, one harnesses their inherent power, enlarges the stock of personal merit, evades personal demerit, creates favourable situations, escapes from physical danger, and even from the otherwise un-escapable kamma.

Letter-*gāthās* belong to this group of benefit-bringing texts. The idea behind an abbreviated text, radically shortened to a few letters, is that the recital of such an abbreviation is (nearly) as profitable as the recital of the entire text. Here is a list of the 5 perhaps best known groups of reward-creating texts in Lān Nā.[24] Modern Thai mainstream sangha and laity rather discount the more materialistic properties of the texts, in particular those of groups 3–5, and regard the latter as a somewhat outdated piece of cultural heritage from the past.

1. *Ānisaṃsa Texts*

These texts (*ānisong* in Thai) explain the specific merits obtained from specific pious actions: building a stūpa, copying scriptures, etc.

2. *Paritta and Manta Texts*

Usually taken from parts of the Tipiṭaka and variously completed with pre- and post-scripts, these texts (*parit* or *mon* in Thai) are generally thought to have been recommended by the Buddha himself as efficient against danger, illness, etc. The effect of the texts is obtained through the intervention of gods (*thewadā; devatā*) or spirits (*phī*) whom the texts ask for help.

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[23] ALI 1.5.1.1 RATTAWANĀRĀM 1523; KANNIKĀ *et al.* 1991, 1.1: 9; 1.2: 7 (omits the date 1523).

[24] Nos. 1–4 are also mentioned for Lān Chāng in FINOT 1917: 53–56; 72–76.

3. *Unhasavijaya and similar Texts*

Recitation of the Uṇhasavijaya Sutta[25] and of some other texts creates important material rewards, without the good offices of intervening gods or spirits.

4. *Pät Mün Sī Phan Khan and similar Texts*

The text called Pät Mün Sī Phan Khan "84,000 khandhas" contains the titles of more than 100 beneficial texts. Recitation of Pät Mün Sī Phan Khan, that is to say recitation of the titles of those texts, creates the reward pertaining to each full text mentioned. There seem to be several of these beneficial title-anthologies.[26]

5. *Letter-Gāthās*

Reciting of only the initial letters of key-words of a text creates the advantages associated with the entire text.

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[25] Also *Unhassavijaya*, *Uṇhis(s)avijaya*, an extracanonical sutta; thought to have been "composed in imitation of the Mahayanist Ushnivijaya Dharani" (sic; SAENG 1980: 94). The summary of a Laotian Uṇhissavijaya is in FINOT 1917: 74-76 who notes (p.74): "L'introduction répond à celle de l'*Usṇīṣavijaya* traduit par Yi-tsing (NANJIO, n° 350)".

[26] FINOT 1917: 76 mentions for Laos, besides Pät Mün, a ms which he calls Lem luon.

[27] Names of Thai authors are arranged according to given names, not family names.

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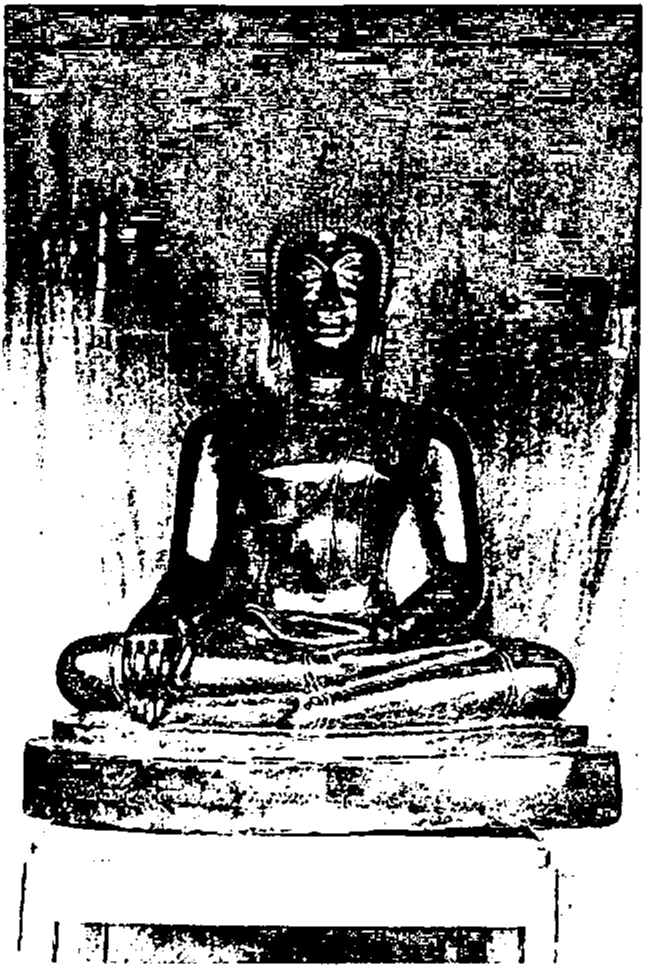
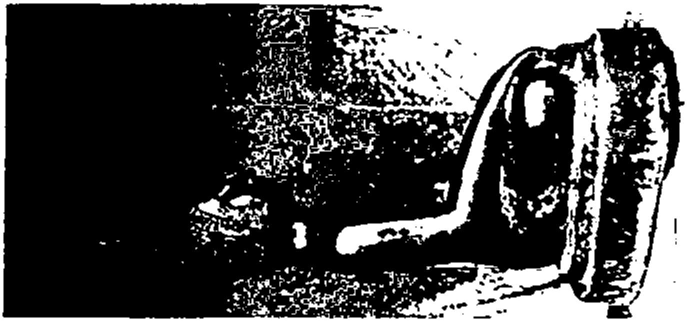
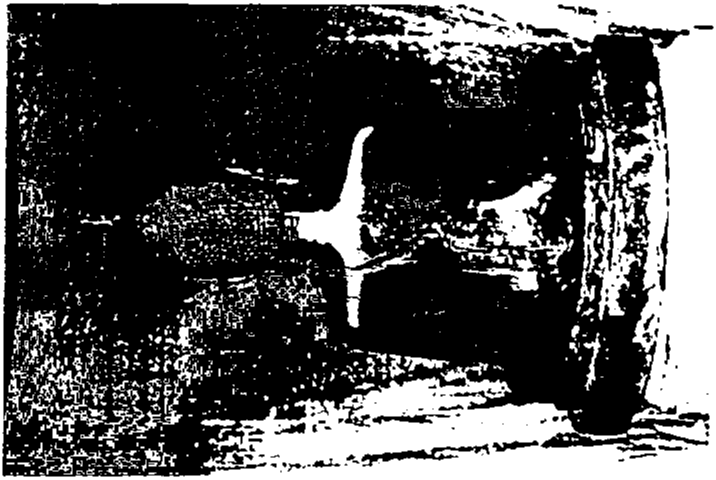
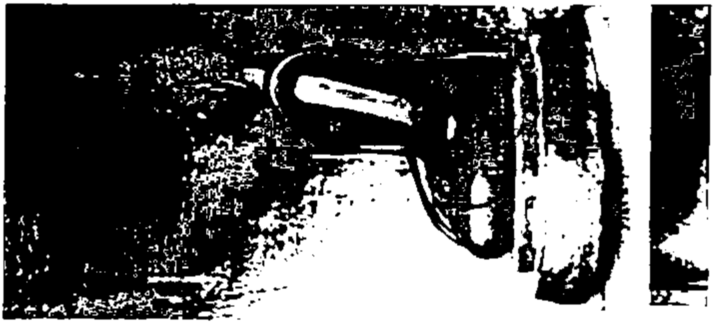


Fig. 1: The Buddha image at Wat Ket Sī near Phayao, north Thailand. – All photographs by H. PENTH, 1975.







Figs 2-4 The Buddha image at Wat Ket Sī near Phayao, north Thailand

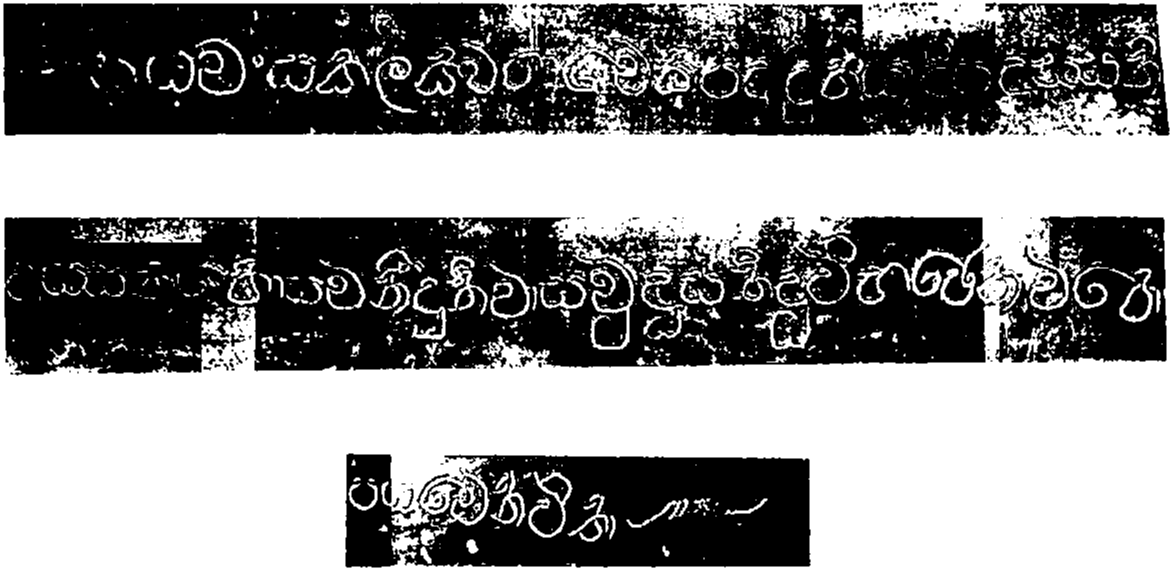


Fig. 5: The inscription at the front of the pedestal.

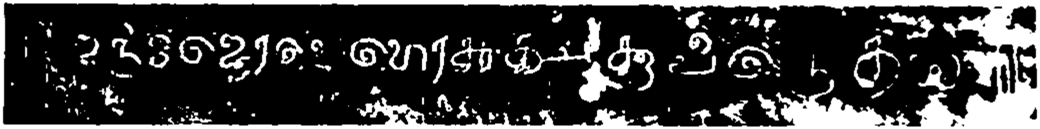
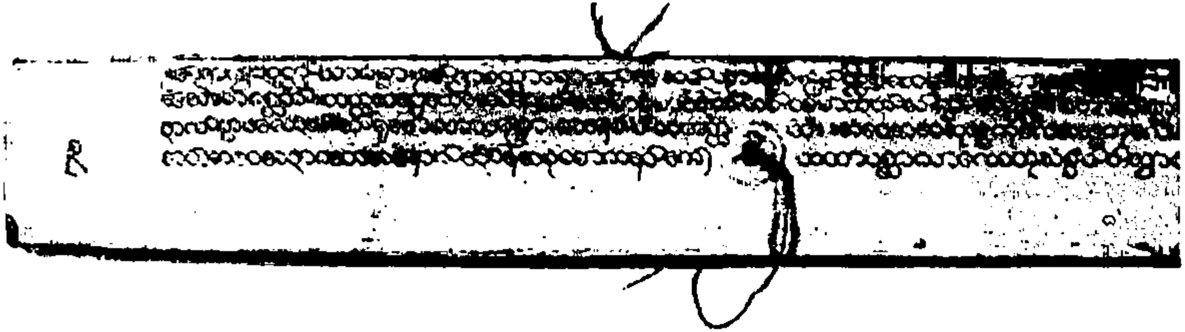


Fig. 6: The inscription at the back of the pedestal.



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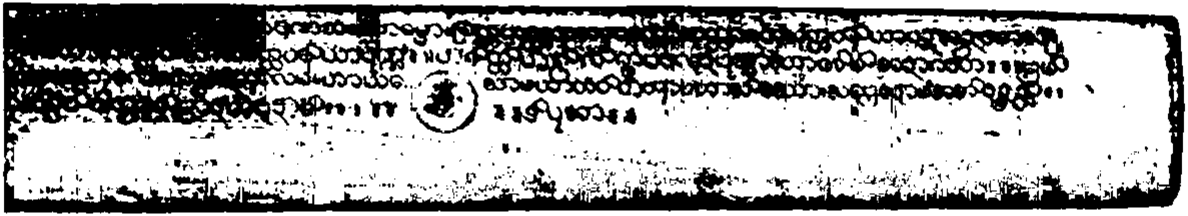

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Pāli Miscellany*

OLE H. PIND, Copenhagen

I. The Pāli Verses on the Two Truths
II. Dhammapāla's Reference to Dignāga's Apoha Theory and the Question of his Date
III. The Value of the Morpheme °*rūpa* as Verbal Suffix in Canonical Pāli
IV. Buddhaghosa's Interpretation of the Phrase *halan dāni pakāsituṃ*

I. The Pāli Verses on the Two Truths

1. The Pāli Aṭṭhakathās ascribed to Buddhaghosa invariably quote a few verses defining the two levels of truth, *sammuti*, the level of conventional terms, and *paramattha*, the level of ultimately true terms, when discussing the use in the Pāli canon of the term *puggala* and the doctrinal and exegetical problems it implies. These verses are interesting from a grammatical and doctrinal point of view and thus constitute a valuable supplement to the comprehensive Buddhist Sanskrit literature on the topic.

2. The quotations fall into two distinct groups, each with their peculiar characteristics. The first is constituted by Sv 383,20–23, Spk III 77,31–34, and Kv-a 36,10–14, which quote the following two verses, presumably from the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā:[1]

> *duve saccāni akkhāsi Sambuddho vadataṃ varo*
> *sammutiṃ paramatthañ ca tatiyaṃ nūpalabbhati.*
> *saṅketavacanaṃ saccaṃ lokasammutikāraṇaṃ*
> *paramatthavacanaṃ saccaṃ dhammānaṃ bhūtalakkhaṇan ti*[2]

The version of the second verse which is quoted in Kv-a deviates slightly from the one quoted in Sv and Spk in that it substitutes *tathalakkhaṇan ti* for the semantically equivalent *bhūtalakkhaṇan ti*. The verse is cited with the

* For abbreviations, cf. *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. III.1 [cf. Preface].

[1] Abhidh-nṭ ascribes the first verse to the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā at Abhid-av-nṭ II 204,11.

[2] Spk *loc.cit.* reads °*kāraṇā* and °*lakkhaṇā* with *v.l.* °*lakkhaṇaṃ*; but both the Sv-pṭ and Spk-pṭ presuppose the readings °*kāraṇaṃ* and °*lakkhaṇaṃ*; *v.* n. 8 *infra*.

same variant at It-a 82,26–32[3] and Moh 267,1–9, which may have depended on Kv-a for their version.[4] Note that *pāda c* of the second verse is hypermetrical.

3. The first verse is unproblematic from a syntactical and semantical point of view. The second, however, is syntactically as well as semantically puzzling because it is difficult to determine the precise value of the compound *lokasammutikāraṇaṃ*. The uncertainty arises from the fact that it is possible, at least hypothetically, to construe it either as a noun in apposition to *saccaṃ*, or as an adjective (*bahuvrīhi*) qualifying *saccaṃ*. The same syntactico-semantical ambiguity also characterizes the compound *bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ*. The translations by B. C. LAW and J. K. JAYATILLEKE show that either they did not identify the philological problems involved or simply chose to ignore them.[5]

4. The first verse does not present any serious philological problems. Both translators, however, translate the aor. 3 sg. *akkhāsi* as "spoke," although *akkhāti* never occurs in the sense of speaking, but is commonly used in the sense "to announce, to declare, to teach."[6] It is questionable whether *sammuti* is to be translated "popular" [LAW] or "conventional" [JAYATILLEKE]. The author of Ps-pṭ and Spk-pṭ takes it in the sense of "conventional term" [*samaññā*].[7] It is clearly this sense which is intended here, as the phrase *sammutiṃ voharantassa* indicates [*v.* § 7]. The use of *sammuti* in the sense of conventional term is well attested in the canon [*v.* § 14]. B. C. LAW translates *lokasammutikāraṇaṃ* as "by way of world convention." The phrase "by way of" presumably renders *°kāraṇaṃ*. It is difficult, however, to deduce from this how he actually construes the compound. Assuming that the phrase "characteristic of things [as they are]" translates *dhammānaṃ bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ*, it seems that he takes *bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ* as a noun in apposition to *sac-*

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[3] It-a also "modernizes" the verse by substituting *sammati* for *sammuti*.

[4] Moh reads *°karaṇā for kāraṇaṃ*, on which *v. infra*.

[5] Cf. B. C. LAW, *The Debates Commentary:* 42:

> "The Enlightened one, best of speakers, spoke two kinds of truth
> namely, the popular and that of highest meaning, a third is not got at.
> Discourse meeting with agreement is true and is by way of world convention.
> Highest-meaning discourse expression is also true and as such characteristic of things (as they are)."

The other translation is found in K. N. JAYATILLEKE, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge:* 364:

> "The Perfectly Enlightened One, the best of teachers, spoke two truths, viz. conventional and absolute — one does not come across a third; a conventional statement is true because of convention and an absolute statement is true as (disclosing) the true characteristics of things."

L. de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN quotes both verses at Abidh-k(VP) IV: 139 nŏ. 5 without attempting a translation.

[6] Cf. CPD *s.v.*

[7] Cf. n. 8 *infra*.

caṃ. K. N. JAYATILLEKE translates *lokasammutikāraṇaṃ* "because of convention," as if it had the syntactical value of a noun in the ablative, although it is difficult to know whether the phrase "because of" is just another version of B. C. LAW's "by way of". His translation of *pāda d* "as [disclosing] the true characteristics of things" shows that he construes *bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ* as a noun in apposition to *saccaṃ*.

5. There is no doubt about how the Ṭīkā writers interpret the value of the two compounds. Thus Dhammapāla's exegesis in Sv-pṭ I 500,4–10 indicates that he interprets them as reasons [*hetu* or *kāraṇa*] for the truth [*sacca*] of *saṅketavacana* and *paramatthavacana:*

> *tattha "saṅketavacanaṃ saccaṃ" visaṃvādābhāvato. tattha hetuṃ āha: "lokasammutikāraṇan" ti lokasiddhā hi sammuti saṅketavacanassa avisaṃvādatāya kāraṇaṃ. paramo uttamo attho paramattho dhammānaṃ yathābhūtasabhāvo. tassa vacanaṃ saccaṃ yathāvato avisaṃvādanavasena ca pavattanato. tattha kāraṇaṃ āhā: "dhammānaṃ bhūtalakkhaṇan" ti.*
>
> In this context "a conventional expression is true" because it is indisputable. He states the reason for this: "because it is motivated by conventional terms." For a conventional term which is established by people is the cause of a conventional expression due to its being incontrovertible. The term *paramattha* means the absolute, i.e., the final meaning. A statement expressing this [*paramattha*] is true because of its being in accordance with things as they are and because it is used in terms of being incontrovertible. He states the reason for this: "because it is the true description of things."

6. It is thus clear that Dhammapāla must have construed the two compounds as ablatives. This is also the case with the corresponding passage in Spk-pṭ II 92,13–20, which, apart from being more concise, differs somewhat in vocabulary and interpretation.[8] The interesting question therefore arises as to why Dhammapāla interprets *lokasammutikāraṇaṃ* and *bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ* with the value of the ablative, although a *prima facie* reading would indicate that they are nominatives. There is no reason to doubt that the readings of Sv and Spk are genuine because they are corroborated not only by the respective *Ṭīkās*, but also by indigenous Pāli grammars such as Vimalabuddhi's Mmd, the

[8] Cf. *loc. cit.*: *sammutī ti samaññā. paramo uttamo attho ti. dhammānaṃ yathābhūtasabhāvo, taṃ "paramatthaṃ". sammuti pana lokassa saṅketamattasiddhā. yadi evaṃ kathaṃ sammutikathāya saccatā ti āha "lokasammutikāraṇan" ti lokasamaññaṃ nissāya pavattanato ... dhammānaṃ sabhāvadhammānaṃ. bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ bhāvassa lakkhaṇaṃ dīpentī ti katvā.* It is difficult to believe that this passage was composed by the same author, considering the general tendency in the commentarial literature to interpret identical passages in the same way. It is therefore possible that Spk-pṭ has a different author from Sv-pṭ whose comment is more discursive.

oldest extant commentary on Kacc and Kacc-v, as well as Aggavaṃsa's Sadd.[9] The syntactical problem is resolved, however, as soon as one realizes that both forms represent rare post-canonical instances of nasalisation of final *ā* > *aṃ* which occur sporadically in the Pāli canon.[10]

7. Ps I 138,11–16 and Mp I 95,21–26[11] constituting the second group have retained the standard ablative ending in *ā* and, moreover, differ slightly from Sv and Spk in that they read *bhūtakāraṇā* for *bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ*. The reading *bhūtakāraṇā* makes no sense whatsoever in the context, and is no doubt an old error caused by parallelism with *lokasammutikāraṇā*.[12] Ps and Mp also differ from the other *aṭṭhakathā*s by quoting an additional verse, which indicates that the textual tradition underlying these two *aṭṭhakathā*s differs from that of Sv and Spk:[13]

tasmā vohārakusalassa lokanāthassa Satthuno
sammutiṃ voharantassa musāvādo na jāyatī ti.

The verse is also quoted in It-a 82,26–32 substituting *vohāro ariyo va so ti* for *pāda d.* It is uncertain whether it is a real variant and not merely an attempt at rephrasing the verse so as to avoid using the word *musāvādo* in connection with the Buddha's discourse.

8. Thus there is no doubt about the true syntactical value of *lokasammutikāraṇaṃ* and *bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ:* they are both to be interpreted as ablatives. The only question that remains to be resolved is how to interpret the two compounds in terms of their semantic value. Dhammapāla's paraphrase [*v.* § 5] indicates that he took *lokasammutikāraṇaṃ* as a *bahuvrīhi* in the sense "having the conventional terms[14] of the world as its cause," i.e., "motivated

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[9] Cf. Mmd Ce 1898: 234,3 and 281,13: *saṅketavacanaṃ saccaṃ lokasammutikāraṇan ti ādi;* Sadd 366,11.

[10] For the question of so-called "ablatives in *aṃ*" see O. v. HINÜBER, *Mittelindisch* § 304. There is also at least one interesting example of the reverse process °*aṃ* > *ā*, which emphasises the phonological instability of the nasalisation; cf. the reading *paccavyathaṃ*, aor. 1. sg., recorded at Vjb 416,1 (*paccavyathā paccabyathan ti pi paṭhanti*) for *paccavyathā* at Vin I 40,33 quoted at Ap 25,11; for unknown reasons the correct reading *paccavyathaṃ* has not been preserved in the Sinhalese tradition.

[11] Ee quotes the following *v.ll.* °*kāraṇaṃ*, °*lakkhaṇā; dhammānabhūtalakkhaṇ(aṃ)* which are not corroborated by Mp-ṭ; *v.* next.

[12] The readings of Ps and Mp are corroborated by their respective Ṭīkās; cf. Ps-pṭ I 243,3–9: *paramo uttamo attho ti. dhammānaṃ yathābhūtasabhāvo lokasaṅketamattasiddhā sammuti. yadi evaṃ kathaṃ sammutikathāya saccatā ti āha "lokasammutikāraṇā" ti lokasamaññaṃ nissāya pavattanato ... bhūtakāraṇā ti yathā bhūtasabhāvaṃ nissāya pavattanato;* Mp-ṭ I 212,19–25: *lokasammutikāraṇā ti ... bhūtakāraṇā ti.*

[13] This is an example of the general rule that Sv and Spk on the one hand and Ps and Mp on the other hand share a number of characteristic features in their treatment of the same topics.

[14] In this particular context *sammuti* means conventional term or expression; cf. S I 135,21: *hoti satto ti sammuti.* For other usages of the term, cf. PED *s. v.*

by the conventional terms of the world," which makes perfect sense in this particular case: a conventional statement is true because it is motivated by the conventional designations of the world. The phrase *dhammānaṃ bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ* running parallel with *lokasammutikāraṇaṃ* is a noun in the ablative, which means "because it is the true (*bhūta*) characterisation [description] of the dhammas."

9. It is now possible to attempt a new translation of the three verses:

> The Perfectly Enlightened One, the best among speakers,[15] has taught that there are two truths: [the truth of] conventional terms and the ultimate [truth]. A third [truth] is not found.[16]
>
> A conventional statement is true because it is motivated by the conventional terms of the world. An ultimate expression is true because it is the true description of dhammas.
>
> Therefore no false speech is found with the Teacher, who is the leader of the world and skilful in worldly discourse, when he makes use of a conventional term.

According to the It-a version of the last verse we must translate:

> Therefore the discourse (*vohāro*) of the Teacher is indeed (*va*) Buddhist (*ariyo*) when he, the leader of the world, skilful in worldly usage, uses a conventional term.

10. In addition to the first two verses, Kv-a quotes another verse which is classified as *aparo nayo*, a different exposition:

satthārā hi
paññattiṃ anatikamma paramattho pakāsito
tasmā añño pi paṇḍito paramatthaṃ pakāsento
samaññaṃ nātidhāvaye.

The text as it is printed in N. A. JAYAWICKRAMA's new PTS edition contains an additional *pada: samaññaṃ nātidhāveyya* which is inserted after *pāda b.* It is not found in J. P. MINAYEFF's *editio princeps* [*JPTS* 1889]. Although it is found in *Be, Ce,* and *Se,* it is conspicuously absent from N. A. JAYAWICKRAMA's MSS *G* and *P.* There is no doubt that those manuscripts where the *pāda* is missing represent the original version of the quotation in Kv-a. Indeed, it is hard to justify its presence in the verse: in the first place, it is impossible to construe the *pada* with the introductory *satthārā hi* and the rest

[15] The phrase "the best among speakers" (*vadataṃ varo*) is a stereotype also found in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, cf., e. g., the phrase *taṃ vande vadatāṃ varaṃ* occurring in Nāgārjuna's Madhyamakakārikā I 2d.

[16] *upalabbhati* is used in the Niddesa as a synonym for *atti* and *saṃvijjati* [cf. CPD *s. v. upalabbhati* 1.], and is evidently used with the same meaning here.

of the verse. In addition, it merely repeats in almost identical form what is said in the final *pāda*. It is most likely a recent emendation made by someone who noticed that the quotation merely consists of five *pādas* and therefore added a supposedly missing *pāda* basing it upon the final one. It is, of course, not possible to decide when and where the interpolation took place unless one collates all extant Kv-a MSS. Since the extra *pāda* is missing in at least three Sinhalese Kv-a MSS, it is clear that the interpolation must stem from a particular MS transmission. Under these circumstances it is highly surprising that it occurs in all modern oriental editions of the Kv-a.

11. Fortunately it is easy to solve the problem of the missing *pāda* because the same verse is quoted in what is no doubt its original form at Moh 267,7–9:

> *paññattiṃ anatikamma paramattho pakāsito*
> *vināyakena so yasmā tasmā añño pi paṇḍito*
> *paramatthaṃ pakāsento samaññaṃ nātidhāvaye*

It is now obvious what the author of Kv-a did. In order to fit the verse syntactically into his presentation of the *aparo nayo*,[17] he cut out the third *pāda: vināyakena so yasmā* for which he substituted the introductory phrase *satthārā hi*, of which *hi*, having the same syntactical function as *yasmā*, correlates with the subsequent *tasmā*. It is remarkable that Mahākassapa should have access to what appears to be the original version of this verse when he was writing his Abhidhamma compendium, supposedly in the 12th c. A.D.[18] Assuming that he quotes the verse from the Sinhalese Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, we must conclude that Theravāda Buddhist scholars occasionally would refer to or quote from it even as late as the 12th century A.D., in spite of the fact that it was superseded by the new Pāli Aṭṭhakathās compiled by Buddhaghosa and post-Buddhaghosa scholars.

12. We may thus translate the respective versions of Kv-a and Moh:

[a] Since (*hi*) the teacher
has explained the ultimate meaning without transgressing the [conventional] designation [of things], another learned person should also neither go beyond the [conventional] designation [of things] when explaining the ultimate meaning [to people].

[b] Since the leader has explained the ..., etc.

[17] It is introduced by the following text: *dve Bhagavato desanā, paramatthadesanā ca khandhādivasena, sammutidesanā ca sappikumbhādivasena* (cf. Kv 68,36 foll.). *na hi Bhagavā samaññaṃ atidhāvati. tasmā "atthi puggalo" ti vacanamattato abhiniveso na kattabbo.*

[18] Cf. Moh, Introduction: xi.

13. In addition Mahākassapa quotes the following verse which is not found in any other source. He substitutes it for the additional verse 3 of Ps, Mp, and It-a:

> *tasmā viññū akatvāna vyañjane 'bhinivesanaṃ*
> *paramatthe patiṭṭhāya puggalādiṃ vivajjaye*
>
> Therefore, without attaching himself to [any given] expression, a knowledgeable person should reject terms such as *puggala* by taking his stand on the ultimate meaning.

The use of the term *abhinivesana* indicates that it is related to the verse quoted in Kv-a [*v.* § 11] which presupposes the Araṇavibhaṅgasutta at M III 230,25–26, the source of the use of *abhinivesana* and *atidhāvati*. [*v.* § 17].

14. Although the context in which the above verses are quoted makes it reasonable to assume that they formed an integral part of the discussion, in the old Aṭṭhakathā literature, of the denotation of the term *puggala* in the Pāli canon, the terminology used raises a number of interesting questions which cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. There is probably no hope of tracing the historical or doctrinal roots of the crucial distinction between *paramaṭṭha* [*sic*] and *sammuti* to any particular period in the development of Buddhist scholasticism. In contrast to the term *sammuti*, which is used in the canon, the term *paramaṭṭha* is recorded for the first time in Kv, where it is used extensively in the lengthy refutation of the Vatsīputtīya doctrine of *puggala*. In this part of Kv *paramaṭṭha* occurs together with the term *saccikaṭṭha* in the sense of ultimately real [*yo saccikaṭṭho paramaṭṭho*, Kv 1,5] without ever being used in combination with the concept of *sammuti*. In fact, this term occurs only in the quotation of S I 135,21 at Kv 66,22: *hoti satto ti sammuti*. The term *sammutisacca* occurs only in Kv V:6 [*Sammutiñāṇakathā*], but its antonym *paramatthasacca* is never used. It is therefore likely that the concept of the Two Truths developed in a post-Kathāvatthu milieu.

15. The concept of the Two Truths may have developed as a corollary of the canonical distinction between *suttantas* that are *neyyattha*, i.e., *suttantas* whose meanings are to be inferred in order to be understood properly, in contrast to those that are *nītattha* and therefore are without need of such exegetical supplementation to bring out their proper meaning. Unfortunately the discourse at A I 60,13 foll., where the only canonical examples of the use of these terms occur, does not give any examples of which *suttantas* belong to either of the two categories, so it is not possible to deduce anything from them that would indicate that they belong in the same context as *sammuti* and *paramattha*. Buddhaghosa, to be sure, relates in his exegesis of the Aṅguttara passage at Mp II 118,11 foll. the concept of *neyyattha* to statements about *puggala*, which are in need of exegesis, as the word *puggala* does not denote something ultimately real [*paramaṭṭhato*]. Since he quotes the phrase *aniccaṃ*

dukkhaṃ anattā ti [Mp II 118,22] as an example of a *suttanta* whose meaning is *nītattha* it is possible to deduce that the two sets of terms, at least in the tradition advocated by Buddhaghosa, were combined. This appears from the prose passage that introduces the quotation of the verses defining the Two Truths. There he mentions as examples of the Buddha's *parmatthadesanā* the use of such expressions as *aniccaṃ dukkhaṃ anattā, khandhā dhātū āyatanāni satipaṭṭhānā ti* [Ps I 137,27–28]. As examples of *sammutidesanā* he quotes *puggalo, satto, itthī, puriso, khattiyo, brāhmaṇa, devo Māro ti* [Ps I 137, 25–26]. In spite of this interesting connection, Buddhaghosa does not explicitly correlate *neyyattha* with *sammuti* nor *paramattha* with *nītattha*. Thus it is clear that these two sets of terms do not belong in the same context.

16. This, on the other hand, is not the case with the verse which the author of Kv-a with good reason presents as another way (*aparo nayo*): it differs markedly from the verses on the Two Truths in that it presupposes a statement of the Araṇavibhaṅgasutta M III 230,25–26: *janapadaniruttiṃ nābhiniveséyya, samaññaṃ nâtidhāveyyā ti.*[19] The context of the Majjhima phrase is that different regional terms [*janapadanirutti*] for the same thing should not cause dissension as to which term should be considered the proper one. In a way this position, as it is articulated in the Kv-a verse, mediates between the two diametrically opposed types of discourse, *sammuti* and *paramattha*, each with its distinct vocabulary and truth value [*sacca*]. Buddhaghosa's Aṭṭhakathās explain the opposition with reference to the fact that the Buddha uses *sammutidesanā* and *paramatthadesanā* in accordance with the individual capabilities of people. Nothing is said, however, about whether *sammuti* can be used as a point of departure for imparting knowledge about *paramattha*. In contrast to the first position which opposes *sammutisacca* and *paramatthasacca*, the second position relying on the Majjhimanikāya does not distinguish between the truth value of particular terms, but merely states that *paramattha* is taught by means of any given designation without getting attached to it or discarding it as useless. Thus we are in fact dealing with two quite different positions with regard to the question of what is ultimately true, both of which are reflected in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

[19] Buddhaghosa alludes to this context in Vism 522, in his discussion of the term *paṭiccasamuppāda*: *janapadaniruttiyā anabhiniveso samaññāya anatidhāvanan ti ayaṃ ñāyo paridīpito hoti ti ayaṃ tāva paṭiccasamuppādo ti vacanamattassa attho.*

II. Dhammapāla's Reference to Dignāga's Apoha Theory and the Question of his Date

1. The exegetical treatment in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās and Ṭīkās of the well-known canonical phrase *evaṃ me sutaṃ* is without parallel in Buddhist literature. Thus the comprehensive exegesis of the phrase in *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, which is an interesting example of the exegetical practice of a different religious and social milieu before the end of the 5th c. A.D.[20], is neither as comprehensive nor as technical as the one found in Buddhaghosa's Aṭṭhakathās. Post-Buddhaghosa commentators usually take it as a point of departure for even more elaborate versions. Thus Dhammapāla, the alleged author of the Ud-a, develops Buddhaghosa's exegesis of the term *sutaṃ*[21] in the following way in Ud-a 12,23 ff. [= It-a I 23,22 ff.]:

> *sabbāni hi vakyāni evakāratthasahitāni yeva avadhāraṇaphalattā, tena*[22] *sutan ti-assavanabhāvapaṭikkhepato anūnânadhikāviparītagahaṇanidassanaṃ. yathā hi sutaṃ sutaṃ evā ti vattabataṃ arahati, tathā sammā sutaṃ anūnagahaṇaṃ anadhikagahaṇaṃ aviparītagahaṇañ hotī ti. athavā saddantaratthapohanavasena* [so read with Be] *atthaṃ vadatī ti etasmim pakkhe yasmā sutan ti etassa asutaṃ na hotī ti ayam attho vutto, tasmā sutan ti assavanabhāvapaṭikkhepato anūnânadhikāviparītagahaṇanidassanaṃ.*
>
> Since [*hi*] all sentences are associated with the meaning of [the restrictive particle] *eva*, on account of their having restriction as their result [*avadhāraṇaphalattā*], [*tena*] "the word *suta* indicates apprehension that is precise and not contrary [to facts] because it negates not hearing." For just as the word *sutaṃ* ought to be formulated as *sutam eva*, so is that which is correctly heard apprehension which is precise and not contrary [to facts]. Alternatively, since the meaning of the word *suta* is explained as "it is not [*na*] not heard [*asutaṃ*]," according to the theory [*pakkhe*] that [a word] expresses its meaning in terms of excluding the meaning of other words [*saddantaratthāpohanavasena*], *sutaṃ* indicates an apprehension that is precise and not contrary [to facts]. Therefore "the word *suta* indicates apprehension that is precise and not contrary [to facts] because it negates not hearing."

2. The focal points of this analysis are that [a] propositions are implicitly associated with the restrictive particle [*avadhāraṇa*] *eva* in that their result [*phala*] is restriction, and [b] that words express their meaning by excluding the meaning of other words [*saddantaratthâpohana* = sa. *śabdāntarārthāpoha*]. There is no doubt that Buddhaghosa's formulation *assavanabhāvapaṭikkhepato* presupposes [a], and that thus the exegesis at Ud-a actually inter-

[20] Cf. É. LAMOTTE, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna* I 1949: 56 ff.

[21] Cf. Sv 28,31–32: *sutan ti assavanabhāvapaṭikkhepato anūnânadhikāviparītagahaṇanidassanaṃ* = Ps I 5,7–8 = Spk I 6,22–23 = Mp I 7,14–15.

[22] So read with It-a, BeEe *tesaṃ*; *tena* correlates syntactically with *hi*.

prets it according to its original intention. The use of the *avadhāraṇa eva* originated with Pāṇinian grammar,[23] and the restrictive, delimitative value ascribed to it was subsequently exploited for exegetical and other purposes by different schools of philosophy.[24] Considering the extensive knowledge of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition among the Pāli commentators, there is no reason to doubt that Buddhaghosa's formulation presupposes this particular semantical value of *eva*, although the fact that he formulates the restriction in terms of negation of *assavanabhāva* would point in the direction of the Apoha theory, according to which the meaning of a word is defined in terms of its exclusion of the meaning of other words [*saddantaratthāpohana*]. The Apoha theory was presumably formulated for the first time by the Buddhist philosopher Dignāga [ca. 480–540 A.D.], who actually deals with [a] as the corollary of [b]. Thus there is no doubt that Dhammapāla's addition to Buddhaghosa's exegesis presupposes knowledge of Dignāga's Apoha theory.

3. Dignāga formulates in the Apohaparīkṣā, Prs V 38c, the view that the result [*phala*] of a statement [*abhidhāna*] is restriction, thus assuming that any given sentence has to be interpreted as if the terms constituting it were associated with the restrictive particle *eva*. The short passage in which he expounds his views is concise to the point of being obscure. The underlying intention is to make clear that there is no difference between the joint presence of a term and its denotation (*anvaya*) and their joint absence (*vyatireka*) in that their joint presence, being equivalent to a positive statement, is to be interpreted as if the term were associated with a restriction, whose function it is to delimit it from the domain of application of other words. Thus restriction is the corollary of negation (*pratiṣedha*) or exclusion (*apoha*):

> Again, if the word were to denote its signified object without reference to (**anapekṣya*) joint absence of other signified objects (**arthāntaravyatireka*), in that case
>
> it would be established merely (**eva*) through joint presence (**anvyaya*) [38 c].
>
> For (*hi) when the word denotes its signified object, it would not be by means of both joint presence and joint absence, and this is maintained. However, since a statement (**abhidhāna*) attains its result (**sāphalya*) through restricting either [word] or both [words in it] (**anyatarobhayāvadhāraṇa*), the [word's] denotation of its signified object (**arthābhidhāna*) is also by means of joint absence

[23] Cf. RENOU, *Vocabulaire s.v. avadhāraṇa*; Pāṇ II 1:8, VIII 1:62; Mahā-bh I 418.14: *evakāraṃ kimarthaḥ | niyamārthaḥ.*

[24] An interesting case is Abhidh-k-bh(P) 66.14–15 commenting on Abhidh-k-bh II 40b–c: *evaśabdas tarhi paṭhitavyaḥ* (scil. *āryadharmāṇām alābha eveti*), interpreting *āryadharmāṇām alābhaḥ* at Jñānaprasthāna II 21, Abhidh-k(VP) II 191 ff.

(*vyatireka), as, for instance in [Pāṇini I.4.49]: "That which the agent (*kartṛ*) most of all wants to obtain (*īpsitatama*) is termed 'direct object' (*karman*)[25]."

4. This passage shows that Dignāga interprets the restrictive, delimitative function of *eva*, in terms of *vyatireka*, i.e., negation (*pratiṣedha*), which is the term used by Buddhaghosa to translate the value of *eva*. Although Dignāga may not have been the first to develop the theory of *avadhāraṇa* in connection with logico-semantical problems, it is first of all Dignāga who exploited it systematically as the corollary of *apoha*, negation. Thus Uddyotakara's criticism in Nyāyavārttikam on NS I 1:33 of the habit of reading *avadhāraṇas* into propositions is clearly directed against Dignāga, because he refers to his views in terms that are strikingly similar to this short paragraph in PS,[26] and moreover, like Dignāga he quotes Pāṇini I.4.49 as an illustration of the implicit use of *eva* in propositions.[27]

5. One cannot rule out the possibility that Dhammapāla may have known the philosophy of Dharmakīrti, Dignāga's great 7th c. A.D. commentator. Thus, for instance, Dharmakīrti formulates a similar view in Prv IV:192: *vyavacchedaphalaṃ vākyaṃ:* the result of a statement is exclusion. It is more likely, however, that Dhammapāla refers to Dignāga's views, because at Sv-pṭ I 314,5f we find the following enigmatic statement in the context of his analysis of the word *buddhacakkhu:*

> *viseso* [so read with Be; Ee *seso*] *kammantâpekkhatâya* [so read with *v.l.*; Be *kammatth°*, Ee *tammatt°*] *sāmaññassa na tena* [so read; Be *na tehi*, Ee *tena*] *paricatto ti āha "cakkhusaddo katthaci Buddhacakkhumhi vattatī"* [= Sv 183,9] *ti.*
>
> A [term denoting] the particular [of a universal term] is not rejected [*paricatto*] by the universal [term] because it is dependent on the function of the universal

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[25] Of the two extant Tibetan translations of this paragraph, the one by Kanakavarman is the least confused. Cf. "The Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti of Dignāga, Chapter Five: Anyāpohaparīkṣā", ed. Masaaki HATTORI, in *Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters*, Kyoto University, no. 21, 1982: 141,5-11:
gal te yaṅ don gźan ldog pa la bltos pa med par sgra'i don brjod pa yin pa de lta na |
rjes 'gro ñid las 'grub par 'gyur | [38c]
sgra'i don brjod pa la rjes su 'gro ba daṅ ldog pa dag gis mi 'gyur na | 'dod pa yaṅ yin te gaṅ yaṅ ruṅ ba daṅ gñi gar ṅes par gzuṅ ba brjod pa 'bras bu daṅ bcas pa'i phyir ldog par kyaṅ don brjod pa yin te | dper na byed pa po'i 'dod par bya ba dam pa ni las yin no źes bya ba lta bu'o |

[26] Cf. *Nyāyadarśana of Gautama, with the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana, the Vārttika of Uddyotakara, the Tātparyaṭīkā of Vacaspati & the Pariśuddhi of Udayana*, Volume I Chapter I, ed. Anantalal THAKUR, Darbhanga, 1967: 514,14: *ubhayāvadhāraṇaprāptāv anyatarāvadhāraṇe ca doṣaḥ*. For the gist of Uddyotakara's criticism, cf. RANDLE, *Indian Logic in the Early Schools* 1930: 250ff.

[27] Cf. *op. cit.* 516,13-14.

[term], therefore [*iti*] he says [in Sv 183,9] that "the word 'eye' is in certain cases used of the 'Buddha eye.'

6. The philosophical background of this statement is also in this case Dignāga's Apoha theory. The relevant passage is found in PS V 27, which fortunately has been preserved in its original Sanskrit form:

> [A term denoting] a particular is neither rejected (*ujjhitaḥ*) by its proper universal [term] because the mere [word denoting the particular] is expected as its complement (*tadmātrâkāṅkṣaṇāt*), nor is it assumed [(*nopāttaḥ*) by its proper universal word] because doubt entails (*saṃśayotpatteḥ*). Yet, when they both are in agreement (*sāmye*), their signified object is the same (*ekârthatā*).[28]

In another context Dignāga states that the particular term "*Śiṃśapā*" rejoices [**anumodayati*] when the [general term "tree"] excludes [pot, etc.], in the same way as [someone excludes] the enemy of a friend [**mitraśatruvat*],[29] thus assisting the particular term in denoting its proper signified object. Therefore the peculiar term *kammantâpekkhatā* in the quotation from Sv-pṭ is to be interpreted as the work of exclusion of not-*cakkhu* which the general term *cakkhu* performs for the sake of the particular term *Buddhacakkhu*. Since there are no corresponding passages in Dharmakīrti's extant works, we must conclude that Dhammapāla refers to Dignāga's views.

7. In the light of the identical passages in Ud-a and It-a it is interesting to notice that Sv-pṭ, Ps-pṭ, and Spk-pṭ, which are also ascribed to Dhammapāla, contain a similar passage which differs somewhat from the one in the two Aṭṭhakathās. Thus there is no mention of *avadhāraṇaphalatta:*

> *sabbesam pi vākyānaṃ evakāratthasahitattā sutan ti etassa sutam evā ti ayam attho labbhatī ti āha assavanabhāvapaṭikkhepato ti etena avadhāraṇena nirākatam*[30] *dasseti. yathā ca sutaṃ sutam evā ti niyametabbaṃ, taṃ sammā sutaṃ hotī ti āha anūnânadhikâviparītagahaṇanidassanaṃ. athavā saddantaratthapohanavasena atthaṃ vadatī ti sutan ti asutaṃ na hotī ti ayam etassa attho ti vuttaṃ assavanabhāvapaṭikkhepato iti diṭṭhâdivinivattanaṃ karoti*, Sv-pṭ I 48, [= Ps-pṭ I 28,7ff. = Spk-pṭ I 24,24ff. = Mp-ṭ Ee 1996 I 37,7ff.].
>
> Since, moreover, all sentences are associated with the meaning of [the restrictive particle] *eva*, the word "*sutaṃ*" gets the meaning "*sutaṃ eva*". Therefore he says "because of negating non-hearing." Thereby he indicates that it is negated [*nirākataṃ*] by means of the restrictive particle. And just as [the word] *sutaṃ* is to be restricted "*sutaṃ eva*" ... alternatively, since [*iti*] [any given

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[28] Cf. *op.cit.*: 129 Sanskrit fragment 23: *tanmātrakāṅkṣaṇād bhedaḥ svasāmānyena nojjhitaḥ* | *noppāttaḥ saṃśayotpatteḥ sāmye caikārthatā tayoḥ* ‖

[29] Cf. *op.cit.* 130,12–13: *des na des span bar bya ba'i dnos po la grogs po'i sgra bźin rjes su yi raṅ bar byed do* ‖; 131,12–13: *don gyis des grogs po'i dgra bo bźin du sel bar byed pa na rjes su yi raṅ bar byed de* |

[30] Mp-ṭ reads *niyāmetaṃ*.

word] expresses its meaning in terms of exclusion of the meaning of other words, [*iti*] the word "*sutaṃ*" gets the meaning "it is not not-*sutaṃ*." Therefore he says "because of negating non-hearing," thus excluding "seeing" or the like.

The two passages are evidently related, but the ways in which they formulate the argument differ markedly. Thus Ud-a and It-a seem to represent a conscious attempt at replacing the idiosyncratic use of *iti* in Sv-pṭ with syntactically corresponding pronominal relation, e.g., *hi* ... *tena* : : *yasmā* ... *tasmā*. Consequently they may well be later than the Ṭīkās and may not, in spite of the claims of the Sinhalese tradition, have the same author.

8. Since Dhammapāla, the alleged author of Ud-a, It-a and Sv-pṭ, Ps-pṭ, and Spk-pṭ, knew Dignāga's Apoha theory as well as its corollary, the theory that any proposition is associated with implicit restrictions, these works must be post-Dignāgan, possibly post-Dharmakīrtian. The likelihood that Dhammapāla is a post-Dharmakīrti scholar is corroborated by the fact that Vism-mhṭ II 109,10–13 quotes a Pāli version of two verses which are cited in the original Sanskrit version at Vism-sn 1075,34–37. They are there ascribed to the South Indian Buddhist scholar Nāgabodhi Sthavirayo, who was active before Vajrabodhi [671–741 A.D.],[31] presumably towards the end of the 7th c. A.D.[32] Since Dhammapāla ascribes the verses to the old ones [*vuttañ hetaṃ purātenehi*], it is clear that there must have been a considerable lapse of time between the two authors. Moreover, in Vism-mhṭ II 242,8 he quotes a Pāli version of Pāṇ III 4 21, followed by examples that would seem to stem from the Kāśikā [7th c. A.D]. Thus it is safe to conclude that he is a post-8th c. A.D. scholar. His *floruit* lies probably well before the 12th c. A.D., the time when the Sinhalese scholar Sāriputta mentions him in Sp-ṭ as the author of Vism-mhṭ, Ud-a, Th-a, Thī-a, Nett-a, as well as of the Ṭīkās.[33]

III. The Value of the Morpheme °rūpa *as Verbal Suffix in Canonical Pāli*

1. In the Pāli canon the morpheme *°rūpa* is used as a suffix in a limited number of instances after past participles in *°ta* and present participles in *°māna*. Although Pāṇini does not expressly address this usage in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, its value is clearly related to the value which he ascribes to it in Pāṇ V 3 66: *praśaṃsāyāṃ rūpaP*. The Kāśikā interprets the sūtra with reference to V 3 56 [+55]: *tiṅaś ca*, as defining the value of *°rūpa* when occurring after nominals and finite verbs, but does not mention its use after non-finite verbs.

[31] Cf. Hajime NAKAMURA, *Indian Buddhism*: 335.

[32] Cf. Hajime NAKAMURA, *op.cit.*: 324; 330.

[33] Cf. Sv-pṭ I, General Introduction: li.

2. So far only two examples of its use after °*ta* participles have been identified: 1. *katarūpa*, well done; *~am idaṃ bhotā*, Ja V 317,14*; 2. *akkhātarūpa*, completely told;[34] *~aṃ tava*, Ja V 18,17.* Although there are no recorded examples in Sanskrit literature or grammatical literature of °*rūpa* with this value added to °*ta* participles, examples of its use after participles in °*ant* and °*māna* are known to Patañjali, who addresses this usage in the Mahābh [126,6–8] on Pāṇini III 2 124. Patañjali does not discuss the actual meaning of °*rūpa* in this context, but it is obvious that he regards its value as equivalent to °*tara* and °*kalpa* since he quotes forms in °*rūpa* together with forms in °*tara* and °*kalpa:*

kurvattaraḥ pacattaraḥ pacamānataraḥ, kurvadrūpaḥ, pacadrūpaḥ kurvāṇarūpaḥ pacamānarūpaḥ kurvatkalpaṃ pacatkalpaṃ kurvāṇakalpaḥ pacamānakalpa.

3. No forms of these types are instantiated in Sanskrit literature, but interestingly there are a few examples in the Pāli canon and in *BHS*[35] of the use of °*rūpa* added to present participles in °*māna*. The true semantics of these forms have passed unnoticed so far. The comparatively few recorded examples occur in D (two examples), M (one example), S (two examples), Sn (one example), Ud (one example), Ja (twelve examples), Pv (one example):

a. **kittayamānarūpa**, praising highly; *manussā ~ā viharanti*, D II 202,11 foll. [*aho Buddho aho Saṅgho aho dhammo svākkhāto to ti evaṃ kittayanto*, Sv 637,19]; *devā … tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ ~ā sannisinnā*, M II 79,18.

b. **santaramānarūpa**, being persistent; *eko … sīlaṃ pavecchasi puna punaṃ ~o*. Ja III 172,8*.

c. **sampiyāyamānarūpa**, being highly satisfied: *yāva maññe khattiyā sampiyāyamānarūpā viharanti*, D II 223,25 [= *haṭṭhā tuṭṭhā*, Sv 656,21].

d. **sārajjayamānarūpa**, being completely perplexed: *Bhagavā tathārūpam iddhābhisaṅkhāram abhisaṅkhāsi yathā te bhikkhū … sārajjayamānarūpā yenâhaṃ ten' upasaṅkameyyuṃ*, S III 92,31 foll. (= *ottappamānasabhāvā bhāyamānā*, Spk II 300,12).

e. **taramānarūpa** [= sa. *tvaramāṇarūpa*, cf. BHSD *s.v. -rūpa*], hurrying, in great haste. This form constitutes the most comprehensive class of examples. It is used as a cliché describing acts that are done in a hurry. Most of the examples occur in the Jātaka: *khattiyo ~o niyyāsi*, Sn 417; *Rāhu … ~o yena Vepacitti … ten' upasaṃkami*, S I 50,27; *Bāhiyo … ~o Jetavanā nikkhamitvā*, Ud 7; *~o vuṭṭhāyi*, Pv 18; *kin nu subāhu ~o paccāgato 'si*, Ja III 540, *~o vuṭṭhāsi*, IV 85,4*; *tvaṃ ~o sambhañja kaṭṭhāni*, V 32,11*; *gacch' eva kho tvaṃ ~o*, V 166,25*; *so saṃkhapālo ~o pāsādam āruyha*, 5 169,16*; *ekā ca nārī ~ā ādāya … aññā ca nārī ~ā ādāya*, V 169,20*,28* *aparā ca nārī ~ā paggayha*,

[34] So CPD *s.v.* without referring to the relevant Pāṇinian sūtra.

[35] Cf. BHSD *s.v. -rūpa*.

170,1*; *kin nu daṇḍaṃ ... ~o gaṇhāsi*, V 232,11*; *~o niyyāhi*,V 264,20*; *~o*, VI 302,4*.

4. It is interesting from a purely linguistic point of view that these forms are not found in Sanskrit literature, although they are recorded by the Sanskrit grammarians. Thus, for instance, the Mahābhārata consistently uses *tvaramāna* instead of *tvaramānarūpa* in similar clichés.[36] The usage in canonical Pāli of *°rūpa* as verbal suffix after present participles in *°māna* is yet another instance of the remarkable congruence, in terms of syntax and morphology, between canonical Pāli and Sanskrit as recorded by the Sanskrit grammarians.[37] The fact that Sanskrit *tvaramāṇarūpa*[38] is found in late Buddhist Sanskrit literature only shows that it imitates the Pāli, which is the only MI source where it is found.

IV. Buddhaghosa's Interpretation of the Phrase halan dāni pakāsituṃ

1. According to a well-known Buddhist narrative, the Buddha, after his enlightenment, declines to teach the Dhamma on the grounds that it is difficult to understand and that the possibility that people might not understand it would only be a nuisance. In the Pāli canon, this narrative includes; presumably as an integral part of it, two verses which are found in identical form at Vin I 5,8–11*, D II 36,15–18*, M I 168,5–8*, and S I 136,21–23.* The first two *pādas* of the first verse *kicchena me adhigataṃ halan dāni pakāsituṃ* exhibit a syntactically unusual construction for which there would seem to be no recorded parallel in the rest of the canon: the particle *halaṃ* (= *alaṃ*) is used here as a negation in construction with the infinitive *pakāsituṃ*.[39] In Pāli the syntactical pattern of such a construction would normally be *alaṃ* + instr. [*v.* § 3. [3]]. H. Hendriksen therefore noted [Syntax § 36: 100] that in this particular case the infinitive would seem to correspond to a noun in the instrumental,[40] and he suggested translating the verse [following the CPD *ad loc.*]: "with great trouble have I fathomed it, why should I proclaim it?" [lit.

[36] Cf. e.g., Mhbh I 3.137a; 139.11a; V 25.4a.

[37] Cf., e.g., Pāṇ III 3 146, III 3 142, and III 3 147 and the pa. constructions *atthi nāma, kathaṃ hi nāma, yatra hi nāma* that invariably are constructed with the future in pa.; *v.* O. H. PIND, "Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I", *JPTS* XIII 1989: 57–60; O. H. PIND, "Pāli Grammar and Grammarians from Buddhaghosa to Vajirabuddhi. A Survey", *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyo Kenkyu)* Vol. XVI 1997 (forthcoming), § 12 [a–c].

[38] Cf. BHSD *s.v. -rūpa*.

[39] The CPD only quotes the above example; *v. s.v. alaṃ*. For another example with similar syntactical and semantical features, *v.* Ja III 226,10, on which *v. infra*.

[40] The idea that the infinitive corresponds to a noun in the instrumental is no doubt dependent on Buddhaghosa's interpretation, in which, in his exegesis, he substitutes a noun in the instrumental for *pakāsituṃ*; *v. infra*.

"done with proclaiming it").[41] However, if *halaṃ* is to be construed with *pakāsituṃ*, which formally is an infinitive, such construction would normally have a positive value [*v. infra* 5.(d)]. Indeed, the phrase *halan dāni pakāsituṃ* does not easily fit in with any of the other types of construction with *alaṃ* that are recorded in the CPD, and the verse would thus seem to embody both a syntactical and semantical problem.

2. Buddhaghosa comments on all the canonical occurrences of the verse in Sv, Ps, and Spk. But contrary to what one would expect, the Sp presents a slightly divergent interpretation of the verse. None of the interpretations are quite satisfactory. The Sp version is found at Sp 961,32–962,2:

> *halan ti ha-kāro nipātamatto. alan ti attho. pakāsitun ti desituṃ. alaṃ dāni me imaṃ kicchena adhigataṃ dhammaṃ desitun ti vuttaṃ hoti.*

The Aṭṭhakathā is evidently correct in assuming that *halaṃ* equals *alaṃ*,[42] *h-* [= *ha-kāra*) being a mere particle [*nipātamatta*], but its exegesis of the verse is laconic to the point of being obscure. The paraphrase of the two *pādas: alaṃ dāni me imaṃ kicchena adhigataṃ dhammaṃ desitun ti vuttaṃ hoti* shows, however, that the compiler of Sp interprets *pakāsituṃ* as an infinitive, construing *halaṃ* with the verb phrase *me adhigataṃ* ... *pakāsituṃ*. Buddhaghosa presents a similar analysis of the verse at Sv 465,25–28 [= Ps II 176,1–3 = Spk I 197,11–14], and in this case the gloss leaves no douht about the grammatical context in which the analysis is inscribed:

> *halan ti ettha ha-kāro nipātamatto. alan ti attho. pakāsitun ti desituṃ. evaṃ kicchena adhigatassa dhammassa*[43] *alaṃ desituṃ, pariyattaṃ desituṃ: ko attho desitenā ti vuttaṃ hoti.*
>
> The phoneme *h-* of [the word] *halaṃ* is a mere particle. The meaning is [identical with *alaṃ*. *pakāsituṃ* means *desituṃ*. What is said [in the verse] is this: enough [of] teaching the Dhamma that has been realised with such difficulty, i.e., enough (*pariyattaṃ*) [of] teaching [it], what is the use of teaching [it]?

There are several points of this exegesis that are noteworthy. In the shorter Sp version the paraphrase imitates the syntax of the original verse by reproducing the original noun phrase *me adhigataṃ* [scil. *dhammaṃ*]. In the second version, however, it is constructed with a noun phrase in the genitive [*adhigatassa dhammassa*], which hardly makes sense unless it is construed with the infinitive *desituṃ*, which thus takes on the function of a noun gov-

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[41] Cf. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS' translation, "This that through many toils I've won — Enough! why should I make it known?" in Sacred Books of the Buddhists vol. III: 30, has been reproduced by I. B. HORNER in her translation of the Vinaya (cf. Vin-*Trsl.* III: 7) and the Majjhima (cf. M-*Trsl.* II: 212).

[42] For the so-called "emphatic" *h-*, cf. O. von HINÜBER, *Mittelindisch* § 166.

[43] Spk I 197,11–14 om. *dhammassa*.

erning a noun phrase in the genitive [= *genitivus objectivus*].[44] It is difficult, in fact, to understand the purpose of the concluding phrase *ko attho desitena*, unless one assumes that the instrumental form *desitena* — a pp. used as a noun — parallels the infinitive *desituṃ* of the paraphrase. The second version displays another feature which is omitted in Sp (*loc. cit.*). Buddhaghosa glosses *halaṃ* with *pariyattaṃ*, which means sufficient, adequate, a match for. The meaning is exclusively positive and clearly does not fit with the context. Although Buddhaghosa's paraphrase: *ko attho desitena:* what is the use of teaching it? shows that he is aware that *alaṃ* in this particular context has a negative value, he does not expressly treat it as a negation, as he does in other cases.[45] His exegesis thus seems to amalgamate two incompatible values of *alaṃ:* a positive and a negative one.

3. It is easy to understand why Buddhaghosa's interpretation appears to be contradictory: first of all, he could only assume that *pakāsituṃ*, as an infinitive to be constructed with *alaṃ*, is subject to the semantic constraints of such construction.[46] Since Buddhaghosa normally follows the Pāṇinian tradition when dealing with a syntactical or derivational problem of the Pāli,[47] he is left with no other possibility for explaining the verse but to assume that it instantiates the Pāṇinian rule about *alaṃ* codified in Pāṇ III 4 [65+] 66: *paryāptivacaneṣv alamartheṣu:* [The suffix "*tumun*" (= the infinitive suffix *-tum*) comes after a verb] in construction with [words] having the meaning of *alam*, when they express sufficiency [or adequacy]. Buddhaghosa's use of the word *pariyatta* [< sa. *paryāpta*] shows conclusively that his explanation presupposes the Pāṇinian definition. However, the Pāṇinian definition does not ascribe a negative value to *paryāpti*, nor does Pāṇinian grammar ascribe a negative value to the construction *alam* + infinitive. Dhammapāla's *Ṭīkā* [*ad* Sv 465, 25–28] shows that he takes *halaṃ* as a negation because he quotes M I 245, 16: *halan ti vadāmi* as an example of the use of *halaṃ* in the same sense.[48] In this he is followed by the Pāli grammarian Aggavaṃsa who quotes *pada b* of the verse as an example of the use of *alaṃ*

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[44] This analysis only makes grammatical sense if one assumes that *pakāsituṃ/desituṃ* = *pakāsitaṃ/desitaṃ*.

[45] For a similar paraphrase in a case where *alaṃ* is used as a negation, cf. Mp IV 103,6 (ad A IV 188,1): *alan ti paṭikkhepavacanaṃ. kiṃ iminā ti attho.* The clause *kiṃ iminā* evidently parallels *ko attho desitena.* Buddhaghosa interprets *kiṃ* as a negation [*paṭikkhepavacana*] in Spk I 132,5 (*ad* S I 68,24: *kiṃ pana bhavaṃ Gotamo daharo c'eva jātiyā*); for examples of the use of *alaṃ* as a negation, cf. CPD *s. v.*

[46] Cf. the parallel versions of the verse at Mvu III: 314: *kṛcchreṇa me adhigato alaṃ dāni prakāśituṃ;* Lal 397: *kṛcchreṇa me 'yaṃ samprāptaṃ alaṃ tasmāt prakāśituṃ.*

[47] For examples of Buddhaghosa's Pāṇinian analyses, cf. "Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I and II.1", *JPTS* XIII, 33–82 and *ibid.* XIV, 175–218.

[48] Cf. Sv-pṭ II 78,13–15: *halan ti alan ti iminā samānatthaṃ padaṃ "halan ti vadāmī" ti ādisu viya.*

as a negation,[49] without commenting, however, on the seemingly anomalous negative value of *alaṃ* + infinitive.

4. Although the CPD presents a comprehensive list of examples of the various constructions with *alaṃ* that occur in the canon, their semantics have not been sufficiently described. Thus, for instance, no attempt has been made to relate the case or verbal syntax of *alaṃ* to specific semantic values. It would therefore seem necessary to describe the different types of construction with *alam* in order to show the syntactical conditions that determine their semantics. In this connection I shall also relate the uses of *alaṃ* in the Pāli canon to the relevant Pāṇinian rules, because a good number of the syntactical usages that are described and codified in the Aṣṭâdhyāyī are found in the Pāli.

5. In the Pāli four basic types of constructions with *alaṃ* have been recorded so far:[50]

[a] *(h)alaṃ* used absolutely as an independent negation. This usage is mostly found in conjunction with a following voc., followed by *mā* + aor. Meaning: Negation: No! Enough! Halt! Stop! Stop it!; examples: *halan ti vadāmi*, M I 245,16 (*alam iminā, mā evaṃ karittha ... ti evaṃ paṭisedhemī ti attho*, Ps II 290,7–9); *alaṃ dāni Ānanda, mā tathāgataṃ yāci*, D II 115,5 (*alan ti paṭikkhepavacanam etaṃ*, Sv 563,29). Pāṇini does not explicitly describe this usage, but the rule laid down in Pāṇ III 4 18: *alaṃkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācāṃ ktvā:* according to the Eastern Grammarians, the absolutive suffix *ktvā* [= *-tvā*] is used [in construction with] the negations "*alam*" and "*khalu*," shows indirectly that the usage of *alam* as a negation was known to him. Kāś *ad* Pāṇ I 4 64 mentions negation as one of the meanings of *alam: alam iti pratiṣedhe sāmarthye paryāptau bhūṣaṇe cêti viśeṣaṇam upādīyate*,[51] and Buddhaghosa's vocabulary [cf. his use of *paṭisedhemi* and *paṭikkhepavacanaṃ*] is obviously inscribed in a similar grammatical context.

[b] *alaṃ* in construction with the dative. Meaning: deserving, worthy of; fit for, capable of, able to; sufficient to; correct to; examples: *alaṃ hi te ... kukkuccāya, alaṃ vippaṭisārāya*, Vin III 19,31 (= *alaṃ sammatthaṃ ... kukkuccaṃ uppādetun tu vuttaṃ hoti*, Sp 217,9–10); *samaṇo Gotamo nâlaṃ sallāpāya*, D III 38,12 (= *na samattho allāpasallāpaṃ kātuṃ*, Sv 834,17); *alaṃ vat' idaṃ kulaputtassa padhānatthikassa padhānāyā ti*, M I 167,6 (= *samatthaṃ*, Ps I 174,4); *sabbe dhammā nâlaṃ abhinivesāya*, M I 251,22 (= *nâlaṃ, na*

[49] Cf. Sadd 889,4–9: *na no mā a- alaṃ halam icc ete paṭisedhanatthe ... "halam dāni pakāsituṃ."*

[50] I do not include [1] examples of *alaṃ* functioning as an adjective qualifying a noun; for such examples, cf. CPD *s.v.*; [2] examples of syntactical complements to the fundamental types, e.g. *alaṃ* + infinitive, with a noun in the gen. as a complement, for which cf. CPD *s.v.*

[51] Cf. also Am-k III 3 252: *alaṃ bhūṣaṇa-paryāpti-śakti-vāraṇa-vācakam; ibid.* III 4 11: *alaṃ ca vāraṇe.*

pariyattā, na samatthā, na yuttā, Ps II 298,16–17); *dhammakathiko bhikkhū ti alaṃ vacanāya*, S II 18,10 (= *evaṃ vattabbataṃ arahati; yutto anucchaviko ti attho*. Spk II 34,20; This usage is basically covered by Pāṇ II 3 [13+] 16: *namaḥ-svasti-svahā-svadhā-alam-vaṣaḍ-yogāc ca:* moreover, [the dat. case suffix is used] in construction with "*namaḥ*", "*svasti*", "*svahā*", "*svadhā*", "*alam*", "*vaṣaḍ*". As appears from Buddhaghosa's vocabulary, his exegesis is indebted to Pāṇ III 4 [65+] 66 *and* Kāś *ad loc.*, for which, *v. supra*.

[c] *alaṃ* in construction with the instrumental. Meaning: enough of ...; hence: no more of ...; stop with ...: *alaṃ ettavatā*, D I 207,5; *alan dān' ajja uyyānabhūmiyā*, D II 22,15; *yāva bhante bhagavato kāyo pakatatto hoti, alaṃ yūsapiṇḍapātenā ti*, Vin I 280,12[52]; *alaṃ etehi ambehi*, Ja III 133,26*. The construction *alaṃ* + instr., for which there is no explicit rule in Pāṇini's grammar, is exclusively used as a negation in Pāli. The absence of a particular Pāṇinian rule dealing with the semantics of this type of construction might explain why Buddhaghosa never bothers to comment upon it. As appears from his glosses, he evidently considers it an extension of the positive use falling under the semantic category of *pariyatti*. On the other hand, both Candra-v *ad* Candra I 3 129 (*alaṃkhaluśabdayoḥ pratiśedhârthayoḥ prayoge ktvā vā bhavati: alaṃ kṛtvā; khalu kṛtvā; alaṃ kṛtena; khalu kṛtena*) and Kāś *ad* Pāṇ III 4 18 (*alaṃ, khalu ity etayoḥ pratiśedhavācinor upapadayor dhātoḥ ktvā pratyayo bhavati prācyāṃ ācāryāṇāṃ matena:— alaṃ kṛtvā; khalu kṛtvā; alaṃ bāle ruditvā ... prācyāṃgrahaṇaṃ vikalpârthaṃ: alaṃ rodena*) show that this construction, among Sanskrit grammarians, was considered semantically equivalent to constructions with *alam* + absolutive. This is also the case with Pāli, although the construction *alam* + instr. does not occur very often.

[d] *alaṃ* in construction with the infinitive. Meaning: deserving, worthy of; fit for, capable of, able to; sufficient to; correct to; examples: *alaṃ kātuṃ*, Vin IV 211,14 (= *samatthā ... kātuṃ*, Sp 900,17); *alaṃ eva ... dassanāya upasaṃkamituṃ*, D I 117,19 (= *yuttam eva*, Sv 288,20); *alam eva sabbasaṃkhāresu nibbinditum*, S II 178,24 (= *yuttam eva*, Spk II 156,24); *nâlaṃ saṅghamhā vapakāsituṃ*, A III 145,23 (= *saṅghato nikkhamitvā ekako va vasituṃ na yutto*, Mp III 282,15). Buddhaghosa's vocabulary shows that he is indebted to Pāṇ III 4 66: *paryāptivacaneṣv alamartheṣu:* [The suffix "*tumun*" (= *-tum*) is added to a verb] in construction with [words] having the meaning of *alaṃ*, when they express capability, sufficiency or adequacy.

6. It is thus clear that the four basic types of construction with *alaṃ* fall into two distinct semantic categories: [a] and [c] representing examples of the use of *alaṃ* as a negation, whereas *alaṃ* in the examples quoted sub [b] and [d]

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[52] I. B. HORNER, Vin. trsl. IV: 306, rejects OLDENBERG and T. W. RHYS DAVIDS' translation "you had better abstain from liquid food," and suggests translating "almsfood of juices will be enough", which evidently is wrong, as indicated by the context.

has an exclusively affirmative value. The systematic distribution of the syntactical constructions and their respective semantics thus makes it possible to conclude that *pakāsitum* does not have the usual value of an infinitive in this particular case. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of the traditional view that *halaṃ* is used in a negative sense, because it fits with the context: the expression *halan dāni* itself suggests a strong negation, in the same way as *alaṃ dāni* quoted sub [a]: *alaṃ dāni, Ānanda, mā Tathāgataṃ yāci*, D II 115,5 ["enough then, Ānanda, do not ask questions of the Tathāgata"] and sub [c]: *alan dān' ajja uyyānabhūmiyā*, D II 22,15 ["enough then of the pleasure garden"]. The apparent grammatical and semantical anomaly of the clause *halan dāni pakāsituṃ* stems basically from the assumption that *pakāsituṃ* is used with the value of an infinitive. The problem is solved, however, when we assume that it does not have such value, but rather has the value of an absolutive. In Prakrit infinitives are occasionally used with the syntactical function of the absolutive. In fact, in Prakrit the value of the infinitive and the absolutive seem to converge to the point where one form may assume the syntactical functions of the other.[53] It has not been possible to trace examples, in Prakrit literature, of the construction *alaṃ* + absolutive/infinitive used in a prohibitive sense, but the semantically equivalent construction: *alaṃ* + instr. is quite frequent.[54] Edgerton quotes a few examples of so-called absolutives in °*tuṃ* in *BHS* [v. BHSG 35.54] that perhaps are better explained as Prakritisms, i.e., as examples of the convergence, in Prakrit, of the value of the absolutive and the infinitive. Thus it seems necessary to add a fifth type of construction with *alaṃ* which apparently never became productive in Pāli, because it has only been possible to identify one additional instance in the Pāli canon:

[e] *alaṃ* in construction with the infinitive having the value of the absolutive. Meaning: enough of; no more of; stop with; example: Ja III 226,10: *alaṃ hi te jagghitāye mamaṃ disvāna edisaṃ:* "stop laughing at seeing me in this state."

8. This example suggested to H. KERN[55] that *jagghitāye*, in fact, is an absolutive corresponding to Sanskrit absolutives in °*tvāya*.[56] However, the morpheme °*tāye* as such is well-attested with the value of an infinitive, so it

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[53] For infinitives used as absolutives and *vice versa*, cf. PISCHEL § 576 on the infinitive used as absolutive: the similar change of meaning in Apabhraṃśa makes it probable that in fact dialectically the infinitive has been used as the absolutive and *vice versa* [v. PISCHEL §§ 585; 588; 590]; *Studien zum Mahānisīha*, Kapitel 15 von Jozef DELEU und Walter SCHUBRING, Hamburg, 1963: Absolutive § 20; Colette CAILLAT, *Candāvejjhāya*, Paris, 1971 § 69.

[54] Cf. e.g. the examples found in W. SCHUBRING's edition of Ācārāṅga-Sūtra: *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra, Erster Śrutaskandha*, Leipzig, 1910, for which v. Glossar *s.v. alaṃ*.

[55] Cf. *Verspreide Geschr.* 2: 265.

[56] On which, cf. AiGr. II.2: § 484 b).

is difficult to interpret it otherwise.[57] It is noteworthy, however, that the ct. on this verse substitutes a standard absolutive form for the infinitive *jagghitāye*, using the construction *alaṃ* + instr. for *alaṃ* + absolutive in the subsequent paraphrase of the verse at 226: *tattha alan ti paṭisedhatthe nipāto jagghitāye ti hasitvā*[58] ... *maṃ edisaṃ* ... *disvā tava alaṃ hasitena*.[59] As already mentioned above, Pāṇini addresses the use of *alam* as a negation in Pāṇ III 4 18.[60] Since Pāṇini does not address the similar value of *alam* + infinitive, this type of construction may not have been known to him.

9. In the light of the fact that there are only two recorded instances in Pāli of this type of construction it is interesting that Vjb 397,11 records the variant *pakāsitaṃ*[61] without attempting a grammatical analysis. The same variant is quoted and analysed in Sp-ṭ III 153,23 foll. in accordance with Buddhaghosa's analysis at Sv [*v.* § 2. [b]]: *pakāsitan ti pi paṭhanti desitan ti attho. evaṃ kicchena adhigatassa dhammassa alaṃ desitaṃ pariyattaṃ desitaṃ. ko attho desitenā ti vuttaṃ hoti*. In fact, Buddhaghosa's analysis makes much better sense grammatically if one assumes that it is based upon the reading *pakāsitaṃ* and not upon *pakāsituṃ*. However, the interesting point about the variant is that it is possible to interpret it as a nasalised absolutive in °*itā* > °*itaṃ*, in analogy with *kattaṃ*[62] < *kattā*.[63] It is, of course, not possible to decide whether the variant is genuine or whether it originates in an attempt at harmonizing the transmitted reading with the exegetical annotations of the Aṭṭhakathās. One cannot, however, dismiss it right away as dubious because Vjb sometimes quotes better readings than those transmitted in the Pāli canon.[64] Thus one cannot exclude the possibility that the variant *pakāsitaṃ* in fact is an old absolutive, for which a standard infinitive was substituted later on.

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[57] Cf. GEIGER PTS 1994 § 204.1 (c).

[58] Cf. the *v.l. hasituṃ*.

[59] Cf. the *v.l. hasituṃ tvaṃ*.

[60] In the context of Pāṇ III 4 18 it is noticeable that the Vin t.t. *khalupacchābhattika* (secondary derivation < *khalupacchābhatta* + *ika*) represents the only recorded instance of the use of *khalu* in a negative sense; cf. Buddhaghosa Vism,61,4–5: *na pacchābhattiko* = *khalupacchābhattiko*.

[61] Cf. *loc. cit. pakāsitaṃ pakāsitun ti ubhayathā pātho*.

[62] Cf. CPD *s.v.*

[63] For other examples of absolutives in °*itaṃ* < °*itā*, cf. Ja IV 142,14* {= Cp 99]: *nâbhijānāmi saṃcicca ekapāṇaṃ pi hiṃsitaṃ*; it is clear that *hiṃsitaṃ* is not a pp. qualifying *ekapāṇaṃ* because *abhi* + √*jñā* is systematically constructed with the absolutive, when it means to recall or remember [CPD *s.v. abhijānāti* is not sufficiently clear on this point]; cf. Ps I 204,6–7: *yato' haṃ jāto nâbhijānāmi sañcicca pāṇaṃ jīvitā voropetā* = As 103,19–20: *abhijānāmi* ... *sarīraṃ nikkhipitaṃ*, D II 198,24; *sarasi tvaṃ evarūpiṃ vācaṃ bhāsitaṃ* (Ee so; Be and Mogg-v ad Mogg II 41 °*tā*), Vin III 44,10 (*evarūpiṃ vācaṃ* ... *bhāsitvā* [*v.l.* °*etvā*], Sp 295,14–18).

[64] Thus, for instance, Vjb 416,1 mentions the variant *paccavyathaṃ*, aor. 1. sg. for *paccavyathā* [sic] at Vin I 40,3 [cf. no. 10 *supra*].

This may well have been due to the fact that the construction as such was no longer clearly understood. Moreover, *pakāsitaṃ* is difficult to construe *prima facie* and clearly represents a *lectio difficilior* that cannot easily be rejected.

10. It would seem reasonable to deduce from the Buddhist Sanskrit versions of the verse found in Mhv III: 314: *kṛcchreṇa me adhigato alaṃ dāni prakāśitum* and Lalitavistara 397: *kṛcchreṇa me 'yaṃ samprāptaṃ alaṃ tasmāt prakāśitum*, that the translators based them on a text showing the same linguistic features. On the other hand, one should be careful in interpreting the use of the infinitive *prakāśitum* as a reflex of the orginal version: there is a tendency in *BHS* to substitute the infinitive for the absolutive, as in the well-known Majjhima phrase M I 80,5–6: *abhijānāmi ahaṃ ... āhāraṃ āhāritā*, which is translated at Lal 254,2: *abhijānāmi ... āhāraṃ āhartum*,[65] although *abhijānāmi* is systematically constructed with the absolutive in Pāli,[66] when it means to recall, remember, whereas Sanskrit presupposes yet another type of construction.[67]

11. In Sanskrit there are surprisingly few recorded examples of the construction *alaṃ* + absolutive.[68] In fact, it may never have been productive except locally, as Pāṇini's reference to the eastern grammarians perhaps indicates. We find a few examples of *alaṃ* + infinitive with a negative value in late Sanskrit[69] and Buddhist Sanskrit literature. However, in the case of Buddhist Sanskrit the recorded examples may well stem from the MI sources on which the Sanskrit reproductions were made.[70] In spite of the fact that there are no other identifiable examples of *alaṃ* + absolutive in the Pāli canon, Moggallāna has devoted a sūtra to the description of its semantics.[71] A late source like Mhv LXXVI 40: *yojetvâlaṃ* [< *yojetvā* + *alaṃ*][72] *mahamacce mūlabhūte 'tra kammani* ("do not appoint the chief ministers to this job"), makes use of a construction that is no longer productive and thus evidently presupposes knowledge of the grammatical literature.

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[65] BHSD *s.v. abhijānāmi* is clearly wrong on this construction.

[66] Cf. CPD *s.v. okkamitā*.

[67] Cf. Pāṇ III 2:112: *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ*.

[68] For this construction in Sanskrit, cf. Ai. Gr. II.2 § 484. a).

[69] Cf. RENOU, *Grammaire*, § 107.

[70] Cf., for instance, Jātakamālā 153,2: *alaṃ māṃ anyathā pratigrāhitum*, to which J. S. SPEYER refers in *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* § 193 Anm.; L. RENOU, *Grammaire* § 107 quotes the problematic phrase Divy 207,23 [= Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, 19.6]: *alam eva sarvasaṃskārān saṃskaritum* as an example of the use of *alaṃ* as a negation; this is incorrect as indicated by the parallel at D II 198,21 as well as the Tib. and Chin. translations; cf. E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Teil II 1951: 222–23.

[71] Cf. Mogg V 62: *paṭisedhe 'laṃ-khalūnaṃ tūna-ktvāna-ktvā vā*.

[72] CPD (*s.v. alaṃ*) *ad loc.* follows GEIGER's suggestion (Cūlavaṃsa-Trsl. no. *ad loc.*) and analyses wrongly *yojetu(ṃ) alaṃ*.

If You Can't Remember, How to Make It Up: Some Monastic Rules for Redacting Canonical Texts

GREGORY SCHOPEN, Austin

Scholarly opinion has naturally varied in regard to the importance and value of the 'historical' elements — the names of places and persons — in the narrative frames found in early buddhist canonical literatures. L. COUSINS, for example, in discussing the "kind of variation which is actually found in the different versions of the four nikayas preserved by various sects and extant today in Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan," says "these divergences are typically greatest in matters of little importance — such items as the locations of suttas, the names of individual speakers or the precise order of occurrence of events."[1] A. K. WARDER, however, sees something quite different in these "matters of little importance." He says: "The individual '*Suttantas*', however, mostly have their place of origin noted, and sometimes the time, and they generally give a detailed and circumstantial account of the events leading up to the main discourse or dialogue. ... These records of the activity of the Buddha were regarded by the Schools which rehearsed them as authentic historical records of the events connected with the foundation of their order (*Saṅgha*) and the promulgation of their doctrine. The records are circumstantial and realistic and purport to be eye-witness accounts of the events. It seems we must accept the conclusion that some such eye-witness reports, at least, formed the model for this apparently unique style of literature ..."[2]

Still other scholars have seen still other things in these elements and in their patterns of occurrence. In a series of observations C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS noted the overwhelming preponderance of Śrāvastī as the setting for the "talks" of the Buddha — WOODWARD even counted the cases: 871 of the *suttas* of the four *nikāyas* are set there. Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS came to the following conclusion: "Either the founder *mainly* resided there, or else Sāvatthi was the earliest emporium (? library) for the collection and preservation

[1] L. S. COUSINS, "Pali Oral Literature", *Buddhist Studies. Ancient and Modern*, ed. P. DENWOOD & A. PIATIGORSKY, London & Dublin, 1983, 5; cf. R. GOMBRICH, "How the Mahāyāna Began", *The Buddhist Forum*, ed. T. SKORUPSKI, London, 1990, vol. I, 21–22.

[2] A. K. WARDER, "The Pali Canon and Its Commentaries as an Historical Record", *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. C. H. PHILIPS, London, 1961, 47.

(however it was done) of the talks."[3] WOODWARD preferred the latter explanation ("I think it likely, as Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS has conjectured ... that the whole collection was stored and systematized at Sāvatthī"[4]), G. P. MALALASEKERA the former ("The first alternative is the more likely, as the Commentaries state that the Buddha spent twenty-five rainy seasons in Sāvatthi"[5]). Thich MINH CHAU, who pursued a comparative analysis of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and the Pāli *Majjhima-nikāya*, arrived at still stronger conclusions. He noted that there was "nearly 80% agreement" between the two collections in regard to the setting of the individual *sūtras* and said: "This proves that both versions drew their contents from almost the same source, perhaps the old lost canon, and that at the time of compilation of these sūtras, Sanskrit and Pāli, the oral traditions handed down were still fresh in the memory of the compilers."[6]

For "matters of little importance" these narrative elements have, then, entered into a surprisingly large number of discussions bearing on such things as the biography of the Buddha and the transmission of buddhist literature. But they may have played an even greater role in the increasingly frequent discussions of the relationship between early buddhism and the re-emergence of urbanism in early historic India. Here one example might suffice. B. G. GOKHALE begins his paper entitled "Early Buddhism and the Urban Revolution" by saying: "It is now generally accepted that early Buddhism rode to popular acceptance on the crest of a significant urban revolution ..." He then goes on to show that "statistically, the number of *suttas* delivered in urban centers, even in our limited sample, is overwhelmingly large (83.43%) while the rest (16.57%) are distributed over 76 different places, among which are included some towns, *nigamas*, villages and the 'countryside' (*janapada*). The share of rural areas in the total sample is thus very small." His numbers are impressive: "The total number of place names thus collected is 1009. Of these, 842 (83.43%) refer to five cities, while the rest, 167 (16.57%) cover 76 separate places ...". His methods and assumptions are also unusually clear: "Every place name associated with the delivery of the rule or *sutta* was carefully noted ... the authenticity of place-association has been assumed, as it is based on a long tradition of faithful text-transmission with little possibility of interpolation or extrapolation."[7]

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[3] C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, *The Majjhima-nikāya*, London, 1925, vol. IV, vi; F. L. WOODWARD, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, London, 1925, vol. III, x–xii; F. L. WOODWARD, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, London, 1927, vol. IV, xiv-v.

[4] F. L. WOODWARD, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, London, 1930, vol. V, xvii–xviii.

[5] G. P. MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, 1938, vol. II, 1127.

[6] Thich MINH CHAU, *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya. A Comparative Study*, Saigon, 1964, 52–56; esp. 55.

[7] B. G. GOKHALE, "Early Buddhism and the Urban Revolution", *JIABS* 5.2, 1982, 7; 20; 10; 10.

Remarks like these of GOKHALE have gained wide currency[8] and are delivered as virtual facts even outside Indian studies. E. ZÜRCHER, for example, has recently said in a paper on Han Buddhism: "The urban setting of Buddhism is amply confirmed by the scriptural tradition: the Buddha's sermons are generally situated at or near big cities like Vaiśālī, Śrāvastī, Rājagṛha and Benares, and the first famous donations made by lay supporters are not only reported to have been made by the local rulers, but also by prominent citizens: the rich bankers Anāthapiṇḍada at Śrāvastī ..."[9] — Once again these narrative elements appear to be carrying some fairly weighty matters, matters that one might want to be sure of, and here we strike a problem.

We know next to nothing for certain about what GOKHALE has assumed — the "authenticity" of the association of texts and their settings — because we know next to nothing for certain about how early buddhist texts were redacted and transmitted. Apart from the traditional accounts of the first council, our literary sources seem to say very little about such issues. This more general silence makes a short text tucked away in the second volume of the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* that much more remarkable, although — as I think will become evident — it is remarkable in other ways as well.

The *Kṣudrakavastu* passage deals with a specific problem of textual transmission: what is to be done when elements of texts are no longer remembered or lost or unknown; it also deals with a problem of preservation: how can the loss of texts be avoided. Given that the various *vinayas* give little evidence for a clearly organized system that could carry over time even a moderately seized textual corpus — let alone the enormous collections that have been taken to constitute 'early' buddhist literature — both problems could well have been frequent. At least the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, moreover, seems to have taken for granted a low level of textual knowledge on the part of monks: its *Vinayavibhaṅga* contains rules governing a situation

[8] For a sampling of citations concerning the urban settings of early buddhism and the six great cities see N. WAGLE, *Society at the Time of the Buddha*, Bombay, 1966, 12; 27; A. GHOSH, *The City in Early Historical India*, Simla, 1973, 15–16; 64–65; R. THAPAR, *From Lineage to State. Social Formations in the Mid-First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley*, Bombay, 1984, 109; R. F. GOMBRICH, *Theravāda Buddhism. A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, London & New York, 1988, 54; H. HÄRTEL, "Archaeological Research on Ancient Buddhist Sites", *The Dating of the Historical Buddha/Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*, ed. H. BECHERT, Part I, Göttingen, 1991, 63ff.; G. ERDOSY, "The Archaeology of Early Buddhism", *Studies on Buddhism. In Honour of Professor A. K. Warder*, eds. N. K. WAGLE & F. WATANABE, Toronto, 1993, 52–53; F. R. ALLCHIN, *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia. The Emergence of Cities and States*, Cambridge, 1995, 110; 115; D. K. CHAKRABARTI, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, Delhi, 1995, 215; etc.

[9] E. ZÜRCHER, "Han Buddhism and the Western Region", *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China. Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. W. L. IDEMA & E. ZÜRCHER, Leiden, 1990, 170.

where monks were unable to explain to visitors the wheel of rebirth painted on the porch of the monastery[10]; its *Kṣudrakavastu* has rules that are to be applied when monks — even the most senior monks — are incapable of reciting the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*[11]; and both its *Pārivāsika-* and *Kṣudraka-vastus* have specific provisions for dealing with the situation where a monk was incapable of reciting even the daily recitation of "the Qualities of the Teacher"[12]. The presence of such rules is not reassuring. The text we are most concerned with, however, addresses a specific form of tbis incompetence.

Kṣudrakavastu
(Tog *Tha* 56b.5-57a.5; Derge *Da* 39b.3-40a.1)[13]

gleng gzhi ni mnyan yod na'o |

sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das la | tshe dang ldan pa nye bar 'khor gyis zhus pa | btsun pa ma 'ongs pa'i dus na dge slong dran pa nyams pa | dran pa zhan pa dag 'byung ste | de dag gis gnas dang | grong dang | grong rdal gang dang gang du mdo sde gang bshad pa dang | bslab pa'i gzhi gang bcas pa ma 'tshal bar gyur pa na | de dag gis ji ltar bsgrub par bgyi | gzhan yang mdo sde dang | 'dul ba dang | chos mngon pa bskyud par 'gyur na | de dag gis ji ltar bsgrub par bgyi | gzhan yang rgyal po dang | khyim bdag dang | dge bsnyen rnams kyi sngon gyi bka' mchid dag (57a) la gnas dang | rgyal po dang | grong khyer dang | grong rdal dang | khyim bdag dang | dge bsnyen rnams kyi ming bskyud par gyur na | de dag gis ji ltar bsgrub par bgyi | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | nye bar 'khor gang gis gnas la sogs pa'i ming brjed par gyur pa de dag gis grong khyer chen po drug las gang yang rung ba 'am | yang na de bzhin gshegs pa gang du lan mang du bzhugs pa brjod par bya'o | ji ste rgyal po'i ming brjed na ni gsal rgyal lo | khyim bdag gi ming ni mgon med zas sbyin no | dge bsnyen ma ni ri dags sgra'i ma sa ga'o | sngon gyi gtam gyi gnas ni wā rā ṇā si'o | rgyal po ni tshangs sbyin no | khyim bdag

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[10] Derge, *dul 'ba Ja* 113b.3 ff.; Divy 298.24 ff.; J. PRZYLUSKI, "La roue de la vie à Ajaṇṭā", *Journal asiatique*, 1920, 316 ff.

[11] Derge, *dul 'ba Tha* 201b.2-202b.5 = Tog, *dul 'ba Ta* 302a.5-303b.7..

[12] *GM* III, 3, 97.17 = Tog, *dul 'ba Ga* 241a.1; and Tog, *dul 'ba Ta* 157a.4 = Derge, *dul 'ba Tha* 103b.7. Reciting or Praising the Qualities of the Teacher, *śāstur guṇasaṃkīrtana*, is referred to several times in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*. Whether it refers to a specific text or not is not clear, although it appears that like the *Triḍaṇḍaka*, with which it is often paired, it was a recitative formulary; see G. SCHOPEN, "The Lay Ownership of Monasteries and the Role of the Monk in Mūlasarvāstivādin Monasticism", *JIABS* 19.1, 1996, 95 n. 34.

[13] The text as it occurs in Tog is cited here. Although there are no significant variations here between Tog and Derge — the only two editions available to me — this is certainly not the case for the *Kṣudrakavastu* as a whole. There are in fact significant differences between these two editions in regard to numerous texts now found in the *Kṣudraka* — compare, for example, Tog *dul 'ba Tha* 127a.2-127b.7 and Derge *dul 'ba Da* 87a.6-87b.6, or Tog *dul 'ba Tha* 213b.2-216a.5 and Derge *dul 'ba Da* 143b.1-145a.4. These differences may prove of use to students of Kanjur history.

ni khyim bdag sdums byed do | dge bsnyen ma ni khyim bdag gso sbyong skyes kyi chung ma brjod par bya'o | mdo sde dang | 'dul ba dang | chos mngon pa rnams brjed par 'gyur na | glegs bu la bris nas bcang bar bya ste | 'di la 'gyod par mi bya'o |

"The setting (*nidāna*) is in Śrāvastī.

The Venerable Upāli asked the Buddha, the Blessed One: "Reverend One, in the future monks will appear who have imperfect memories, feeble memories. If they do not know in which place, village (*grāma*), or town (*nigama*) which *sūtra* was taught and which rule of training was promulgated how are they to supply (*samudānayitavya, vidhātavya*) them? If, moreover, they were to forget the *sūtra* or *vinaya* or *abhidharma*, how are they to supply them? Or again, if they were to forget the name of the place or the king or the city (*nagara*) or the town or the householder or the lay-brother in a story of the past about a king or householder or lay-brother, how are they to supply them?"

The Blessed One said: "Upāli, those who forget the name of the place, etc., must declare it was one or another of the six great cities, or somewhere where the Tathāgata stayed many times. If he forgets the name of the king, he must declare it was Prasenajit; if the name of the householder, that it was Anāthapiṇḍada; of the lay-sister, that it was Mṛgāramātā; of the place of a story of the past, that it was Vārāṇasī; of the king, that it was Brahmadatta; of the householder, that it was the householder Saṃdhāna; of the lay sister, that it was the wife of the householder *Poṣadhajāta[14]. If he would forget the *sūtra* or *vinaya* or *abhidharma*, when he has written it down on a folio it should be preserved. In this there is no cause for remorse."

The basic rules delivered by our text are straightforward. They indicate that when the name of the place or village or town where a *sūtra* or rule was delivered is lost or unknown the reciter or redactor should supply the name of one of "the six great cities" (*ṣaṇ-mahānagara*), or the name of "a place where the Tathāgata stayed many times." Anyone at all familiar with early buddhist canonical literature as we have it will know that the two categories 'places where the Buddha stayed many times', and 'the six great cities', are

[14] This reconstruction is doubtful; I have not been able to find an attested equivalent for *gso sbyong skyes*. In fact personal names are a particular problem in the *Kṣudrakavastu*. At Tog *dul 'ba Tha* 213b.2ff., for example, the name of the nun involved is consistently given as *gub ta*, and it is only in the *Ekottarakarmaśataka*, Derge, bstan 'gyur, *dul 'ba Wu* 191b.3ff., that we get the name written *sbed ma*. J. L. PANGLUNG, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung*, Tokyo, 1981, 306, gives *Guptika* as the equivalent of *sbed pa*, so our nun's name was probably *Guptikā*. This sort of non-standard rendering is even used sometimes in regard to well-known names in the *Kṣudrakavastu*. The standard translation for Jetavana is, of course, *rgyal byed kyi tshal*, but it is not uncommon to find it rendered as *'dza ta'i tshal* in the *Kṣudraka* (see Tog, *dul 'ba Tha* 204b.3; 206a.7; 212a.1; etc.); see also J.-U. HARTMANN, "Fragmente aus dem Dīrghāgama der Sarvāstivādins", *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen*, bearbeitet von F. ENOMOTO, J.-U. HARTMANN, H. MATSUMURA (Göttingen: 1989), 62–63. Apart from *Poṣadhajāta, all the other names in our text have attested equivalents which I have used. I have also occasionally inserted Sanskrit equivalents for other terms when they are well attested.

in fact almost, if not entirely, coterminous: the Buddha — according to that literature — *only* stayed "many times" in one or another, but mostly one, of the great cities. But notice, too, that even according only to our text when the name of a "village" or "town" was lost it was to be replaced by the name of "a great city" — this alone would shift the setting of buddhist teaching more and more to major urban sites.

Our rules are, moreover, not as flexible as they might at first sight seem. At first sight it would seem that the unknown or forgotten name could be replaced by that of any of the six great cities — Śrāvastī, Sāketā, Vaiśālī, Vārāṇasī, Rājagṛha and Campā, according to the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition (the Pāli tradition substitutes Kosambī for Vaiśālī, but is otherwise the same).[15] But this range of options is then severely restricted by the additional provisions of our rule. If the names of a king or householder or lay-sister are lost they *must* be replaced with the names Prasenajit, Anāthapiṇḍada and Mṛgāramātā — there are no options. All three of these worthies are, however, from Śrāvastī and inextricably bound up with it. To replace the lost name of a king, for example, with that of Prasenajit would therefore, it seems, almost by necessity require that the setting — if preserved — also be changed to Śrāvastī. Although buddhist redactors seem sometimes cavalier about consistency, it almost certainly would not do to have a text associated with Prasenajit or Anāthapiṇḍada set in Campā or Vārāṇasī. Our rules clearly favor Śrāvastī.

In regard to 'stories of the past' there can be no doubt and there are, again, no options. If the setting or the name of the king associated with such a story is not known, it must be declared to have been set in Vārāṇasī, and the king must be said to have been Brahmadatta.

The absence or narrow limitation of options allowed in our short text would suggest that, however unsophisticated, it was intended to provide a systematic solution to what could have been a frequent problem, to in effect systematically limit a redactor's choices in regard to where he set a text whose provenance was unknown. But before we attempt to find evidence for the application of such a system we might make some attempt, however unsophisticated, to date it.

Our text appears to present only one crude marker that might be of use in dating it. It refers to three categories of buddhist texts: *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *abhidharma*. This list does not correspond with what appears to be the standard list found elsewhere in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*. There we find

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[15] For the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition see, for example, *GM* III, 2, 119.19–120.3 (= G. SCHOPEN, "Deaths, Funerals, and the Division of Property in a Monastic Code", *Buddhism in Practice*, ed. D. S. LOPEZ, Jr., Princeton, 1995, 497); for the Pāli, T. W. RHYS DAVIDS & J. E. CARPENTER, *The Dīgha Nikāya*, London, 1903, vol. II, 146.13.

sūtra, vinaya and *mātṛkā*.[16] If *mātṛkā* represents the forerunner or earlier form of *abhidharma* there can, of course, be no doubt about which list is earlier, and this would suggest that our text could be relatively late, later at least than the bulk of the literature of which it now forms a part.[17] If we add to this that this literature, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, is itself considered by many to be late — LAMOTTE, for example, thinks it is the latest of the *vinayas* and says "we cannot attribute to this work a date earlier than the fourth-fifth centuries of the Christian era"[18] — then our text may represent a late piece of a late compilation and could, if LAMOTTE is right, be as late as the 4th/5th centuries C.E.

Obviously, even the moderately frequent operation of our apparently late, perhaps 4th or 5th century, rules would have generated a *sūtra* and *vinaya* literature dominated by Śrāvastī, and a *Jātaka* literature dominated by Vārāṇasī. It is therefore at least worth noting that the collections that have come down to us, and that we conventionally take to be 'early', appear to represent just such literatures.

The Pāli collection of *Jātakas* as we have it, for example, might be taken to instance in a particularly striking way the kind of collection rules like those found in our Mūlasarvāstivādin text would — almost by necessity — generate. All of its texts are 'stories of the past' so that if their setting was unknown they would, by the rule, have to be set in Vārāṇasī or Benares, and any reference to a king would have to be to Brahmadatta. Now, Franklin Edgerton noted almost incidentally in his great Dictionary that Brahmadatta was the name "of various kings of Benares city and the land of Kāśī," and that reference to a Brahmadatta was "in many Pāli *Jātakas* formulaic at the beginning of the story ... playing no part in the story itself."[19] What Edgerton might have meant by "many" can be made a bit more precise by thumbing quickly through the text of the *Jātakas* published by the Pāli Text Society. Slightly more than four hundred of the five hundred and forty seven

[16] See, for example, R. GNOLI, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, Rome, 1978, 3.18; 44.15; 71.6; *GM* III, 2, 173.7; III, 3, 116.21; III, 4, 97.12; etc. (cf. H. HU-VON HINÜBER, *Das Poṣadhavastu. Vorschriften für die buddhistische Beichtfeier im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*, Reinbek, 1994, 227–31). But see also R. GNOLI, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, Rome, 1978, Part II, 205.8 where *sūtravinayadharābhidhārmikāraṇyakas* are referred to, and *GM* III, 2, 173.16.

[17] On the relationship of *mātṛkā* and *abhidharma* see the recent discussion and sources cited in R. GETHIN, "The Mātikās: Memorization, Mindfulness, and the List", *In the Mirror of Memory. Reflections on Mindfulness and Remembrance in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. J. GYATSO, Albany, 1992, 149–72; esp. 156 ff.

[18] ÉT. LAMOTTE, *History of Indian Buddhism. From the Origins to the Śaka Era*, transl. S. WEBB-BOIN, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1988, 657. My own view is that such a date is too late by more than one century, and LAMOTTE himself seems to have changed his mind after 1958. But the question cannot be appropriately discussed here.

[19] F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, 403, s.v. Brahmadatta.

jātakas found in that collection are set, by their opening phrase, in Benares during the reign of King Brahmadatta. Thirty-six additional *jātakas* which do not explicitly refer to Brahmadatta are also set in Benares. And there are as well some curious anomalies like that found in the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka* where a king of Benares named Udaya is, in spite of his name, addressed as Brahmadatta. The numbers involved here — something approaching consistency — make it unlikely that the setting of these texts was accidental or, even, whimsical. The choice appears to have been made according to some sort of system, and that system must have looked very much like the rules in our late Mūlasarvāstivādin text.[20] Evidence, perhaps, for the operation of that same system might also be found in the Pāli *sutta* collection.

Rules like those found in our Mūlasarvāstivādin text would have required that any *sūtra* whose setting was unknown be set in one of the six great cities or — and as we have seen this comes down to the same — in a place where the Buddha had stayed many times. This would allow placing it in Śrāvastī, Sāketā, Vaiśālī/Kosambī, Vārāṇasī, Rājagṛha or Campā. But if the name of a king or householder were also unknown other rules determining their choice would — as we have also seen — restrict the first choice to Śrāvastī. Again, assuming even a moderate operation of such rules, we should find a *sutta* literature dominated by Śrāvastī, and that is exactly what we find in the Pāli collection. For brevity's sake we might simply cite GOKHALE's figures. His sample contained 1009 texts, 842 (83.43%) of which were set in five cities, with the following breakdown: 593 are set in Sāvatthī; 140 in Rājagaha; 56 in Kapilavatthu; 38 in Vesāli; and 15 in Kosambī.[21] The same basic pattern occurs — to judge by Thich MINH CHAU's analysis — in the Chinese version of the *Madhyama-āgama*: out of ninety-four *sūtras*, forty-four are set in Śrāvastī, thirteen in Rājagṛha, etc.[22] We do not have a certain unified *sūtra* collection for the Mūlasarvāstivādins[23], but a quick look at its *Vinaya* would seem to indicate that the pattern holds there as well: a rough count of the settings in the first one hundred folios of the first volume of the *Kṣudrakavastu*, for example, produces sixty-seven settings. Of these sixty-seven settings fifty-five are Śrāvastī, four each are Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī, etc.[24] A more random sample produces much the same thing: I have been working lazily for the last couple of years on a representative anthology of translations of texts

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[20] Though very many years ago, my friend and colleague, Patrick OLIVELLE, remembered from his boyhood in Sri Lanka that all stories told of past times started: *ĕkamat ĕka raṭaka baranäs nuvara brahmadatta nam rajakĕnĕk rajakaraṇakalhi*, "In a certain kingdom, in the city of Benares, during the reign of a king named Brahmadatta ..."

[21] GOKHALE, "Early Buddhism and the Urban Revolution", 10.

[22] CHAU, *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya*, 52–56.

[23] See, however, F. ENOMOTO, *A Comprehensive Study of the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama*, Kyoto, 1994, Part I, xiii, and the sources cited in n.1.

[24] Notice that our text that contains the rules favoring Śrāvastī is itself also set there and looks as if it had been subjected to its own rules, its original setting being 'unknown'.

from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*; of those completed, seventy-eight, drawn from all parts of this *Vinaya*, contain a setting; of these seventy-eight, fifty-eight are set in Śrāvastī; six in Rājagṛha; four in Kapilavastu; etc.

It would appear, then, that in regard to their 'historical' settings the collections of early buddhist literature that we have look remarkably like what would necessarily have been expected if our rules, or a similar set of rules, had been applied to collections of texts whose settings — in a significant number of cases — were unknown: in stories of the past Benares and Brahmadatta would overwhelmingly predominate; in *sūtra* and *vinaya* it would be Śrāvastī, Prasenajit and Anāthapiṇḍada. And so it is. The similarity between the patterns that would necessarily be created by the application of rules like those in the *Kṣudrakavastu*, and the patterns that actually occur in our collections, is almost certainly too great to be explained by coincidence, and would appear to require that we conclude, for the moment, that our collections of 'early' buddhist literatures reflect — at least in regard to their 'historical' settings — the application of redactional rules that themselves cannot, as of now, be shown to have been 'early', and may be as late as the 4th or 5th century of the Common Era. The shape of all our collections would, moreover, seem to suggest that redactional rules very similar to those in the *Kṣudrakavastu* operated in all traditions or monastic groups, even if the Mūlasarvāstivādin version is the only one so far discovered.[25]

Our little text also has something to offer to the discussion of the problem of preservation. Much has been said about the 'writing down' of the buddhist canon — as if there were only one. But virtually all of it has concerned events in Sri Lanka, not in India. Although Professor BECHERT has wisely argued otherwise, the general tendency has been to present the writing down of the canon in Sri Lanka as a significant, even definitive, event, and to ignore India. Indian sources, in turn, appear to by and large ignore any such 'event', but our text may at least suggest one reason why: our text suggests that at least for the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition the writing down of canonical texts was not an event, but rather — as Professor BECHERT has suggested it really was in Sri Lanka — a process[26], and a process to which no great significance

[25] There is, of course, a distinct possibility that parallel sets of rules may still come to light in other *vinayas*, and this may allow some adjustments in dating such rules. It is, moreover, worth noting that in dating our rules we are strictly speaking only dating their explicit and formal expression or redaction. One could, of course, argue that such 'rules' circulated and were applied long before they themselves were formally or 'officially' redacted, but it is unlikely that this could ever be anything other than an argument, and it does not answer the question of why, if such rules were circulating earlier, they were not formally expressed. We have, after all, formally expressed and apparently 'early' rules governing other aspects of the transmission and authenticity of texts; see Ét. LAMOTTE, "La critique d'authenticité dans le bouddhisme", *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, 213-222.

[26] H. BECHERT, "The Writing Down of the Tripiṭaka in Pāli", *WZKS* 36, 1992, 45-53; see, however, Bu-ston's discussion, and the sources he cites, which is translated in C. VOGEL, "Bu-ston on the Schism of the buddhist Church and on the Doctrinal Tendencies of buddhist

was attached. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* is, for example, familiar with a range of written legal instruments — written loan contracts, a written will, and written negotiable contracts of debt.[27] In this regard it is — apart, it seems, from the will — in conformity with contemporary (?) Indian legal texts. That such instruments are not known to the Pāli Canon may have resulted from a lack of contact with the Indian legal environment and the apparent absence of a parallel system of law in early Sri Lanka. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* also contains specific rules requiring monks to mark moveable property by writing on it 'This belongs to the *vihāra* of so-and-so'.[28] The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* is familiar with books as well, both buddhist and non-buddhist, and suggests that, as in early Medieval Europe, they were of such value that they were included in wills; it also suggests that their sale could generate significant income,[29] and it contains specific sanctions for the theft of books by monks.[30] This same *Vinaya* also gives evidence of a system — never

Scriptures", *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, hrsg. H. BECHERT, vol. 1, Göttingen, 1985, 104–10; esp. 108–09.

[27] For loan contracts see the text from the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* cited and discussed in G. SCHOPEN "Doing Business for the Lord: Lending on Interest and Written Loan Contracts in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*", *JAOS* 114, 1994, 527–54; for the will, *GM* III, 2, 140.15 ff. (translated in SCHOPEN, "Deaths, Funerals, and the Division of Property in a Monastic Code", 498–500). Note that although it has not been recognized as such, there may also be a reference to a will in the *Divyāvadāna*'s account of the death of Aśoka. There Aśoka, on the point of death, declares that he is giving everything — except the treasury — to the community of monks. Then after reciting some verses describiog the gift and his intentions the text says: *yāvat patrābhilikhitaṃ kṛtvā dattam mudrayā mudritam | tato rājā mahāpṛthivīṃ saṃghe dattvā kālagataḥ* (Divy 433.1) This, of course, looks strikingly like *GM* III, 2, 140.15 ff.: *tatas tena maraṇakālasamaye sarvaṃ santa[ka]svāpateyaṃ patrābhilekhyaṃ kṛtvā jetavane preṣitam | sa ca kālagataḥ*. In this second passage context makes it all but certain that *patrābhilekhya* refers to some sort of written will. A few lines later on *patrābhilekhya* is three times replaced by *patrābhilikhita*, exactly the same term as in the *Divyāvadāna*). For negotiable contracts of debt, see *Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga*, Derge, *'dul ba Ta* 123 a.5–124 a.2.

[28] Derge, *dul 'ba Ja* 15 a.30–15 b.1. This text is cited and translated in G. SCHOPEN, "The Lay Ownership of Monasteries and the Role of the Monk in Mūlasarvāstivādin Monasticism", *JIABS* 19.1, 1996, 101–103.

[29] *GM* III, 2, 143.5; SCHOPEN, "Deaths, Funerals, and the Division of Property in a Monastic Code", 500.

[30] Derge, *dul 'ba Na* 6 b.2: *btsun pa re zhig dge slong gis glegs bam brkus na cir 'gyur lags | glegs bam gyi rin thang brtsi bar bya'o |* "Reverend One, if then a monk steals a book, what will be done? The price of the book must be payed;" (see also *Na* 96 b.3). Kalyāṇamitra in his *Vinayāgamottaraviśeṣāgamapraśnavṛtti*, a commeotary on the text, seems to take "book" here as meaning *śāstra* (*glegs bam ni bstan bcos kyi snod do;* Derge, bstan-'gyur, *dul 'ba, Dzu* 238 a.1), but this is probably because he has already treated 'canonical' books (*mdo sde dang 'dul ba dang | chos mngon pa la sogs pa'i chos bzung ba'i ngo bo*) under a previous heading. There (*Dzu* 236 b.1 ff.) he makes an interesting distinction between making a copy of a *sūtra*, etc. — which could, after all, be considered a form of theft — and stealing a book which had already been written. In regard to the former he says *'di la ni rku sems med pa'i phyir nyes pa med pa nyid do | 'di ltar mdo sde la sogs pa'i chos bri bar bya ba'i glegs bam mthong nas 'dri ba dang | 'dzin pa gang yin pa des ni pha rol po las cung zad kyang god par mi 'gyur te | 'di ltar bri bar bya ba'i gzugs brnyan son 'dug pa'i phyir ro | rku ba ni god pa yin te de lta bas na 'dir de ma gtogs so | 'o na glegs bam brim pa brkus pa la tshul ji lta bu zhe na | de*

detailed — for funding the copying of texts,[31] and on more than one occasion it specifies that individuals who had been scribes (*kāyastha*) before entering the order should keep their equipment, apparently so that they could continue to practice their trade.[32] None of this, however, is presented as out of the ordinary. This too may be a result of the fact that the history of writing in India may by no means have been the same as the history of writing — both sacred and secular — in Sri Lanka.[33] In any case, our *Kṣudrakavastu* text

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brkus na rin thang dang mthun par nyes pa sbom po la sogs pa'i ltung bar 'gyur par shes par bya'o |. — For the theft of *sūtras* in the Chinese translation of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* (T.1435) see M. HOFINGER, "Le vol dans la morale bouddhique", *Indianisme et bouddhisme. Mélanges offerts à Mgr. Étienne Lamotte*, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1980, 177–89, esp. 185 n. 38: "... voler des rouleaux de *sūtra* pour une valeur de cinq sapèques constitue un péché d'Exclusion"; this has an almost exact counterpart in Kalyāṇamitra's commentary: ... *ma ša ka lngar tshad na des 'dis pham par 'gyur la*. There are also close parallels to the passages cited by HOFINGER on the theft of relics and goods from *stūpas* in this commentary and both Tibetan versions of the *Vinaya-uttara-grantha*. — (There is some confusion about the latter. Although the Derge Kanjur — at least in the recent reprint published in Taipei — has two texts which are given the same Sanskrit title, *bi na ya ud ta ra gran tha*, they do not have the same Tibetan title. The first (*dul 'ba Na* 1.1–92a.7) is entitled *'dul ba gzhung bla ma*; the second (*Na* 92 b.1–Pa 313 a.5) *'dul ba gzhung dam pa*. At least in this edition both have their own long colophons, that to *'dul ba bla ma* explaining in part how there came to be two versions (it also contains a reference to Puṣyamitra's "persecution" which corresponds very closely to the beginning of that cited by LAMOTTE (*History of Indian Buddhism*, 387) from the Chinese translation of the *Vibhāṣā*, and a reference to monks collecting all the books of the Tripiṭaka from various countries and places and attempting to make a complete collection in Mathurā). In spite of this, the Tōhoku Catalog (p. 2, no. 7), for example, gives no indication that two works are involved, while the Otani Catalog both recognizes two works (nos. 1036 & 1037) and translates the colophon of the first into Japanese. There is confusion in the secondary literature as well. A. C. BANERJEE (*Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, 99–100) does not recognize that two works are involved; nor, it seems, does C. VOGEL ("Bu-ston on the Schism of the Buddhist Church and on the Doctrinal Tendencies of Buddhist Scriptures", 110 n. 60). P. HARRISON ("In Search of the Source of the Tibetan Bka' 'Gyur: A Reconnaissance Report", *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. P. KVÆRNE, Oslo, 1994, vol. 1, 306) recognizes the importance of some of the colophon material and makes a start on sorting it out, but even here it is not entirely clear that there are two *Uttara-granthas* (cf. his n. 61).

[31] GNOLI, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, 68.23; *GM* III, 2, 143.13; 146.4; etc.

[32] *GM* III, 1, 281.18; Derge, *dul 'ba Da* 87 b.5; etc.

[33] On the early history of writing in Sri Lanka, and especially on recent archeological evidence that would seem to indicate "that the use of writing began [in Sri Lanka] some two centuries earlier than the first datable inscriptions currently known from any other part of South Asia", see ALLCHIN, *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia*, 176–79; 215–216; but also the cautionary note in K. R. NORMAN, "The Development of Writing in India and Its Effect upon the Pāli Canon", *WZKS* 36 (Supplementband; 1992), 239–49, esp. 247, and the sources cited in both. For India we now fortunately have O. von HINÜBER, *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1989. Nr. 11), Stuttgart, 1989, and H. FALK, *Schrift im alten Indien: Ein Forschungsbericht mit Anmerkungen*, Tübingen, 1993, although in neither has discussion of the Mūlasarvāstivādin material found a place (von HINÜBER has been thoughtfully reviewed by P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 246, 3/4, 1994, 207–24; and both von HINÜBER and FALK in R. SALOMON, "On the Origin of the Early Indian Scripts", *JAOS* 115.2, 1995, 271–79).

contains — in so far as I know — the earliest and main Mūlasarvāstivādin rule regarding committing canonical material to writing, and this ruling is delivered in such a way as to suggest that those who delivered it saw in it nothing of particular note. They do not even refer to writing texts down in books (*glegs bam* = *pustaka*), but on folios (*glegs bu* = *pattra*), perhaps even scraps — they seem to have had in mind something like notes, and clearly did not envision a major systematic enterprise. Again, our text suggests that for the Indian Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition the writing down of buddhist texts was simply not — unlike Professor BECHERT's sixty-fifth birthday — a major event. We send our congratulations!

Abbreviations

Divy E. B. COWELL & R. A. NEIL, *The Divyāvadāna*, Cambridge, 1886.
GM N. DUTT, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. III, pt. 1, Srinagar, 1947; pt. 2, Srinagar, 1942; pt. 3, Srinagar, 1943; pt. 4, Calcutta, 1950.
JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
JIABS *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*.
WZKS *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*.

Citations from the Scriptures of the "Eighteen Schools" in the *Tarkajvālā*

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Chapter 4 of Bhavya's *Tarkajvālā*,[1] "Penetration of reality according to the Śrāvakas (*Śrāvakatattvāvatāra*)",[2] contains a wealth of information on the Śrāvaka schools. In this article, I describe a section that gives Bhavya's response to the claim that monks should not honour or worship a householder, that is, an unordained bodhisattva. Bhavya states that "in the texts of the majority of the eighteen schools, it is announced that a bodhisattva should be worshipped", and goes on to cite examples from their scriptures.[3] The same question is addressed by Candrakīrti in his *Triśaraṇasaptati*, where he states that arhats should worship bodhisattvas.[4] That the two great 6th century Mādhyamikas felt obliged to deal with the topic shows that it was one of no small importance. An example of the practical ramifications of the controversy is found in the biography of Dharmasvāmin, Tibetan pilgrim to Northern India in the first half of the 13th century. At Vajrāsana, when the Dharmasvāmin worshipped images of Khasarpaṇa (Avalokiteśvara), Tārā, or similar [bodhi-

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[1] *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1957 (= Q) 5256, Vol. 96, *dBu ma'i sñiṅ po'i 'grel pa rtog ge 'bar ba = Madhyamakahṛdayavṛtti-tarkajvālā*, translated by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa) and Tshul khrims rgyal ba (CORDIER *mdo-ḥgrel* XIX. 2, Vol. III, p. 300). For this work, and the thought and work of Bhavya in general, see David SEYFORT RUEGG, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*, Wiesbaden, 1981 (A History of Indian Literature, Vol. VII, fasc. 1), pp. 61–66; see also the same author's "Towards a Chronology of the Madhyamaka School", L. A. HERCUS *et. al.*, *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, [Canberra, 1982] Delhi, 1984, pp. 508, 512–513. Chap. 1 (verses, with Sanskrit, and commentary) has been translated by V. V. GOKHALE, "Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā *Tarkajvālā*, Chapter 1", Chr. LINDTNER, ed., *Miscellanea Buddhica*, Copenhagen, 1985 (Indiske Studier, V), pp. 76–107. Part of Chap. 3 is edited and translated in Shotaro IIDA, *Reason and Emptiness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism*, Tokyo, 1980. IIDA gives a detailed bibliography of studies of Bhavya's work.

[2] *Ñan thos kyi de kho na ñid la 'jug pa*, Q *dza*, 157b2–218b8; C (= Co ne bsTan 'gyur) *dbu ma dza*, 144b6 foll.

[3] Q 190a6, C 175a7 *sde pa bco brgyad phal chen gyi gžuṅ las kyaṅ, byaṅ chub sems dpa' la phyag bya bar rab tu grags te*. The section runs from Q 190a6–195a2, C 175a7–179b1. My original study was based on Q; later I compared Q with D (= sDe dge bsTan 'gyur). As D was not accessible during the final preparation of the paper, I consulted C in a rather poor paper copy made from the microfilm edition.

[4] Per K. SØRENSEN, *Candrakīrti, Triśaraṇasaptati, the Septuagint on the Three Refuges*, Wien, 1986, pp. 44–47 (vv. 48–51).

sattvas] the sacristan, who was a *śrāvaka*, said, "You seem to be a good monk, but it is improper [for you as a monk] to worship a householder".[5]

Bhavya's citations raise many interesting questions that I cannot address in this short article, which is a simple inventory of titles and *dramatis personae*, a bibliographical excursion with a few comments. I am pleased to present the article in this volume dedicated to Prof. BECHERT, who has done so much to clarify the nature and history of the Buddhist schools or *nikāyas*, and who has offered me unstinting guidance in my studies over a period of many years.

In the following I assign a number to each citation (seventeen by my count), and give the title of the work cited, the name of the *nikāya*, the name(s) of speaker(s) or interlocutor(s), and a brief description of the citation, followed by the Tibetan references, according to the Peking (Q), Cone (C), and Derge (D) editions.

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1. The *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* of the Siddhārthikas of the Mahāsāṃghika-nikāya: the Blessed One (*bCom ldan 'das*) speaks with reference to Maitreya (Byams pa) to 1250 arhats (prose).[6]

dGe 'dun[7] *phal chen sde'i nan tshan don grub pa rnams rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod:* Q 190a6–190b3; C 175b1–4; D 175b1–4.

2. The *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* of the Pūrvaśailas of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghikanikāya: prose discourse between Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta ('Jam dpal gźon nur gyur pa) and Sthavira Subhūti (gnas brtan Rab 'byor), followed by discourse between Subhūti and the Blessed One.[8]

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[5] G. ROERICH, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal), A Tibetan monk pilgrim*, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1959, (text) p. 19.5 *yan kha sarpa ni 'am, sgrol ma 'am, de 'dra'i sku la phyag mdzad pas, khyod dge slon legs pa źig 'dug pa la, khyim pa la phyag byed pa ma legs so zer*. See p. 74 for ROERICH's translation.

[6] See Peter SKILLING, "The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna", *JPTS* XVI (1992), pp. 114–115, for some references to Vidyādhara-piṭaka-s, to which may be added Ariane MACDONALD, *Le maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Paris, 1962, pp. 8–10, and the use of the term Vidyādhara-piṭaka in the titles of some Mañjuśrī *sādhana*-s in the Peking Tanjur, Vol. 80, Q 4137, 4138, 4291–4293. For the Siddhārthikas see André BAREAU, *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Paris, 1955 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, XXXVIII), p. 109.

[7] *dge 'dun* C : *dge slon* Q.

[8] I do not understand the phrase *gan dag la las kyi yul 'khor na gnas pa źes:* could it refer to an alternate name or regional branch of the school? For the Pūrvaśailas see BAREAU, pp. 99–103; for Subhūti see *DPPN* II 1235.

'Phags pa dge 'dun phal chen sde'i śar gyi ri bo la gnas pa gaṅ dag la las kyi yul 'khor na gnas pa źes kyaṅ bya ba rnams kyi byaṅ chub sems dpa'i sde snod: Q' 190b3–191a8; C 175b4–176a7; D 175b4–176a7.

3. The *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* of the Aparaśailas of the Ārya Mahāsāṃghikanikāya: the Blessed One answers a question put by Sthavira Mahākāśyapa (gnas brtan 'Od sruṅs chen po), with reference to Bodhisattva Jālinīprabha (byaṅ chub sems dpa' Dra ba can gyi 'od) (prose).[9]

'Phags pa dge 'dun phal chen sde'i nub kyi ri bo la gnas pa rnams kyi byaṅ chub sems dpa'i sde snod: Q 191a8–191b6; C 176a7–b4; D 176a7–b4.

4. The *Vaipulya-piṭaka* of the Bhadrayānīyas of the Mahāsāṃghika-nikāya, who dwell in the city of dPal yon can: eighteen lines of verse spoken by Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana (tshe daṅ ldan pa Maudgal gyi bu chen po) to the Blessed One. The ten *bhūmi*-s (*sa bcu po*) are mentioned.[10]

dGe 'dun phal chen sde pa'i bzaṅ po'i lam pa pho braṅ dpal yon can na gnas pa rnams kyi[11] *śin tu rgyas pa'i sde snod:* Q 191b6–192a2; C 176b4–177a1; D 176b4–177a1.

5. The *Jātaka-piṭaka* of the Haimavatas of the Mahāsāṃghika-nikāya: the Buddha speaks to Ānanda (Kun dga' bo) in praise of bodhisattvas and Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug); Ānanda speaks a verse of four lines in praise of Avalokiteśvara.[12]

dGe 'dun phal chen sde'i gaṅs kyi ri la gnas pa rnams kyi[13] *skyes pa rabs*[14] *kyi sde snod:* Q 192a2–7; C 177a1–4; D 177a1–4.

6. The *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Ārya Mahāsāṃghikas: twelve lines of verse spoken by Mahākāśyapa ('Od sruṅs chen po) to the Buddha, in praise of the latter's deeds committed as a bodhisattva in previous lives.[15]

'Phags pa dge 'dun phal chen gyi mdo sde'i sde snod: Q 192a7–192b1; C 177a4–6; D 177a4–6.

[Here — Q 192b1–2; C 117a6–7; D 177a6–7 — Bhavya cites a verse on the divisions of the Mahāsāṃghikas, which will be discussed below.]

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[9] For the Aparaśailas see BAREAU, pp. 104–105; for Mahākāśyapa (Pāli Mahākassapa) see *DPPN* II 476–483. Dra ba can gyi 'od = Jālinīprabha is listed under *nānā-bodhisattva-nāmāni* at Mvy § 705.

[10] For the Bhadrayānīyas see BAREAU, pp. 128–129.

[11] *kyi* C : *kyis* Q.

[12] See BAREAU pp. 111–113 for the Haimavatas.

[13] *kyi* C : *kyis* Q.

[14] *skyes pa rabs* C : *skyes pa rab* Q.

[15] For the Mahāsāṃghikas see BAREAU, pp. 55–74.

7. The **Buddhavaṃśa* of the Ārya Sthavira Abhayagirivāsins: sixteen lines of verse.[16]

'Phags pa gnas brtan pa 'jigs med ri la gnas pa rnams kyi saṅs rgyas kyi rigs khri ñis stoṅ: Q 192b1-6; C 177a7-b2; D 177a7-b2.

8. The *Mahāprātihārya-sūtra* of the Prajñaptivādin-Bahuśrutīyas: eight lines of verse spoken by Venerable Śāriputra (tshe daṅ ldan pa Śāri'i bu) after witnessing the display of the Great Miracle (*cho 'phrul chen po bstan pa*) at Śrāvastī (*mÑan yod*), followed by expressions of homage in prose.[17]

bTags[18] *par smra ba'i maṅ du thos pa*[19] *rnams kyi cho 'phrul chen po'i mdo:* Q 192b6-193a2; C 177b2-5; D 177b2-5.

9. The *Mahāprātihārya-sūtra* of the Ārya Caitikas: prose homage plus one verse of four lines, spoken by Venerable Pūrṇa (tshe daṅ ldan pa Gaṅ po) after witnessing the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī.[20]

'Phags pa mchod rten pa'i cho 'phrul chen po'i mdo: Q 193a2-6; C 177b5-178a1; D 177b5-178a1.

10. The *Mahāprātihārya-sūtra* of the Ārya *Gokulika-mahācaitikas(?): twelve lines of verse spoken by Venerable Kumārakāśyapa (tshe daṅ ldan pa 'Od sruṅs gźon nu) after witnessing the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī, followed by nine lines of verse spoken by Mahākāśyapa.[21]

'Phags pa ba laṅ gnas chen po mchod rten pa rnams kyi cho 'phrul chen po'i mdo: Q 193a6-193b3; C 178a1-5; D 178a1-5.

11. The **Pāramitā-mārga* of the Ārya Kāśyapīyas: sixteen lines of verse spoken by Ārya Śāriputra ('phags pa Śāri'i bu) to the Buddha.[22]

'Phags pa 'od sruṅs pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'i lam: Q 193b3-7; C 178a5-b1; D 178a5-b1.

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[16] Citation No. 7 is edited, translated, and discussed in Peter SKILLING, "A Citation from the **Buddhavaṃsa* of the Abhayagiri School", *JPTS* XVIII (1993), pp. 165-175.

[17] See BAREAU, pp. 84-86 for the Prajñaptivādins, pp. 81-83 for the Bahuśrutīyas.

[18] *btags* (= *prajñapti*) CD : *rtag* (= *nitya*) Q.

[19] *thos pa* Q : *thos pa pa* CD.

[20] For the Caitikas or Caitīyas see BAREAU pp. 87-88; for Pūrṇa (Pāli Puṇṇa) see *DPPN* II 220-221.

[21] *ba laṅ gnas = gokulika; chen po = mahā; mchod rten pa = caitika/caitīya.* I interpret the name as *Gokulika-Mahācaitya, "the Gokulikas [who reside at the] Mahācaitya", that is, Amarāvatī. If we follow the order of the Tibetan literally, we get *Mahāgokulika-caitika. For the Gokulikas see BAREAU, pp. 79-80; for Kumārakāśyapa (Pāli Kumārakassapa) see *DPPN* I 632-633.

[22] For the Kāśyapīyas see BAREAU, pp. 201-203.

12. The **Buddhavacana* of the Ārya Tāmraśāṭīyas: four lines of verse spoken by Venerable Revata (tshe daṅ ldan pa Re ba ta) to the Buddha.[23]

'Phags pa gos dmar po'i saṅs rgyas kyis gsuṅs pa: Q 193b7-8; C 178b2; D 178b1-2.

13. The [scripture of] the Ārya Sāmmatīya Kaurukullas: twelve lines of verse spoken by Venerable Ānanda to the Buddha in his praise (translated below).[24]

'Phags pa maṅ pos bkur ba ku ru ku la'i gnas pa rnams: Q 193b8-194a3; C 178b2-4; D 178b2-4.

14. The **Aṣṭavargīya* of the Ārya Mahīśāsakas: twelve lines of verse spoken by Venerable Subhūti.[25]

'Phags pa sa ston pa rnams kyi tshoms brgyad pa: Q 194a3-6; C 178b4-6; D 178b4-6.

15. The **Buddhavacana* of the Ārya Vibhajyavādins: four lines of verse spoken by Venerable Kāludāyin (*tshe daṅ ldan pa Nag po 'char ka*) to the Buddha.[26]

'Phags pa rnam par phye ste smra ba rnams kyi saṅs rgyas kyis gsuṅs pa: Q 194a6-7; C 178b6-7; D 178b6-7.

16. The *Dharmapada* of the Ārya Dharmaguptakas: sixteen lines of verse, spoken by the Buddha, on his prediction by Dīpaṃkara, with mention of the eighth *bhūmi*.[27]

'Phags pa chos sbas pa rnams kyi chos kyi[28] *rkaṅ pa:* Q 194a7-194b2; C 178b7-179a2; D 178b7-179a2.

17. The *Adbhutadharma* of the Ārya Sarvāstivādins: Venerable Ānanda to the Blessed One, in prose and verse (translated below).[29]

'Phags pa thams cad yod par smra ba'i chos rmad du byuṅ ba: Q 194b2-195a1; C 179a2-7; D 179a2-7.

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[23] For the Tāmraśāṭīyas see Peter SKILLING, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS* XIX (1993), pp. 154 foll. C reads *ri ba ta*, Q *ri ba ti*. For Revata see *DPPN* II 752-754.

[24] For the Sāmmatīyas and Kaurukullas see Peter Skilling, "On the School-affiliation of the Patna Dhammapada", forthcoming in *JPTS* XXIII, § 8. Some modern scholars have conflated the Gokulikas (above, No. 10) with the Kaurukullas, but the evidence is sufficient to state that they are entirely different schools.

[25] For the Mahīśāsakas see BAREAU, pp. 181-189.

[26] For the Vibhajyavādins see BAREAU, pp. 167-180; for Kāludāyin see *DPPN* I 589-590.

[27] For the Dharmaguptakas see BAREAU, pp. 190-200.

[28] *kyi* Q : *kyis* C.

[29] For the Sarvāstivādins see BAREAU, pp. 131-152.

I give here as examples tentative translations of two of Bhavya's citations.[30] The first is No. 13, from the Ārya Kaurukulla Sāmmatīyas:[31]

Venerable Ānanda said:

Having illumined the Tuṣita realm
With the lustre of beauteous rays
The bodhisattva came to this world:
I pay homage to Śākyamuni!

Born as a prince in the Śākya line
Bedecked with the best of ornaments
He took birth[32] mindful and aware:
Homage to Śākyamuni!

When he sat in the shade
Of the rose-apple tree, the day waned
But the shade forsook not the Peerless One:
Homage to Śākyamuni!

The second example is No. 17, from the *Adbhutadharma* of the Sarvāstivādins:[33]

Venerable Ānanda said:

That as a bodhisattva (*bodhisattva-bhūta*) the Blessed One, descending from the Tuṣita Realm, entered his mother's womb mindful and aware (*smṛti-samprajanya*): this too, Blessed One, I hold as a marvellous and wondrous quality (*āścaryādbhutadharma*). Herein, this is said:

Migrating from the Tuṣita Realm,
Mindful and aware he entered
And dwelt in his mother's womb:
To that one I pay homage!

That as a bodhisattva the Blessed One at the moment of birth illuminated with [his] radiance the Trisāhasramahāsāhasra Universe: this too, Blessed One, I hold as a marvellous and wondrous quality of the bodhisattva.[34] Herein, this is said:

When he was born, this Trisāhasra Universe
Was illumined by [his] radiance:
Homage to the Blessed One

[30] Tentative because several of the verses are difficult, and need further work. For reference to a third example, see n. 16.

[31] Q 193b8–194a3, C 178b2–4 *'phags pa man pos bkur ba ku ru ku la'i gnas pa rnams kyis 'don par byed do.*

[32] I take the liberty of reading *bltams* against the *bsdams* of the texts (although *bsdams* can also make sense).

[33] Q 194b2–195a1, C 179a2–7 *'phags pa thams cad yod par smra ba'i chos rmad du byuṅ ba las 'don to.*

[34] Note that this and the following item have the phrase "of the bodhisattva" (*byaṅ chub sems dpa'i*), not given for the first item.

Who is like ten million suns.

That as a bodhisattva the Blessed One, as soon as he was born took seven steps: this too, Blessed One, I hold as a marvellous and wondrous quality of the bodhisattva. Herein, this is said:

As soon as he was born he took
Seven steps which stayed like lotus-flowers
As he walked like a sporting bull:
Homage to Gautama![35]

The sūtra has counterparts in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (MĀ No. 32) and the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (MN No. 123). Neither version contains verses.

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After the first six citations, which are individually described as belonging to this or that branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas, Bhavya quotes a verse on the divisions of that school:

'jig rten 'das pa ži ba dan ‖ *don grub pa dan ri gñis gnas* |
bzan po'i lam pa gaṅs ri pa ‖ *dge 'dun phal chen rtsa ba'i drug* |
de rnams kyi yin no ‖

(1) Peaceful Lokottaras,[36] (2) Siddhārthas,
(3, 4) Residents of the two mountains (= Purva-, Aparaśailas),
(5) Bhadrayānas, (6) Haimavatas:
The six have the Mahāsāṃghikas as root.

This brings to mind a verse from the *Śrīghanācārasaṅgraha-ṭīkā* that lists the divisions (*bheda*) of the Ārya Mahāsāṃghikas:[37]

vādinaś cārthasiddhārthāḥ *śailadvayanivāsinaḥ* |
bhādrāyanā haimavatāḥ *ṣaḍbhedā mūlasāṃghikāḥ* ‖

(1) [Lokottara-]vādins, (2) Arthasiddhārthas(?),
(3, 4) Residents of the two mountains (= Purva-, Aparaśailas),
(5) Bhadrayānas, (6) Haimavatas:
Six divisions have the [Mahā]sāṃghikas as root.

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[35] The verse is obscure. For an exhaustive study of references to the seven steps of the infant Gautama, see Étienne LAMOTTE, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertue de Sagesse* I (Louvain, 1949), p. 6, n. 3; III (Louvain, 1970) p. 1344. To LAMOTTE's references we may add Raniero GNOLI (ed.), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* I (Rome, 1977), p. 45.9–15.

[36] The Tibetan *Tarkajvālā* has here *ži ba* = *śānta*; the Sanskrit verse cited below opens with *vādinaś cārtha*. In both cases the first line can refer to two schools only, the (Lokottara-)vādins and the Siddhārthas (since the other four divisions are named in the next two lines): I can explain neither the *śānta* of the Tibetan nor the superfluous *artha* of the Sanskrit.

[37] Sanghasen SINGH, *A Study of the Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṅgraha-ṭīkā*, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 2nd edition, Patna, 1983, p. 120.3–5 (translation p. 217); cf. translation in J. Duncan M. DERRETT, *A Textbook for Novices: Jayarakṣita's "Perspicuous Commentary on the Compendium of Conduct by Śrīghana"*, Turin, 1983, p. 81.

Bhavya does not give any citation for the (1) Lokottaravādins. The schools of citations Nos. 1–6 otherwise follow the sequence of schools in the verse, from (2) to (6), with the final citation, No. 6, from the "*Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Ārya Mahāsāṃghikas", by which presumably the root or parent school is meant.

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Citations Nos. 2 and 3 contain a nearly identical passage, in No. 2 spoken by Sthavira Subhūti (191a4–7), in No. 3 spoken by Sthavira Mahākāśyapa (191b 3–5): "Blessed One, bodhisattvas are doers of the marvellous (*āścarya*); Blessed One, bodhisattvas are wondrous (*adbhuta*). That which is beyond the range (*yul ma lags pa = aviṣaya*) of śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, that is within the range of bodhisattva's. The supernormal power (*rdzu 'phrul = ṛddhi*) that is lacking in śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, that is found in bodhisattvas. Therefore, O Blessed One, I pay homage to the bodhisattvas." The citations are from the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*-s of two affiliated schools, the Pūrva- and Aparaśailas; both citations mention bodhisattvas, No. 2 Mañjuśrī, No. 3 Jālinīprabha. That at least some of the texts transmitted by the Pūrvaśailas differed radically from those of the better-known mainstream schools (Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, Sthaviras), to the point that they would seem to be indistinguishable from certain types of Mahāyāna texts, is clear from the present citation and from citations in the works of Candrakīrti.[38] In his *Triśaraṇasaptati*, Candrakīrti lists the seven Piṭakas of the Pūrva- and Aparaśailas: the first is the text cited here by Bhavya, the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, followed by the *Vidyādhara-*, *Sūtra-*, *Abhidharma-*, *Vinaya-*, *Vaipulya-*, and *Jātaka-piṭakas*.[39] It is reported that the two schools transmitted a Prakrit *Prajñāpāramitā*.[40]

Citations Nos. 8, 9, and 10 have a similar narrative framework, introducing statements made by great disciples after they witness the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī. The citations show that in addition to the *Prātihārya-sūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins[41] — which does not contain the passages or verses — the

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[38] Louis de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (ed.), *Madhyamakāvatāra*, repr. Osnabrück, 1970, pp. 134.1–135.12 (*śar gyi ri bo'i sde pa daṅ mthun pa'i tshigs su bcad pa*); 251.6 (*śar gyi ri bo'i sde pa'i gźuṅ*). For a possible example of the Prakrit employed by the Pūrvaśailas, see *Prasannapadā* (ed. de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, p. 548.5) and Paul HARRISON, "Sanskrit Fragments of a Lokottaravādin Tradition", L. A. HERCUS *et al.*, *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, [Canberra, 1982] Delhi, 1984, pp. 225 foll.

[39] SØRENSEN, *Candrakīrti, Triśaraṇasaptati*, pp. 50–53 (vv. 57–59).

[40] See Étienne LAMOTTE, "Sur la formation du Mahāyāna", *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, p. 387, who gives as source Tibetan *Grub mtha'* cited or referred to by M. V. VASSILIEF, *Le Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1865, p. 264 (not seen).

[41] *Divyāvadāna*, No. XII, and (preserved in Tibetan translation only) *Vinayakṣudraka*, Q 1035, Vol. 44, *'dul ba ne*, 37a8–49b3.

Prajñaptivādin-Bahuśrutīyas, Caitikas, and Gokulikas transmitted their own *Mahāprātihārya-sūtras*.

Bhavya has selected the passages cited to show that the Śrāvaka scriptures themselves demonstrate that there is nothing wrong with an ordained monastic worshipping a lay bodhisattva. In addition to the Buddha Śākyamuni himself (Nos. 1, 16), Bhavya enlists the great *śrāvakas*, the immediate disciples of the Buddha, to prove his point: Subhūti (Nos. 2, 14), Mahākāśyapa (Nos. 3, 6, 10), Mahāmaudgalyāyana (No. 4), Ānanda (Nos. 5, 13, 17), Śāriputra (Nos. 8, 11), Pūrṇa (No. 9), Kumārakāśyapa (No. 10), Revata (No. 12), and Kāludāyin (No. 15).

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The chapter gives other citations of or references to Śrāvaka literature. It contains the section on the eighteen schools, which also appears as an independent treatise in the Vinaya division of Tanjurs.[42] Twenty lines of verse in homage to the Buddha from an untitled work of the Dharmaguptakas (*chos sbas pa rnams kyaṅ ... 'don par byed do*) are cited at 198a3–7. Several citations may be traced to the Udānavarga (Uv):

Tarkajvālā 159b4–5 = Uv 2.7 *na te kāmā yāni citrāṇi loke*;[43]
Tarkajvālā 159b5–6 = Uv 2.1 *kāma jānāmi te mūlam*;[44]
Tarkajvālā 189b5 = Uv 33.2 *alaṃkṛtaś cāpi careta dharmam*;[45]
Tarkajvālā 198b1–3 = Uv 21.11–12 *ye cābhyatītāḥ saṃbuddhā*.[46]

Some sections of the *Tarkajvālā* are either based upon Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti*, or upon a common source. These include a verse list of sūtra titles followed by a prose commentary with citations,[47] and a passage that men-

[42] Q *dza* 161 a 3–169 a 5 = Q 5640, Vol. 127, *'dul ba'i 'grel pa u*, 177 a 1–187 b 1 (CORDIER *mdo-ḥgrel* XC, 12, Vol. III, p. 414), *sDe pa tha dad par 'byed pa daṅ rnam par bśad pa* = *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna*, by slob dpon Bhavya (same translators as *Tarkajvālā*); translated into French by André BAREAU, "Trois traités sur les sectes bouddhiques attribués à Vasumitra, Bhavya et Vinītadeva", IIe partie, *Journal Asiatique*, 244, 1956, pp. 167–191.

[43] The verse is also cited in Chap. 3 of the *Tarkajvālā* – see IIDA (ref. above, n. 1), p. 80.3 – and in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Part II, ed. Swami Dwarikadas SHASTRI, Varanasi, 1971, p. 386.1, ad *Kośakārikā* 3:3) and *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa*, Q 5496, Vol. 104, *mdo tshogs 'grel pa chi*, 44 b 5–7.

[44] To BERNHARD's references we may add *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, Q 1030, Vol. 41, *'dul ba ge*, 53 b 2.

[45] To BERNHARD's references we may add *Saṅghabhedavastu* I, 143.8.

[46] = SN I 140.11–14, AN II 21.19–22; *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, Q 1030, Vol. 41, *'dul ba ge*, 8b2.

[47] *Tarkajvālā* 180 a 5–7 = (in a different translation) *Vyākhyāyukti*, Q 5562, Vol. 113, *sems tsam si*, 114 b 3–4: the verse and the attached prose are extremely important for our understanding of Śrāvaka texts.

tions the *Garbhāvakrānti-* and *Āyuḥparyanta-sūtras.*[48] Another passage states: "The Ārya Sāmmatīyas do not accept sūtras related to non-self (*nairātmya*) such as the *Paramārthaśūnyatā*, etc. The Mahīśāsakas, etc., do not accept sūtras related to the *antarābhava* such as the *Saptabhava[-sūtra]*. Similarly, with regard to the *Vinaya*, the Vātsīputrīyas forbid the eating of molasses,[49] etc., at the wrong time".[50] The first two statements occur in the *Vyākhyāyukti.*[51]

Abbreviations

DPPN G. P. MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 vols., London, 1937–1938.

JPTS = *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, London.

[48] Cp. *Tarkajvālā* 182a6, ... *mtal du 'jug pa dan, dga' ba can dan tshe'i mthar thug pa źes bya ba'i min can rnams* ... with *Vyākhyāyukti* 116b3–4. I am not certain whether *dga' ba can* is a separate title or belongs with the *Garbhāvakrānti*, as in the *Ratnakūṭa* version.

[49] Mvy § 5696 *bu ram* = *guḍa*, for which see C. S. UPASAK, *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms (Based on Pali Literature)*, Varanasi, 1975, p. 83, s. vv. *guḷa* and *guḷodaka*.

[50] *Tarkajvālā* 182b1 ... *don dam par ston pa ñid la sogs pa bdag med pa dan ldan pa'i mdo ni 'phags pa man pos bkur ba rnam[s] khas mi len te, bar mdo'i srid pa srid pa bdun pa dan ldan pa la sogs pa ni sa ston sde pa la sogs pa khas mi len to. de bźin du 'dul ba las kyan gnas ma bu pa rnams kyi las ni dus ma yin par bu ram bza' ba la sogs pa bkag go.*

[51] See *Vyākhyāyukti* 124a7–8.

Standard Works on Indian Literature — A Critique
With Special Reference to A. K. Warder's Treatment of Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya* 19.9–17[1]

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A characteristic feature of any standard work is to treat a certain topic in an exemplary and thorough manner. Ideally, it represents the state of research current at the time of writing, and arrives at plausible conclusions. If this admirable quality, however, comes to be generally accepted, it involves the risk of an uncritical adoption of facts, which on closer inspection prove to be problematic or even false. Some undesired effects of standard works, therefore, may be observed:

(1) The impression that a standard work is generally reliable may lead one to trust all the given data and/or mere opinions without examining them.
(2) An open controversy may come to be finally settled but in fact remains undecided. As a consequence unrefuted and, especially, unmentioned arguments suggested elsewhere fall into oblivion and further discussion on critical issues tends to cease.
(3) The reception of up-to-date research can become impeded.

The result is that the same apparent facts are continually repeated and, for their part, build the foundations of new research. Therefore it is necessary for every scientific investigation to use the relevant standard works in a critical manner and, in addition, to include available new and even older secondary material. For a Sanskritist, however, the starting point, or at least the touchstone, should always be the primary sources. Although this conclusion sounds trivial, it is nonetheless important to consider, if one takes into account the actual practice wide-spread in academia.

In the present paper one selected work, Anthony Kennedy WARDER's *Indian Kāvya Literature*, exemplifies the above-mentioned difficulties. It has been chosen because of its potential for being accepted as a standard work, and once accepted, it entails the risks just alluded to above. The value of WARDER's work is undoubtedly evident. Nevertheless, as with practically any standard work, it would be an easy task to criticize single points in it. This, however,

[1] Paper presented at the Xth World Sanskrit Conference in Bangalore (3–9 January 1997). I thank Drs Ian ASTLEY and Jayandra SONI very much for checking and correcting the English.

is not my intention. Instead I shall attempt to indicate more fundamental problems in WARDER's method or in his way of arriving at conclusions.

A. K. WARDER's *Indian Kāvya Literature*, planned in eight volumes and of which six have so far appeared, is a work which is unique of its kind. It is the first Western attempt to handle the vast material of Indian Kāvya literature in the light of the indigenous Indian poetological tradition.[2] Its strong points are evident. Apart from the fact that he tries to avoid prejudging his matter from a merely occidental and to that extent one-sided standpoint, he makes use of numerous poetological works and commentaries in order to gain firm ground for his literary criticism. Thus he arrives at many stimulating and peculiar perspectives which throw new light on certain aspects of Indian literature or could at least provoke productive controversies. In short, WARDER's *Indian Kāvya Literature* should be read as a stimulating criticism of traditional or generally accepted views of western indology but *not* as a manual or reference book. This assertion is based on the following grounds:

(1) WARDER does not make sufficient use of the relevant secondary literature. Therefore, chronological and other information given in his books is in a number of cases out of date. WARDER offers numerous personal opinions which disagree with the accepted *opinio communis* without discussing or even mentioning it. Thus the reader does not know whether he is dealing with a generally accepted fact or a personal judgement of the author. Moreover, WARDER tends to write in an apodictic style which occasionally covers difficulties.

(2) The manner in which WARDER arrives at his conclusions is often very speculative without his marking it as such. In several cases even chains of speculative or uncautious conclusions are constructed in this way.

It is evident that such procedures are highly problematic. In what follows I would like to illustrate this assertion.

Chapter XV of the second volume of WARDER's *Indian Kāvya Literature*, published in 1974, deals with the epic and dramatic *kāvya* works of the famous Buddhist writer Aśvaghoṣa which stand at the beginning of what is preserved of fully developed *kāvya* (first or second century A.D.). Three of Aśvaghoṣa's plays have come down to us in Central Asian fragments which were edited by Heinrich LÜDERS in 1911.[3] Now we know of a further play by Aśvaghoṣa through a remark by the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti (*c.*

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[2] An example for a similar Indian attempt with a limited scope is KRISHNAMACHARIAR (1937).

[3] LÜDERS (1911a) and (1911b); BHATTACHARYA (1976) 100 is of the opinion that "all the fragments ... are the genuine remnants of only one drama, viz. the Ś[āriputraprakaraṇa]"; cf., however, the criticism (justified) by DE JONG (1978) 125; also BECHERT (1979) 196.

seventh century A.D).[4] In his *Vādanyāya* he mentions a play (*nāṭaka*) called *Rāṣṭrapāla* composed by the venerable Aśvaghoṣa (*bhadantāśvaghoṣa*). From this *Vādanyāya* passage, WARDER draws far-reaching conclusions. He argues in the following way:

> He [Dharmakīrti] also quotes the first few words of the play, which are of interest for the technicalities of composition and important historically for the study of dramatic texts: *prasaṃgaṃ kṛtvā nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*, 'Having made the necessary connection (i. e. with the *pūrvaraṅga*, opening proceedings or ritual [...]), then the producer enters at the end of the opening benediction (and speaks as follows)'. It seems that Dharmakīrti mentions this as a peculiarity of Aśvaghoṣa's style, at least from the standpoint of the usages of his own time. We find in fact that in the +2 [= second century A.D.] Bhāsa omits the first two words of this opening stage direction, and that by the +4 a different style of opening has become usual, which thereafter is standard practice: the dramatist himself supplies one or more verses for the opening benediction, which consequently stand at the beginning of his text, and these are followed by the bare 'At the end of the opening benediction: Producer:...'[5]

What WARDER here designates as two different "styles of opening" corresponding to two different stages of histrionics is merely the fact that there are two opening formulae in the transmitted dramas, viz., a shorter northern and a longer southern version, the latter not only being found in the so-called Trivandrum plays but is also commonly used in South Indian manuscripts of plays of various origin and time as well. The longer southern formula runs *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ* and appears *before* the introductory stanza(s) while the shorter northern formula appears *after* these stanzas and reads only *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*. To my mind, however, the virtually correct interpretation of this variance had already been given in two articles by Moriz WINTERNITZ and Vishnu Sitaram SUKTHANKAR in 1920 and 1925.[6] According to that the difference between these openings is merely a matter of nomenclature. The term *nāndī* of the southern formula preceding the introductory stanza(s) designates the benediction which forms the end of the preliminaries (*pūrvaraṅga*) whereas the *nāndī* of the northern version is identical with the preceding introductory stanza(s) composed by the poet and in

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[4] According to FRAUWALLNER (1961) 137–139 (= *Kleine Schriften* 859–861) Dharmakīrti lived c. A.D. 600–660. LINDTNER (1980), esp. 29 and 31–33, suggests an earlier date as a "working-hypothesis", viz. c. A.D. 530–600; for further literature concerning the dating see STEINKELLNER/MUCH (1995) 23.

[5] WARDER (1974) § 723. MUCH (1991) II 45, n. 215, reports WARDER's view without assessing it. My translation of the *Vādanyāya* passage quoted below is substantially in accord with MUCH's (1991) II 44f. The following discussion of WARDER's argumentation is virtually an English extract of STEINER (forthcoming) § 1.3.4.8.

[6] WINTERNITZ (1920/22) 285 (= *Kleine Schriften* II 755); SUKTHANKAR (1925) 129f; cf. also WINTERNITZ (1925) 110. A detailed discussion of this problem is found in STEINER (forthcoming) § 1.3.

both cases recited by the director. So the consequence is that all dramas were in fact begun by the director with the recitation of the poet's introductory stanza(s). Therefore the position and the wording of the first stage direction cannot give us any hint as to the development of the theatrical technique. To be sure, one need not agree with this interpretation, but WARDER does not even mention that there are divergent views on that matter. Instead of discussing the problem he constructs a historical development of the "technicalities of composition" from Aśvaghoṣa by way of "Bhāsa" to the authors of the classical period which *prima facie* might sound plausible.

Be that as it may, WARDER's basic understanding of the *Vādanyāya* passage is certainly wrong. In this text Dharmakīrti deals above all with the "reasons of defeat" (*nigrahasthāna*) in a debate. Such a reason is given for the disputant (*vādin*),[7] e.g., if the talk is about an object (*artha*) which has "no proof as a constituent part" (*asādhanāṅgavacana*). This is the case if the special property (*viśeṣa*) of this object is irrelevant (*aprastuta*) for the debate and the opponent (*prativādin*) does not actually wish to know this object, i.e., if the opponent is not at all interested in it.[8] Now practically each desired logical "connection" (*prasaṅga*) can be established for any given object.[9] Thus, according to a specific argumentation, there is a "connection" between someone who teaches selflessness (*nairātmyavādin*) and "dance, songs, etc." (*nṛtyagītyādi*). Dharmakīrti illustrates this in the following way:[10]

> *yathā pratijñābhidhānapūrvakam kaścit kuryāt | nāsty ātmeti vayaṃ bauddhā brūmaḥ | ke bauddhāḥ | ye buddhasya bhagavataḥ śāsanam abhyupagatāḥ | ko buddho bhagavān | yasya śāsane bhadantāśvaghoṣaḥ pravrajitaḥ | kaḥ punar bhadantāśvaghoṣaḥ | yasya rāṣṭrapālaṃ nāma nāṭakam | kīdṛśaṃ rāṣṭrapālaṃ nāma nāṭakam iti prasaṅgaṃ kṛtvā nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāra iti paṭhen nṛtyed gāyec ca | prativādī taṃ ca sarvaprasaṅgaṃ nānukartuṃ samartha iti parājitaḥ syād iti |*
>
> As [for example] after a preceding making of an assertion someone could state[11]: "'There is no self', thus say we Buddhists. Who are the Buddhists? [Those,] who accept the teaching of the Buddha, the Reverend One. Who is Buddha, the Reverend One? [The one,] in accordance to whose teaching the venerable Aśvaghoṣa has gone forth [i.e., has become a mendicant]. Who, furthermore, is the venerable Aśvaghoṣa? [The one,] by whom the play named

[7] Provided that the opponent (*prativādin*) explicitly declares in the debate that this reason is given for the disputant (cf. *Vādanyāya*, ed. MUCH I, p. 21, ll. 6–7).

[8] Cf. *Vādanyāya*, ed. MUCH I, pp. 18 (l. 16)–19 (l. 2); MUCH (1991) II, p. XI.

[9] *Vādanyāya*, ed. MUCH I, p. 19, ll. 5–7.

[10] *Vādanyāya*, ed. MUCH I, p. 19, ll. 9–17 (ed. SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA, JBORS 21.4 [1935], App., p. 67, ll. 5–11).

[11] Skt. *kuryāt*; cf. the variants *āha* in Cakradhara's *Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga* (p. 244, l. 27) and (better still and perhaps originally) *brūyāt* in Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* (p. 376, l. 23) both of whom quote this passage. The Tibetan translation (Peking 375b5) runs *smra ba* "says".

> *Rāṣṭrapāla* is [composed]. Of what kind is the play named *Rāṣṭrapāla*?" Having thus made a connection (*iti prasaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*) he could recite 'At the end of the benediction, then enters the director', dance, and sing. [Then,] the opponent shall be defeated with the thought: 'And he is not capable of repeating the entire connection[12].'[13]

To this Dharmakīrti remarks that such a dispute should not be started at all (*anārambha eva vādasya*), because its result would be uncertain (*aniścaya-phalatvād*) for specific reasons.[14] Further details need not be discussed here, for it should have become clear that the expression *prasaṅgaṃ kṛtvā* can neither mean, "Having made the necessary connection (i.e. with the *pūrvaraṅga*)", nor belong to the stage direction. In this section Dharmakīrti gives "an example of the formulation of a connection of consequences (*prasaṅga*)",[15] and the term *prasaṅga* is used seven times in this short section of the text.[16] Moreover, and more significantly, the term is used in all cases in the sense of "connection (of consequences)" without exception. As against this I have never come across *prasaṅga* in the meaning adopted by WARDER. In addition, a clarification would be needed of what he means by a "necessary connection with the *pūrvaraṅga*" and what such a "necessary connection" could be. Moreover, WARDER takes no notice of the word *iti* preceding *prasaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*. The function of *iti* here is to close the speech of the disputant and to connect it with the following. If *iti* belonged to the wording of the stage direction, the use of *iti* would remain unclear in this passage. Thus, the stage direction from Aśvaghoṣa's *Rāṣṭrapālanāṭaka* quoted by Dharmakīrti merely runs *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*, which is literally the longer southern formula.

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[12] Or: "the logical connection of the whole" ("den Folgezusammenhang des Ganzen") MUCH (1991) II 45.

[13] The word order ... *gāyec ca* | *prativādī taṃ ca sarvaprasaṅgaṃ* ... *iti parājitaḥ syād* appears somewhat awkward. One could consider whether one should read ... *gāyec ca prativādī* | *taṃ ca* ..., but this would not make sense because it is the disputant (*vādin*) and not the opponent (*prativādin*) who "could recite etc." (cf. also Cakradhara's *Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga* where a citation of the passage ends with *paṭhen nṛtyec ca* | [p. 245, l. 3; *gāyec* has been omitted]). Bhāsarvajña who also quotes this passage in his *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* reads *sarvaṃ taṃ prasaṅgaṃ* (instead of *taṃ ca sarvaprasaṅgaṃ*) thereby omitting the crucial *ca* (p. 376, l. 26). The Tibetan translatioo of the *Vādanyāya* runs ... *rab tu 'jug par 'gyur ro* || *phyir rgol bas kyaṅ źar la 'oṅs pa de thams cad rjes su zlo bar nus pa ma yin pa'i phyir 'pham par 'gyur ram* | (Peking 375b8–376a1), connecting *prativādī* with the *ca* following *taṃ*, which is syntactically not tenable (or did the translators read *prativādī ca taṃ sarvaprasaṅgaṃ*?) However, I think that one can justify the *ca* by interpreting the passage *taṃ ca sarvaprasaṅgaṃ nānukartuṃ samartha iti* as the direct thought or supposition of the disputant (*vādin*) who, after having established this long *prasaṅga*, (erroneously) believes he has defeated the opponent: "And [now] he is not capable of repeating the entire connection."

[14] *Vādanyāya*, ed. MUCH I, p. 19, ll. 19–20.

[15] MUCH (1991) II 117: "Beispiel für die Formulierung eines Folgezusammenhanges (*prasaṅga*)".

[16] *Vādanyāya*, ed. MUCH I, p. 19 (ll. 3, 6, 8, 14, 16), p. 20 (ll. 2, 5).

To arrive at a conclusive judgement concerning this quotation is, however, difficult. WARDER supposes "that Dharmakīrti mentions this as a peculiarity of Aśvaghoṣa's style, at least from the standpoint of the usages of his own time".[17] In Dharmakīrti's example, however, the "connection" (*prasaṅga*) is not established by "peculiarities" which in an exclusively and individually determined way belong to the specific terms to be connected. Rather a chain of associations is built in order to exemplify each preceding term: nairātmyavādins, i.e., *among others*, Buddhists; a Buddhist is, *for example*, the poet Aśvaghoṣa who, *among other things*, has composed the play *Rāṣṭrapāla*. At the end of this chain Dharmakīrti quotes the stage direction not in order to allege a special property of Aśvaghoṣa's play but merely to establish the intended connection with "dance, songs, etc.". It is irrelevant for this purpose whether other or even all playwrights use this formula. Hence, WARDER's conclusions for the "technicalities of composition" are not at all tenable.

If we were allowed to understand Dharmakīrti's quotation in such a way that his version of the text of Aśvaghoṣa's play in fact commenced with this wording, we would have important evidence that the practice of the South Indian manuscripts has preserved something old. However, this interpretation also seems to be uncertain. Firstly, I doubt that Dharmakīrti quoted directly from a manuscript. The entire passage rather gives me the impression of an example invented or improvised *ad hoc*, perhaps with a pointed allusion to the 'diversions of art' which would fit well into the illustration of the situation in question. Since clearly Dharmakīrti does not have to mind the precise wording of the stage direction[18] and its position preceding or following the introductory stanza(s) at all, far-reaching conclusions should not be drawn from this 'citation'. At any rate, one cannot conclude from our *Vādanyāya* passage whether in the manuscript tradition the *Rāṣṭrapālanāṭaka* began with a benediction or the first stage direction, for one can also argue in the first case that the play proper nevertheless only began just after the benedictory (*maṅgala*) stanzas, i.e., with the opening stage direction. Besides, for the purposes of Dharmakīrti the stage direction would be more appropriate than the first words of a benediction, because one can associate the stage direction more easily with the beginning of a play, whereas the actual wording of the *Rāṣṭrapāla nāndī* could not generally be taken for granted, especially in philosophical circles. Therefore, nothing significant for the position of the stage direction follows from the so-called 'quotation'.

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[17] WARDER (1971) § 723.

[18] Cf. also Bhāsarvajña's quotation of this passage which omits the expression *nāndyante* in the stage direction (*Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, p. 376, ll. 25–26).

One has also to take into consideration that according to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha (A. D. 1608), Dharmakīrti came from South India,[19] which, if true, could account for his being more familiar with the southern formula. However, Tāranātha's report is late and represents a singular, not necessarily reliable, tradition. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that, mentally or actually, *tataḥ praviśati* was inserted into the formula, as can be illustrated by many comparable inadvertancies of modern scholars.[20] Moreover, in modern translations the northern stage direction *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ* is quite often rendered by, "At the end of the benediction, *then* the director *enters*", as if *tataḥ praviśati* were included there, too. To sum up: firstly, we do not know anything about a historical development of the style of opening which is of particular relevance for the "Bhāsa question", nor about the diachronic reconstruction of the actual practice of the theatrical preliminaries. Further, Dharmakīrti's quotation does not hint at any "technicalities of composition". And, as against the opinion one might have at first glance the beginning of the *Rāṣṭrapālanāṭaka* cannot be reconstructed in a definite way.

It is not possible to deal here with all questions concerning the two different versions of the first stage direction and their connection with the arrangement of the theatrical preliminaries (*pūrvaraṅga*).[21] Nonetheless, I hope that this example briefly discussed here, illustrates some problematic features in WARDER's method and in his way of arriving at conclusions. To repeat the point I made at the beginning, it is not my intention to deny the evident merit of WARDER's monumental work. My critique of WARDER should merely exemplify the risk of being totally dependent on secondary sources. I have attempted to show here that it is necessary for every scientific investigation not only to use the relevant standard works in a critical manner but also to include available new and even older secondary material. For a Sanskritist, however, the starting point should always be the primary sources as I have tried to show in my critique of WARDER's treatment of Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya*, 19.9-17.

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[19] See the work ed. SCHIEFNER, p. 134, ll. 17ff.

[20] Cf. STEINER (forthcoming) § 1.3.3.1.

[21] For a detailed discussion of these questions, see STEINER (forthcoming) § 1.3.

Bhāsarvajña

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Dharmakīrti

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Ācāryya-Dharmakīrteḥ Vādanyāyaḥ ācāryya-Śāntarakṣita-praṇītayā Vipañcitārthābhidhayā ṭīkayā saṃvalitaḥ. Ed. Rāhula SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA. Appendix to the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Vol. XXI. Pt. IV (1935) & Vol. XXII. Pt. I (1936).

[Tibetan translation:] *Rtsod pa'i rigs pa šes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa*, in: Peking Tanjur, *mdo*, *ce* 364b8–400a7 (*Tibetan Tripiṭaka* Vol. 130, No. 5715).

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Kumārila, Īśvarasena, and Dharmakīrti in Dialogue. A New Interpretation of Pramāṇavārttika I 33

ERNST STEINKELLNER, Wien

kāryakāraṇabhāvād vā svabhāvād vā niyāmakāt |
avinābhāvaniyamo 'darśanān na na darśanāt ||

Perceiving the great in the small is one of philology's most rewarding exercises. Sometimes, as in our case, the process of cognition unfolds in both directions. The single śloka discussed below will be duly acknowledged in terms of meaning and value only after we have accepted the fact that it can only be sufficiently understood when its context has been considered. And then, having finally gained meaning in this way, — since for us this wider context is either already difficult to see, fragmented as it is by the loss of important texts (in the case of Īśvarasena), or has not yet become clearly visible, still being insufficiently investigated (in the case of Kumārila) — our small textual entity will serve to illuminate its background like a well-cut jewel reflecting the light it receives.

But when the context of a statement is disregarded, misunderstanding or incomplete understanding frequently ensue. The interpretation of Pramāṇavārttika I 33[1] is an important case in point. Important, because in this śloka Dharmakīrti summarizes his major contribution to Buddhist logic: the foundation of the inseparable logical connection on reality. Important also because it summarizes a continuing and lively disputation between three major and influential philosophical figures on this most crucial logical topic of their time.

As soon as the original context had moved out of focus, this śloka was only superficially understood, even in Dharmakīrti's tradition[2] the context-

[1] I count the *svārthānumāna* chapter as no. I, and my numbering of the stanzas differs from that in GNOLI'S edition by counting also the introductory stanzas. Similarly, PV I 33 was also adopted for the Pramāṇaviniścaya in a summarizing function as PVin II 62 (in my edition numbered 63. For the new numbering of verses in PVin II cf. STEINKELLNER 1988: 1434 and note 28 a).

[2] Meaning not only the later Buddhist logicians, but also representatives of opposing traditions who frequently quote this śloka. I found the following places (in roughly historical sequence) where the śloka is either simply quoted, even if partially, or also commented upon. In all probability this collection is not complete, but nevertheless fairly representative. Passages with some commentarial remarks are in bold face. In order not to overload this paper I have abstained altogether from incorporating the extensive materials available in the Tibetan com-

related intentions of the author remaining partly or completely unrecognized, and was subsequently even misunderstood. For its quality as a formulation of the nucleus of Dharmakīrti's theory, however, the śloka gained for itself a new function in the more petrified world of doxographic descriptions. Its interpretation at the hands of modern scholarship has fared in a similar fashion. Since the śloka presents no linguistic difficulties and its contextual relationship has not been seriously taken into account as yet, the translations and interpretations offered[3] are 'more or less' correct and, at the same time, 'more or less' meaningless. I shall now try to show what Dharmakīrti originally intended to summarize in these verses.

In Dharmakīrti's text,[4] the śloka (together with the following one) recapitulates the results of the long section beginning at PVSV 10,13 (PV I 15) on the cognition of the inseparable logical connection (*avinābhāva*). In this section the logical connection is explained as depending on an 'essential connection' (*svabhāvapratibandha*) which is available in the form of the two kinds of connections in reality, the relation of causality and that of real identity. At the same time the śloka introduces the new section which deals with the methods of ascertaining this 'essential connection' as the basis of the 'logical connection'.

The first verse summarizes this explanation of the logical connection's dependence on connections in reality by specifying the two instances in reality eligible for being the cause of an *avinābhāvaniyama* ('restriction of an inseparable logical connection'[5]), in that they both are of restrictive character (*niyāmaka*).

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mentarial traditions into this phase of research. To investigate the Tibetan interpretations of this śloka will be a separate task, but a preliminary survey reveals that the points made in the present paper will not be contradicted by a closer inspection of these later exegetical materials.

From the Buddhist tradition: PVT 53a8–53b3 (=PVSVṬ 87,6–8 + 88,25f.); HBT 8,10f.; TSP 526,17f.; PVinṬ 317b4–6; PVṬi 144b1–145b4; PVV 299,1–4; TR 81,7 (YAITA 1991: 146,12f.);

From the Brahmanical and Jaina traditions: (Nyāya) NVTṬ 304,18f.; NBhūṣ 290,19f.; (Vaiśeṣika) Vyom 570,30f.; NKand 493,11f.; (Mīmāṃsā) PrP 198,7f.; Kāśikā III.6,13f.; NRM 61,15f.; (Jaina) NVinVi I. 501,13f.; II. 180,17f.; NAVV 103,28f.; TBV 76,17f.; 558,36f.;

From Siddhānta-manuals: SDS 5,27f. and 6,1; TRD 43,4–11;

[3] Again I hope to have found the most representative interpretations: COWELL-GOUGH 4.1914: 12; MOOKERJEE 1935: 347; KUNST 1939: 102; MOOKERJEE-NAGASAKI 1964: 77; STEINKELLNER 1979: 108; BAPAT 1989: 118f.; GOKHALE 1992: 90f.; TAKENAKA 1994: 108.

[4] I consider this text, which consists of the *kārikās* of the Pramāṇavārttika's *svārthānumāna* chapter together with elaborate texts in prose that are usually taken as Dharmakīrti's "own commentary", as a work originally composed as a unit of *karikās* and prose. As FRAUWALLNER has shown (1954: 147f.), the text – work of his youth – was originally independent. Later the *kārikās* were incorporated into the Pramāṇavārttika and the prose parts were conceived as Dharmakīrti's "commentary" on the first chapter thereafter. Cf. also MALVANIA 1959: 11f. and MIMAKI 1980: n. 46.

[5] Cf. below for my interpretation of this compound.

kāryakāraṇabhāva and *svabhāva*

Dharmakīrti here particularizes the two items of restrictive character with the terms *kāryakāraṇabhāva* ('relation of cause and effect', 'causality') and *svabhāva* ('essence'). This is problematic, since the latter term does not denote a relation, but an instance in reality. Later commentators solve this problem simplistically by conceptual assimilation: the term *svabhāva* is also identified as a relation, namely as the *tādātmya* relation (relation of 'real identity').[6] But the solution is more complex, with the term *svabhāva* providing a clue.

Dharmakīrti's 'ontological' foundation of the 'logical connection' makes sense only if the 'essential connection' (*svabhāvapratibandha*) denotes a character of instances of reality, but not in terms of being a real relation. For a reality of relations (*sambandha*), particularly of the relation between cause and effect (*kāryakāraṇabhāva*) is strictly denied by Dharmakīrti.[7] The 'essential connection' then, as a relation, is only a fictional construct (*vikalpa*) based on the fictional character of something's either being the essence of something else,[8] or of something's essence being caused by something else.[9] If the restriction of the logical connection must be based on a reality of restrictive force, *svabhāva* ('essence') as the dynamic unit of reality for Dharmakīrti is the only eligible instance.[10] In other words, in this verse Dharmakīrti does not ultimately specify the two kinds of 'relations in reality' as the restrictive causes for the logical connection's restrictedness, but 'essence' (*svabhāva*) alone. However, with a view to the two factual characters of an 'essence' upon which a logical connection can be based, he distinguishes 'essence' (*svabhāva*) as that which is capable of producing, from 'essence' as that which is produced, as 'effect' (*kārya*). To express this distinction clearly, he uses the term of 'relation between cause and effect' (*kāryakāraṇabhāva*), thereby creating one of the difficulties for interpreting this verse. Thus, the term *svabhāva* should not be taken as meaning the 'relation of real identity' (*tādātmya*), and the term *kāryakāraṇabhāva* must be considered as an unguarded choice to express the second character of an instance of reality with restrictive quality, namely its being caused.

[6] Cf. PVSVṬ 87.7: *svabhāvād vā tādātmyalakṣaṇāt* (= PVṬ 53b1); TSP 526.16.

[7] Cf. his Sambandhaparīkṣā vv. 1 and 7–17 (FRAUWALLNER 1934) and STCHERBATSKY 1930: 245–250.

[8] PVSV 2,20f.: *sa ca tādātmavāt.*

[9] PVSV 3,4: *tatsvabhāvasya tadutpatteḥ.*

[10] 'Essence' (*svabhāva*) being the only 'cause' strictly speaking, it is also the only instance which can 'cause a restriction' (*niyāmaka*) such as the restriction of the inseparable logical connection to certain properties. The attribute *niyāmaka* thus is used here with the implication of Dharmakīrti's 'ontological' foundation for the logical connection.

If Dharmakīrti's denial of the reality of relations is taken into account,[11] our usual manner of explaining his theory of an 'ontological' foundation for the logical connection by saying that he grounds the latter on 'relations in reality' is, therefore, only elliptic. But so is Dharmakīrti's manner of speaking. By saying *svabhāvād vā niyāmakāt* in this verse he gives a hint — as far as I see the only one in this text — at what is meant: the logical connection is based on reality, or better: on that instance of reality we can experience, i.e. *svabhāva*.

The above interpretation is offered under the presumption that the relation of 'causality', with a view to its treatment in the Sambandhaparīkṣā, namely as not being real, may not have been considered to be a fundament solid enough to provide an 'ontological' foundation for a logical connection.

It is the purpose of the Sambandhaparīkṣā to clarify the irreality of relations in general and to explain their conceptual character (not, however, in order to "establish idealism" as recently proposed in JHA 1990: XLVf.) This little treatise, written after the Pramāṇavārttika (referred to in the Vṛtti on v. 22), but in my opinion still belonging to Dharmakīrti's early works, seems to have been composed mainly for the purpose of placing the relation of 'causality' (*kāryakāraṇabhāva*) in its systematically correct framework. It seems to me that in its function as a 'real' fundament of the logical connection in the Hetuprakaraṇa, the work of his youth, this relation received so strong an emphasis that its true nature as a fictional construct needed to be additionally explained. However, the Sambandhaparīkṣā establishes no more than the irreality of the causal and other relations. At the same time it explains the conventional terms 'cause' and 'effect' (vv. 14–17) and other relational terms as referring to 'different states' (*dṅos po tha dad*, v. 25d) of momentary entities, without denying the reality of the latter.

Since Dharmakīrti felt it to be necessary to avoid — as a corollary to his earlier work — a possible misunderstanding of his treatment of the 'causality' relation as something real, it is indeed very likely that in PV I 33 and in all similar passages the reality of this relation was meant to be taken for granted in the first step towards accepting his 'ontological' foundation-theorem for the logical connection.

We may then also think of an interpretation of the first verse as pointing to the restrictive character of 'two facts of reality' rather than of two kinds of 'essential connections': 'essence' (*svabhāva*) and the 'relation between cause and effect' (*kāryakāraṇabhāva*). In this case the latter 'fact' would be nothing but a conceptual elaboration of certain 'properties' or 'states' of entities into a causal relationship which, although being irreal as such, is nevertheless based on an experience with these entities (cf. Sambandhaparīkṣā

[11] The historical place of the Sambandhaparīkṣā and Vṛtti among his works has not yet been determined, but I am inclined to see it as one of his early products.

vv. 16–17, but also PVSV 19,6–8; 23,9–10). The relation of causality, therefore, may be considered as 'derivatively real' in the sense that the properties of the entities observed and referred to by the terms 'cause' and 'effect' are 'essential properties' (*svabhāva*) and their cognition is a result of the activities of the 'essences' (*svabhāva*) experienced.

Such an alternative interpretation of the first verse would be a more natural one. It would also have the advantage that the verse need neither be interpreted as an inaccurate listing of the two 'essential connections' (*svabhāvapratibandha*) (following the commentators), nor as an unfortunate expression of the 'cause' or 'effect' character of an 'essence' (*svabhāva*) (in the sense of my first interpretation).

Irrespective of the above deliberations some uneasiness remains. For, after all, an irreality of the 'causality' relation is nowhere indicated in the present work. And why should a summarizing śloka have been used as the appropriate instrument for informing students of this larger systematical conception? In other words: given the context we have, we cannot deny that the relation of 'causality' constitutes one of the fundaments of the logical connection in reality. Then we would also have to accept the commentarial tradition of explaining the term *svabhāva* as meaning the second relation, that of 'real identity' (*tādātmya*), and will remain bewildered by Dharmakīrti's choice of words.

So far it is on the basis of systematical considerations only that I consider our interpretations of this śloka to be in need of modification. Its second verse, however, can only be understood correctly if we take Dharmakīrti's context into account, that is, if we can identify his partners in this discussion on the logical connection. New interpretations are proposed below with regard to both parts of this verse; the sentence *adarśanān na na darśanāt*, and the compound *avinābhāvaniyamaḥ* as the subject of this śloka's two sentences.

avinābhāvaniyama

That this compound has to be understood as a tatpuruṣa but not as a karmadhāraya[12] can be ascertained from the following contextual and systematic deliberations.

First contextually: The introductory śloka PV I 3 already states that the inseparable logical connection (*avinābhāva*) is to be met with only in certain logical reasons (*hetu*), and that this restriction (*niyama*) is the argument for

[12] As, for example, in MOOKERJEE-NAGASAKI 1964: 77 ("the law of necessary concomitance").

there being only three kinds of logical reason (*tridhaiva saḥ*).[13] Dharmakīrti further shows in section PVSV 6,22–10,12 (PV I 9–13) that logical reasons must either be one of these three kinds, because an 'essential connection' can be found, or else are to be classified as spurious (*hetvābhāsa*). In PV I 33 he merely recapitulates that this 'restriction of the inseparable logical connection' (*avinabhāvaniyama*) to the three kinds of reasons[14] is founded on the restrictive quality of the two kinds of 'essential connections'.[15] That means that the term *avinābhāvaniyama* of PV I 33 is the same as that of PV I 3 and has to be parsed as a genitive-tatpuruṣa,[16] 'restriction of the inseparable logical connection (to ...)', meaning that this inseparable logical connection is restricted in its occurrence to certain kinds of reasons only.

Then systematically: If the compound here is understood as a karmadhāraya,[17] as 'a restriction (consisting) of the inseparable logical connection', or 'a restriction (of the kind) of the inseparable logical connection', which means that the restrictive character[18] of the inseparable logical connection is expressed, the compound's second member *niyama* would be superfluous. For the restrictive character is already implied in the term *avinābhāva* as the content of its definition. It is expressed by the word *eva* in the definition of 'pervasion' (*vyāpti*),[19] the synonym of *avinābhāva*, of PVSV 2,12f., and thus already contained in the concept of an 'inseparable logical connection'.[20] In other words, the restrictive character of the 'inseparable logical

[13] This is also how it is understood by MOOKERJEE-NAGASAKI 1964: 6, HAYES-GILLON 1991: 3. The same interpretation applies for the same śloka in the later Hetubindu, when in HB 5,7–9 Dharmakīrti explains: ... *atraiva trividhe 'vinābhāvaniyamāt. pakṣadharmasya yathoktā vyāptir avinābhāvaḥ; sa trividhād dhetor anyatra nāstīty atraiva niyata ucyate.* Cf. STEINKELLNER 1967: 39, and 82, note 4.

[14] MOOKERJEE seems to give a similar interpretation in 1935: 347 when he says: "Well, but why should these three alone be specified as the ground of valid inference and not any other? The reason is ...".

[15] Cf. also PVSV 8,16: *apratibaddhasvabhāvasyāvinābhāvaniyamābhāvāt* ("because for a [reason] whose essence is not connected, there is no restriction of the inseparable connection.") Cf. also NB II 20: *tadapratibaddhasya tadavyabhicāraniyamābhāvāt*, and the tatpuruṣa-explanation by Dharmottara (NBṬ 110,10).

[16] Its interpretation as a genitive-tatpuruṣa in PV I 3 seems to be undisputed in the tradition. Cf. PVSVṬ 8,28: *triṣv evāvinābhāvasya niyatatvād ity arthaḥ* (= PVṬ 7a8). Cf. also PVV 283,11 f., and HB 5,7–9 (quoted above in note 12) with HBṬ 55,27–30 and 7,25–8,2).

The interpretation of the compound in this text, the Hetuprakaraṇa, is not contradicted, I think, by one other occurrence in Dharmakīrti's works where the compound is clearly a karmadhāraya (e.g. PV IV 204 c. Cf. below note 29).

[17] Cf. PVSVṬ 87,18: *3 avinābhāva eva hi niyamaḥ*. On Karṇakagomin's reasons for interpreting the compound as a karmadhāraya cf. below.

[18] Often translated by the attribute "necessary" (e.g. GOKHALE 1992: 91) or as "the law of" (e.g. COWELL-GOUGH 1914:12; MOOKERJEE-NAGASAKI 1964: 77) or as being implied in the translation of *avinābhāva* (e.g. "Konkomitanz" in KUNST 1939: 102).

[19] Cf. KATSURA 1983: 542 for the application of a restriction (*niyama*) by using *eva* in this context.

[20] Cf. also PVSVṬ 87,8: ... *avinābhāvaḥ sādhyadharmaṃ vinā na bhāva ity arthaḥ.*

connection' needs no expression of its own — which would at best be merely tautological.[21] However, what Dharmakīrti found necessary to explain is why indeed such an 'inseparable logical connection' is restricted to certain kinds of properties, which makes them logical reasons, while other properties are not.

This interpretation of the compound as a tatpuruṣa contradicts Karṇakagomin's explanation. Karṇakagomin for his explanation here adopts Śākyabuddhi's commentary in his usual way,[22] but with a small, yet significant alteration in the beginning.

His explanation of the first sentence of PV I 33 — up to *avinābhāvaniyamaḥ* — in PVSVṬ 87,6-8 is a literal copy of PVṬ 53a8-53b2.[23] However, Karṇakagomin ends with the term *avinābhāvaḥ*, adding the explanation of this term (*sādhyadharmaṃ vinā na bhavatīty arthaḥ*) and therefore naturally dropping the first part of Śākyabuddhi's tripartite compound *bsgrub par bya ba med na mi 'byuṅ bar ṅes pa* (**sādhyāvinābhāvaniyamaḥ*, PVṬ 53b1 f.).

However, the fact that he also drops the last part, *-niyamaḥ*, is significant, because this accords with his interpretation of Dharmakīrti's compound *avinābhāvaniyamaḥ* as a karmadhāraya. This explanation is part of a lengthy digression (PVSVṬ 87,8-88,25, ending with *avinābhāvaniyamaniścayo*) following which Karṇakagomin copies the remaining lines of Śākyabuddhi's commentary on the last part of the second verse of PV I 33 (PVSVṬ 88,25-26 = PVṬ 53b2-3).

In this digression, Karṇakagomin quotes two groups of stanzas under the name of Bhaṭṭa (PVSVṬ 87,11 and 20), i.e. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Both quotations can be attributed to Kumārila's lost Bṛhaṭṭīkā. FRAUWALLNER has already proposed this attribution for the second group, which deals with the concept of *niyama*.[24] Since the three stanzas of the first group are not from the Ślokavārttika either, I assume that they also belong to Kumārila's Bṛhaṭṭīkā. The first group of stanzas (PVSVṬ 87,12-17) explains the *asādhāraṇo hetuḥ*. I believe that it is not relevant to the present argument.[25]

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[21] This is also clearly admitted by Karṇakagomin who, after interpreting the compound as a karmadhāraya, questions the purpose of the term *niyama*, and answers that it is only directed against the idea of an opponent (PVSV 87,19 f. : *yady evaṃ kimarthaṃ punar niyamagrahaṇam. satyam. paramatanirāsārtham. sa hy avinābhāvavyatirekenānyaṃ niyamam icchati*. Cf. below).

[22] Cf. STEINKELLNER 1981.

[23] PVSVṬ 87,6-8: *yata evaṃ pratibandhavaśād gamakatvāt, tasmāt kāryakāraṇabhāvād vā niyāmakāt sādhyasādhanayor avyabhicārasādhakāt svabhāvād vā tādātmyalakṣaṇān niyāmakāt. kāryasya svabhāvasya ca liṅgasyāvinābhāvaḥ* ...

[24] Cf. FRAUWALLNER 1962: 88 ff.

[25] These verses are difficult, and I do not understand them properly. Since somebody else may make more of this passage, I take this opportunity of offering at least my preliminary interpretation in order to indicate to what degree I have been able to make sense of it.

The reason for introducing this passage here seems to be the following: In explaining the term 'inseparable connection' (*avinābhāva*) of PV I 33c', Karṇakagomin points out that it does

It is in the introduction to the second quotation from the Bṛhaṭṭīkā that Karṇakagomin presents his explanation of the compound *avinābhāvaniyama* as karmadhāraya and presents his reasons: "For only the inseparable connection (*avinābhāva*) is a restriction (*niyama*) on the assumption that (the proving property) does not exist without the (property) to be proved. If [the compound is explained] in this way, what is the purpose of again (stating) the term 'restriction' (*niyama*)? Well, it serves to refute the opinion of an oppo-

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not prevail in case of the uncommon (*asādhāraṇa*) reason, because this reason is a reason for doubt.[a] And he rejects a conclusive character for this reason by saying, that in the case that such an 'inseparable connection' existed, the property to be proven (*sādhya*) would have been already established in the specific property-possessor (*dharmin*) by that cognition which ascertains this connection.[b] This explanation does away with that offered by Kumārila who seems to have in mind another solution for this reason's inconclusiveness according to which it would not be conditioned by an 'inseparable connection'. I fail to understand all the details, however, of Kumārila's explanation. My own supplementation is added between square brackets.

"The word 'inseparable connection' (*avinābhāva*), too, ...[c] which [regarding its application] is joined with all things,[d] (according) to us does not cause a cognition of a relation (*sambandha*) which is [additionally] useful for an inference.[e]

First: if (there is) a separable connection (*vinābhāva*) [in the case of any property],[f] then this (separable connection) is not qualified later [thereby becoming an inseparable connection]. Therefore this (separable connection) is extant also in case of the uncommon (reason), (and) thus [the word 'inseparable connection' (*avinābhāva*)] would not cause [the cognition of a relation (*sambandha*) useful for an inference]. For that which is an uncommon property is made its own by nothing but this (separable connection).[g] Only on (the presupposition of the idea) 'it does not occur without (that)' is a recognized (valid) reason the consequence."

avinābhāvaśabdo 'py a ...[c] *sakalārthabhāk* |
nānumāyogyasambandhapratipattim karoti naḥ ‖
yadi tāvad vinābhāvo na sa paścād viśiṣyate |
tato 'sādhāraṇe 'py asti sa iti syād akāraṇam ‖
yo hy asādhāraṇo dharmaḥ sa tenaivātmasātkṛtaḥ |
vinā na bhavatīty eva jñāto hetuḥ prasajyate ‖ PVSVṬ 87,12–17

[a] That it is "a reason for doubt" (*sandehahetu*, PVSVṬ 87,9) derives from the fact that the *vyatireka* is uncertain, since its exclusion from dissimilar instances is due only to mere non-observation (cf. PV IV 207 ab: *adṛṣṭimātram ādāya kevalaṃ vyatirekitā* |). Cf. TILLEMANS 1990: 76–79 for Dharmakīrti's interpretation of the *asādhāraṇahetu* in PV IV.

[b] PVSVṬ 87,9f.: *avinābhāve tu tanniścāyakenaiva pramāṇena tatra dharmiṇi sādhyasya siddhatvāt katham asya gamakatvam* ["Since the (property) to be proven is already established in that (particular) property-possessor by that valid cognition which ascertains this (inseparable connection) if, on the other hand, an inseparable connection (existed for the uncommon reason), how could this (uncommon reason) be of conclusive character (since nothing is left to be concluded)?"].

[c] Three *akṣara* are lacking here.

[d] I.e. the domains of the *pakṣa*, *sapakṣa*, and *vipakṣa* in like manner.

[e] I do not separate *anumāyogya* — as proposed in the edition, and I see no meaning in parsing *anumā-ayogya-*.

[f] Better: "If [a property] is not inseparably connected".

[g] I understand: if a property is not connected, it is this non-connection alone which makes it 'uncommon'.

nent. For this (opponent) adopts another (kind of) restriction (*niyama*) as different from the inseparable connection [proposed by Dharmakīrti]."[26]

Thus Karṇakagomin's interpretation of the compound is propounded under the influence of the '*niyama* passage' in the Bṛhaṭṭīkā which he considers is refuted by Dharmakīrti's compound. For Kumārila, in this Bṛhaṭṭīkā passage, uses the term *niyama* for the first time instead of the term 'pervasion' (*vyāpti*) he had previously used in the Ślokavārttika (e.g. ŚV, *anumāna*, 42).[27] It is Karṇakagomin's opinion that the term *niyama* in Dharmakīrti's

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[26] PVSVṬ 87,18-20: *avinābhāva eva hi niyamaḥ sādhyaṃ vinā na bhavatīti kṛtvā. yady evaṃ kimarthaṃ punar niyamagrahaṇam. satyam, paramatanirāsārtham. sa hy avinābhāvavyatirekeṇānyaṃ niyamam icchati.*

[27] This terminological change from *vyāpti* to *niyama* as the term for an inseparable logical connection was accomplished by Kumārila, according to FRAUWALLNER (1962: 89f.), in reaction to Dharmakīrti's new theory which bases the logical connection on the two kinds of 'essential connection'. Consequently, FRAUWALLNER proposes that the Bṛhaṭṭīkā was written after the Ślokavārttika and immediately after Dharmakīrti's earliest composition, the *Hetuprakaraṇa, as he calls it.

That the beginning of the '*niyama* theory' for the logical connection in the Mīmāṃsā-schools is to be pinned down to this terminological change has been preserved in the memory of the Mīmāṃsakas. The second verse of the Bṛhaṭṭīkā passage quoted by Karṇakagomin "a relation called 'restriction' (*niyama*) is now proposed by our doctrine" (*niyamo nāma sambandhaḥ svamatenocyate 'dhunā*. PVSVṬ 87,22) is still being quoted by Mīmāṃsakas as late as Sucaritamiśra (Kāśikā III 18,25) and Pārthasārathimiśra (NRM 60,20; cf. also NRM 61,9f.: *niyama eva vārttike vyāptiśabdenocyate*).

FRAUWALLNER'S conclusions for the sequence of Kumārila's Ślokavārttika and Bṛhaṭṭīkā are based on his understanding of the passage quoted by Karṇakagomin. His explanation of this passage's meaning (1962: 89) is clear enough, but I shall add a translation below (note 28) to dispell any remaining doubts. For 'Frauwallner's sequence' was recently contested by JOHN A. TABER (1992), who considers a 'traditional opinion' for the sequence of these two works to be more appropriate. In his argument, TABER only reinvestigates the few passages hitherto thought to be significant for this decision. In my opinion, his arguments are not at all convincing, but I must refrain here from more detailed remarks. For an invalidation of his argument based on my interpretation of PVin II 19,16ff. (cf. 1979: note 123) cf. the notes on PVSV 4,15ff. in my translation of the logical sections in Dharmakīrti's first work which is in preparation and will hopefully be published in 1998.

As to TABER'S demand with regard to the present '*niyama* passage', i.e. that "it still remains to be shown that there is a *substantive*, and not just terminological, difference between the theory of inference he presents in the *BT* and that of the *ŚV*" (TABER 1992: 188), it will not be easy to comply with. For what we have on *niyama*, presumably from the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, are the five ślokas quoted by Karṇakagomin, and they have a clearly polemical motivation (cf. the next note). But one item may be helpful: in the verse *gamakasyaiva gamyena sa ceṣṭaḥ prāṅ nirūpitaḥ* (PVSVṬ 87,28) — "And this (restriction) which is assumed (to be in force) only for the concluding with the concluded has been explained before." —, the reference to an earlier explanation may be to one in the same text, but could equally be one to ŚV, *anumāna*, 6-9 as well.

Of course it is also very likely that by replacing the term *vyāpti* with the term *niyama* Kumārila may have assumed that the new term contained an additional concept, that of 'necessity', which he would have found not necessarily to be contained in the older term *vyāpti* after having been confronted with Dharmakīrti's new idea that a *vyāpti* without proper 'ontological' foundation lacks necessity. Cf. below on Kumārila's conceptions. Then it would seem that here we do not only have a simple case of terminological change, but a conscious selection of a new term on the assumption of a larger conceptual range being covered by it.

compound has the purpose of expressing that only that kind of 'inseparable logical connection' which is called *avinābhāva* is a *niyama*, but not another kind of *niyama*, as the one propounded by Kumārila in the Bṛhaṭṭīkā.[28] Karṇakagomin's rather strained explanation of the compound *avinābhāvaniyama* as a karmadhāraya is, therefore, a secondary development of which the specific motivation can be determined. It is thus an interesting piece of commentarial art in its own right, but cannot be considered as an authoritative commentarial statement on Dharmakīrti's compound.[29]

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[28] "When in this way relations (*sambandha*) such as were proposed by other (teachers) have been refuted, a relation called 'restriction' (*niyama*) is now (or: in the following) proposed by our doctrine.

Relations such as the relationship between cause and effect (*kāryakāraṇabhāvādi*)[a] (may) be conceived in two ways (*dvayī gatiḥ*) in terms of (being either) a restriction (*niyama*) or a non-restriction (*aniyama*). [But only] restriction is a constitutive part (*aṅga*) of an inference.

For all these non-restrictions[b] are not a cause to bring about an inference. Everything in this way is inferred because of a restriction alone.

Therefore only restriction is determined here [in our system] as the unique relation [of logical import]. And this (restriction) which is assumed (to be in force) only for the concluding (*gamaka*) with the concluded (*gamya*) has been explained before.[c]

If one who correctly remembers the restriction sees one member [of the restriction-relation], (namely) the restricted (member) (*niyamya*), the resultant cognition of the (other) member which is the restricting (*niyāmaka*) is an inference in regard to such (entities) that possess these (two) members [i.e. *pakṣas*]."[d]

evam anyoktasambandhapratyākhyāne kṛte sati |
niyamo nāma sambandhaḥ svamatenocyate 'dhunā ||
kāryakāraṇabhāvādisambandhānāṃ dvayī gatiḥ |
niyamāniyamābhyaṃ syān niyamasyānumāṅgatā ||
sarve 'py aniyamā hy ete nānumotpattikāraṇam |
niyamāt kevalād evaṃ na kiṃcin nānumīyate ||
tasmān niyama evaikaḥ sambandho 'trāvadhāryate |
gamakasyaiva gamyena sa ceṣṭaḥ prāṅ nirūpitaḥ ||
niyamasmaraṇaḥ samyag niyamyaikāṅgadarśanāt |
niyāmakāṅgavijñānam anumānaṃ tadaṅgiṣu || PVSVṬ 87,21–30

[a] This refers to Dharmakīrti's two 'essential connections', 'causality' and 'real identity' (*tādātmya*).

[b] Having earlier refuted 'relations' proposed by other teachers, particularly by Dharmakīrti, Kumārila now already refers to them as 'non-restrictions' (*aniyama*).

[c] Kumārila determined in ŚV, *anumāna*, 6 that inference is possible only from the pervaded (*vyāpya*) to the pervading (*vyāpaka*), not vice versa, and in 7–9 that this direction holds also in the case that the two are of the same extension. I am inclined to think that Kumārila here refers to this explanation in the Ślokavārttika, but cannot prove it, of course.

[d] I am much obliged to my friend CLAUS OETKE for a long discussion and helpful remarks on these two Bṛhaṭṭīkā passages.

[29] I am aware of the formulation in PV IV 204cd (*niyamo hy avinābhāvo 'niyataś ca na sādhanam*) which would seem to support a karmadhāraya interpretation and to contradict my interpretation of the compound in PV I 3 and 33. However, Dharmakīrti's manner of speaking of the logical connection in PV IV 204 is again conditioned by a different context, namely his explanation of Dignāga's Hetucakra (PV IV 195–206; cf. ONO 1985, KATSURA 1992), and cannot be used as an argument for deciding upon the present passage. The identification of *avinābhāva*, and its synonyms *avyabhicāra* and *vyāpti*, with *niyama* is due to Dignāga (cf. KATSURA 1992a: 1048). It is also upheld by Kumārila in the Bṛhaṭṭīkā. In interpreting Dig-

adarśanān na na darśanāt

The first problem faced in interpreting this last pāda is whether Dharmakīrti indeed refers to two methods for determining the 'inseparable logical connection', or whether only one method comprising two steps is meant. From the linguistic point of view, it would seem to be beyond doubt that two different methods are indicated. For we clearly have two negative phrases and a sequence of *adarśana* followed by *darśana*, when the normal sequence to be expected if one method were meant would be *darśana — adarśana*.

That we have a problem here at all is due to the fact that we find the conception of one method referred to within both the Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions. The earliest evidence for this interpretation can be found in Dharmottara's explanation of the śloka as occuring in the Pramāṇaviniścaya.[30] There is no clear distribution within the tradition between those who see one or two methods as being referred to in this pāda, so that perhaps we could say that there were two traditions, formed by those who depend either on comments upon the śloka in the Pramāṇavārttika or in the Pramāṇaviniścaya respectively. I am inclined to think, however, that Dharmottara's interpretation became influential for the majority of non-Buddhist opponents after it was taken up by Vācaspatimiśra.[31]

nāga's *hetucakra* in terms of his theorem of the three kinds of logical reasons and not elaborating on the theorem itself. Dharmakīrti is here simply following Dignāga's identification.

Śaṅkaranandana, too, interprets the compound as a karmadhāraya when he says: *ṅes pa yaṅ med na mi 'byuṅ ba yin te | med na mi 'byuṅ ba ṅes pa ste źes gaṅ bśad pa'o | med na mi 'byuṅ ba yaṅ yin la | ṅes pa yaṅ yin no źes bya ba'i don to |* (PVṬī 144b3f.). Since I am still totally unfamiliar with Śaṅkaranandana's often highly idiosyncratic writing, I must refrain from commenting upon his reasons for preferring a karmadhāraya interpretation.

[30] PVinṬ 317b5f. (no variants in D263b5f.): *gtan tshigs mi mthun pa'i phyogs la ma mthoṅ ba daṅ mthun pa'i phyogs la mthoṅ ba las ni ma yin no. [*na hetor (?) vipakṣe 'darśanāt sapakṣe darśanāc ca].* Here, the sequence of *adarśana — darśana* of Dharmakīrti's pāda is still kept, but the specification of *vipakṣa* and *sapakṣa* already suggests that the single negation governs both *adarśana* and *darśana* as combined, not separately. Dharmottara, therefore, is saying that the *avinābhāvaniyama* "is not based on non-perception of the logical reason in the dissimilar and perception in the similar."

Later, those who have the same 'one method — interpretation' in mind formulate the sequence *darśana — adarśana*, which is normal in this case.

[31] NVTṬ 304,14f.: *sa ca pratibandho na darśanādarśanamātrād avaseyaḥ.* Similarly NKand 493,11f.: *na sapakṣe darśanād vipakṣe cādarśanāt*, and NAVV 103,30: *na darśanādarśanābhyāṃ niyamaṃ manyate.*

On the Buddhist side, the commentators either clearly distinguish the two methods rejected,[32] or cannot be definitely assigned to one of these two interpretations.[33]

Given the brevity of all these explanations in general as well as their mostly ambivalent nature, it may be said in summary that, except for Śākyabuddhi, Karṇakagomin and, to some extent, Kamalaśīla, they display no longer any awareness of what Dharmakīrti had in mind when writing this pāda.

In this last pāda, after having presented his own idea on the cause for a restriction of an 'inseparable logical connection' to certain logical properties, Dharmakīrti refutes, as I shall show below, two other means as being capable of establishing the same restriction. Both have been proposed by his predecessors Īśvarasena and Kumārila respectively as means for ascertaining an 'inseparable logical connection', and, naturally, neither operate with the knowledge of Dharmakīrti's solution of founding it on 'essential connections', i.e., connections in reality.

Since Dharmakīrti's theorem represents a new step in this development we have to distinguish clearly the alternative theorems which are posited oppositionally in this śloka. For Dharmakīrti, an 'essential connection' of restrictive character is the ultimate and only cause for the fact that a 'logical connection' is restricted to certain logical reasons, namely the 'three kinds', but is absent in other reasons which, therefore, are 'spurious reasons'.

That a 'logical connection' is restricted also means that where it occurs it is necessary, its necessity being a defining aspect of a 'logical connection' as such. Dharmakīrti, in this way, explains how it is possible that a 'logical connection' exists at all. By additionally prescribing methods for ascertaining the 'essential connections' as the real basis of the 'logical connections', he also explains how the latter can be known. In this way he is able to explain both, why a logical reason does not deviate from a property to be proven (*avyabhicāra*) and how we can know that it does not deviate from it.[34]

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[32] PVSVṬ 88,25f. (= PVṬ 53b2f.): *sādhyābhāve hetor adarśanamātrān nāvinābhāvaniyamaniścayaḥ, na darśanāt, nāpi sādhyasādhanayoḥ sahabhāvadarśanāt*. By referring back to PV I 15ab in TSP 526,15 Kamalaśīla clearly seems to isolate the method mentioned in the first part of the pāda. PVV 299,3f.: *<na> vipakṣe hetor adarśanād na sapakṣe darśanāt, darśanādarśanayor vyabhicariny api hetau sambhavān niyamahetvabhāvāc ca*. Two methods are also distinguished by the Mīmāṃsaka Śālikanātha in PrP 198,10: *vipakṣe 'darśanamātrān nāvinābhāvaniyamaḥ, nāpi sapakṣe darśanamātrād avinābhāva ity arthaḥ*.

[33] PVṬī 145b4f.: … *tshad ma gźan sel ba ni ma mthoṅ las min źes bya bas ni ldog pa'i rtogs pa gsal te | mthoṅ las min źes bya bas ni rjes su 'gro ba'i rtogs pa'o ||*

Similarly the Mīmāṃsaka Sucaritamiśra in Kāśikā III, 6,15: *na hi vipakṣasapakṣayor adarśanād darśanād vāvinābhāvasidhiḥ*.

Both passages at first glance seem to speak of one method, but they may also be taken as summarizing two methods in one sentence.

[34] Cf. OETKE 1994: 121–123.

Dharmakīrti's theorem of an 'ontological' foundation for the 'logical connection' is formulated in accordance with that current of Indian logical thought which traces the 'logical connection' (*avinābhāva*) to some kind of 'connection in reality' (*sambandha*).[35] This current was relegated to the background with the arrival of Dignāga's *trairūpya* theorem, but, only, it seems to me because Dignāga did not "try to justify his theory of pervasion."[36] The problem remaining in Dignāga's *trairūpya* theory with regard to the necessity of a 'logical connection', namely that it can only be ascertained by complete observation of all cases of 'concomitance in absence' (*vyatireka*), motivated further developments in the theorem of a 'logical connection'.

KATSURA has recently shown (1992b: 226f.) that Dignāga had already proposed 'mere non-perception' (*adarśanamātra*) as the means for ascertaining 'concomitance in absence' (*vyatireka*) in the *apoha* chapter of his Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti, and that Īśvarasena's specific contribution to this theorem of *adarśanamātra* must be seen in his giving this means authoritative status as an additional kind of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*). By assigning such authoritative status to 'mere non-perception', Īśvarasena intended to solve the problem of incomplete induction and offered this method for ascertaining the 'logical connection' as necessarily obtaining between two logical properties. In this way Īśvarasena provided an idea of how the 'non-deviation' (*avyabhicāra*) can be ascertained, but did not explain why it is possible.

The same can be said of Kumārila who only indicates briefly (cf. below) his opinion on how a 'logical connection' can be ascertained. Neither of these older contemporaries of Dharmakīrti went any further, and it is only the latter's 'essential connection' theorem which solves this remaining mystery and thereby also merges the '*sambandha* current' and the '*vyāpti* current' of earlier logical theories. For according to Dharmakīrti, only the three kinds of logical reason (*trividha*) as taught by himself fulfil the conditions imposed by Dignāga on a proper logical reason, i.e. the three characteristics (*trilakṣaṇa*).[37]

As I shall demonstrate below, when Dharmakīrti refutes these two methods offered for ascertaining a 'logical connection', he says, in fact, that they are not capable of fulfilling their — in his eyes — ultimate task: to give an answer to the question why a 'logical connection' is extant in certain cases of reasons and not in others. He does not primarily take them to task

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[35] It first appears in the Vaiśeṣikasūtra (cf. SCHUSTER 1972) and in Vārṣagaṇya's theory (cf. FRAUWALLNER 1958, OETKE 1994: 114–117), surfacing also in Vasubandhu's Vādavidhi (cf. FRAUWALLNER 1957: 118,120; KATSURA 1986a: 17–29, 1986b: 4f.; NENNINGER 1992: 124ff; OETKE 1994: 11–15).

[36] KATSURA 1992b: 224.

[37] STEINKELLNER 1979: 7.

for their incapability of ascertaining the 'logical connection' as necessary, although this was the purpose they were proposed for by their authors. For Dharmakīrti, this latter incapability is nothing but a consequence of the former.

While an association of the first method with Īśvarasena, because of the context in Dharmakīrti's text, seems to be taken for granted by Śākyabuddhi, Karṇakagomin and Kamalaśīla, I have not been able to find any association of the second method with Kumārila in the sources.

adarśanān na

Here Dharmakīrti rejects the proposal of his teacher Īśvarasena according to which a logical connection can be established by mere non-perception (*adarśanamātra*) of the logical reason in the dissimilar (*vipakṣa*), a non-perception he assumed to have in fact the authoritative quality of a third kind of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*).[38] Īśvarasena's 'mere non-perception' is thus mentioned here as a condition supposedly sufficient for ascertaining the logical connection as necessary, and as such not needing to be combined with an additional perception (*darśana*).[39]

Among the commentators on Dignāga's logical work, Īśvarasena was the first to see the problem created for the necessity of a 'logical connection' by the impossibility of complete induction, and to offer a solution for it. And the unsatisfactory nature of his solution must be seen as the main reason for Dharmakīrti to develop this theorem further. Among Dignāga's opponents, it seems that only the Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila Bhaṭṭa proposed a method for ascertaining the 'logical connection' which can be considered to have been created with the same purpose in mind.

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[38] Cf. STEINKELLNER 1966: 75–80. KATSURA recently demonstrated that there is a "forerunner of the *adarśanamātra* theory" in Dignāga's PSV on PS V 34, and that Īśvarasena's specific contribution only consists in giving this cognition the status of a third kind of valid cognition (KATSURA 1992b: 226f.).

[39] For the context in Dharmakīrti cf. PV I 16 with PVSV 10,21–25, as well as the specific discussion of Īśvarasena's theorem in PV I 19 and PVSV 12,4–25. Moreover, Dharmakīrti defends his interpretation that an 'essential connection' is implied in Dignāga's theory of *trairūpya* (cf. PV I 17) first and most elaborately against Īśvarasena by indicating the problems in interpreting Dignāga's work correctly without such an assumption (PV I 18–22, PVSV 11,5–15,8).

na darśanāt

For Dharmakīrti this denial means that 'perception' (*darśana*) does not have a restrictive quality sufficient to establish that the 'logical connection' is restricted to certain kinds of logical reason. I have said above that such a method cannot have been proposed before Dharmakīrti with this particular task in mind, but only in order to ascertain that the 'logical connection' is necessary. In other words, to answer the question of how we can know that a 'logical connection' between two logical properties exists such that one does not deviate from the other (*avyabhicāra*).

As already indicated, there seems to be only one likely candidate as upholder of such a method, and that is the Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila. It is, however, somewhat difficult to argue convincingly for this assumption. Although the *anumāna* chapter of Kumārila's Ślokavārttika has been thoroughly interpreted,[40] a study of Kumārila's theory of inference and logic properly speaking is still a desideratum.[41] Such a study of Kumārila's logic would have to take into account not only his *anumāna* chapter, but also other chapters where logical issues are involved. For Kumārila's manner of writing is not overly systematic, and often his statements need to be complemented from quite different contexts, as is well known. In addition we face the difficulty of not knowing which part of Kumārila's text an opponent like Dharmakīrti may have taken into account when referring to Kumārila's view, and which part he remained unaware of as being related to the same issue. In the following I shall try to determine Kumārila's proposal as to how a 'logical connection' can be first ascertained, and then to relate it to Dharmakīrti's statement.

Among the non-Buddhist opponents of Dignāga, it is only with Kumārila in the period before Dharmakīrti that we find the concept of a method for ascertaining a 'logical connection' or 'pervasion' (*vyāpti*). He says in ŚV, *anumāna*, 12a–c: "For a pervasion which can be known by repeated perception is (usually) cognised between two general properties while disregarding the individual cases (*bheda*)."[42] That the 'logical connection' is "to be

[40] Cf. YAMAKAMI *et al.* 1983–1985.

[41] For a survey of the formal aspects of his logic cf. KATSURA 1982 and 1986a: 92–95. The authors of the translation of the *anumāna* chapter (cf. note 40) naturally depend in their interpretational remarks on the later, post-Dharmakīrtian, Mīmāṃsaka commentators, the earliest of these being Umbeka (middle of 8th c.). And this is also the case in TAKENAKA'S recent study (1994) of the very topic where we would need a clear conception of Kumārila's point of view, namely an answer to the question "how can we get the knowledge of *vyāpti*, that is, by what kind of means (*pramāṇa*) is this relation ascertained?" (TAKENAKA 1994: 105).

[42] *bhūyodarśanagamyā hi vyāptiḥ sāmānyadharmayor jñāyate bhedahānena.* ŚV, *anumāna*, 12a–c.

known by repeated perception"[43] (*bhūyodarśanagamyā*) means that Kumārila did not find it necessary in this context, when he explains the concept of 'pervasion' (*vyāpti*) (ŚV, *anumāna*, 4–23b), to say anything about a need to have total grasp of the dissimilar cases (*vipakṣa*) for such ascertainment.[44] The statement then is by no means clear.[45] However, it is very likely that Dharmakīrti was referring to exactly this statement because of its prominent position in Kumārila's work. At least some – and for our purpose probably sufficient – additional information can be gained from the *arthāpatti* chapter.

In ŚV, *arthāpatti*, 40cd Kumārila says: "For me, on the contrary, (a logical reason) is conclusive of (its) concomitant because of mere non-perception."[46] This statement would allow the interpretation of the term *bhūyodarśana* – of ŚV, *anumāna*, 12a – as implying both kinds of cognition, repeated perception as well as repeated non-perception, when ascertaining a 'pervasion'.[47] Thus we could summarize this by saying that for Kumārila a 'pervasion' can be known by repeated cognition of the concomitance in presence (*anvaya*) and the concomitance in absence (*vyatireka*) of two logical properties. But Kumārila does not seem to consider this 'repeated perception/cognition' alone to be sufficient to warrant the conclusiveness of a logical reason, or to ascertain the character of necessity for the 'pervasion' thus established. For in ŚV, *arthāpatti*, 42 he says: "When the concomitance (*sāhitya*) between fire and smoke is well-known (*prasiddha*) because their place (of occurence) is limited,[48] as well as (*ca* ... *ca*) on account of a non-perception of the contrary (*vyatireka*),[49] it is assumed that (a logical reason) is conclusive."[50]

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[43] I translate *darśana* here by "perception" to keep the association with Dharmakīrti's formulation. But it is possible, particularly with a view to later Mīmāṃsā interpretations (cf. NRM 71,2), that Kumārila was also thinking of other means of cognition, so that a translation by "cognition" would be more appropriate.

[44] In fact, Kumārila's emphasis in this śloka is on the fact that 'pervasion' is cognised between generic properties (*sāmānyadharma*), and not on its ascertainment. The attribute *bhūyodarśanagamyā* only summarizes what has been said in the two preceding ślokas.

[45] Cf. also TAKENAKA 1994: 108.

[46] *mama tv adṛṣṭamātreṇa gamakaḥ sahacāriṇaḥ*. ŚV, *arthāpatti*, 40cd.

[47] Umbeka adduces this śloka for elucidating the meaning of the *bhūyodarśana*-śloka (ŚVTṬ 308,20f.; *na cādarśana*° is to be emended to *mama tv adṛṣṭa*°). The śloka is often quoted wrongly, e.g. NRM 72,20: *sahatvadṛṣṭi*° (where the editor attributes it to the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, for what reason I am unable to ascertain), and 71,17: *tatrāsyādṛṣṭi*° (where the reading *tatra* is corroborated by the following pratīka, thereby giving some force to the assumption that the verse has been adopted in the Bṛhaṭṭīkā with a slight change), ŚD 172,8: *mamatvadṛṣṭi*° (which are only scribal and printing errors).

[48] Cf. ŚV, *anumāna*, 10–11 for the meaning of *mitadeśatva*.

[49] That is the contrary of concomitance (*sāhitya*), non-concomitance or 'deviation' (*vyabhicāra*). Cf. ŚVTṬ 397,21.

[50] *sāhitye mitadeśatvāt prasiddhe cāgnidhūmayoḥ | vyatirekasya cādṛṣṭer gamakatvaṃ prakalpyate ‖* ŚV, *arthāpatti*, 42.

I consider this śloka to contain Kumārila's entire idea on ascertaining a 'pervasion' (*vyāpti*) or 'concomitance' (*sāhitya*). He says that the conclusiveness (*gamakatva*) of a reason depends on two factors: it must be known (*prasiddha*), and its contrary must not be perceived. Through repeated cognition (*bhūyodarśana*) of presence and absence of the reason in the presence and absence of the property to be proven, the 'pervasion' (*vyāpti*, here its synonym *sāhitya*) becomes known. That this cognition is true, however, can only be derived from the fact that it is never contradicted by a cognition of its contrary, namely 'deviation' (*vyabhicāra*). In other words: according to Kumārila any 'pervasion' between two generic properties can easily be known on the basis of even a few observed cases of concomitance. It does not need more than this kind of 'perception' (*darśana*). As long as this cognition of such a pervasion is not contradicted by a perception of its contrary (*vyatirekasya cādṛṣṭeḥ*), it remains true and is a sufficient basis for assuming the logical reason to be conclusive.

This idea, however, is nothing but an application of what John TABER has called "the principle of *svataḥ prāmāṇya*, which says that a cognition is valid unless and until it is contradicted"[51] to yet another issue, that of the ascertainment of a 'logical connection' (*avinābhāva*) or 'pervasion' (*vyāpti*).[52] Kumārila's proposal must also be seen in the light of being his solution of the problem caused by the fact of incomplete induction indicated above (cf. S. 637). With his idea of 'repeated cognition' within a limited space and time (*mitadeśatva*)[53] he avoids the problem altogether, and that kind of certainty which Īśvarasena believed to have found by introducing a new valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) 'non-perception' (*anupalabdhi*) is available to Kumārila in accordance with the "principle of *svataḥ prāmāṇya*", by the requirement that a known 'pervasion' may not be contradicted by a cognition of eventual deviation (*vyabhicāra*).

Although Kumārila's term 'repeated perception/cognition' seems to imply both perception and non-perception, for an ascertainment of the 'logical connection' this 'perception/cognition' (*darśana*) is all that is necessary. And although Dharmakīrti does not even name this method by its full term *bhūyodarśana*, but only says *na darśanāt*, more does not seem to be necessary either. Dharmakīrti, in fact, is referring here to the salient point of Kumārila's idea on how to ascertain a 'logical connection'.

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[51] TABER 1992: 219.

[52] It seems that Umbeka would support this interpretation by adducing in his commentary on ŚV, *anumāna*, 12a-b' (ŚVTṬ 308,15-20) the decisive statement of ŚV, *codanā*, 60cd: *doṣajñāne tv anutpanne nāśaṅkā niṣprāmāṇikā*. Cf. also ŚVTṬ 397,11-13.

[53] Cf. ŚV, *anumāna*, 10-11 and ŚV, *arthāpatti*, 42ab.

In the light of the legendary biographical information that has been transmitted, according to which Dharmakīrti was introduced to the study of Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya by Īśvarasena, and judging from the fragments and references connected with Īśvarasena, it seems very likely that Īśvarasena composed his commentary on Dignāga's work immediately before or even while he was introducing Dharmakīrti to the same. It is beyond all doubt that Dharmakīrti developed his understanding of Dignāga's logic in an attempt to go beyond his teacher's interpretations. This intellectual movement is clearly visible in his polemics against Īśvarasena's *adarśanamātra* theorem, which mainly consist in pinpointing contradictions with various statements in Dignāga's work under the presupposition of such a theorem (cf. PVSV 11,5–15,8). There is no mention or trace of Īśvarasena's theorem of a *ṣaḍlakṣaṇo hetu* in Dharmakīrti's early work. It only appears in a lengthy appendix to the Hetubindu, a work which basically deals with the same subject as the former, and remarkably even shares the *śāstraśarīraka* śloka with it. This may mean that Īśvarasena tried to cope with Dharmakīrti's dissatisfaction by further developing his own explanation of Dignāga's logic, either incorporating the *ṣaḍlakṣaṇa* theorem into his Pramāṇasamuccaya commentary, or by composing a separate corollary treatise for this purpose.

As to Dhamakīrti's relationship with Kumārila, the present investigation fully corroborates FRAUWALLNER'S assumption that Kumārila, after reacting to Dignāga's logical theories in the Ślokavārttika, made such adjustments to his own logic as he deemed necessary when he became aware of Dharmakīrti's 'ontological' theorem as propounded in the latter's early work, the *Hetuprakaraṇa. Kumārila's attempt to cope with the new theorem was very likely not the only reason that he composed another 'enlarged and revised' version of his great Mīmāṃsā commentary, the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, but it must have been an important contributing factor.

In terms of an absolute chronology for the protagonists involved in this debate on the essential point of their logical theories no new data have been gained. However, their relative chronology is more definitely ascertained by a perception of the remaining contours of their mutual theoretical reactions in the available sources such as is rarely possible elsewhere in the history of Indian philosophical thought.

In conclusion, I would now translate PV I 33 as follows:

> "The restriction of the inseparable logical connection [to the latter's being available only in certain logical reasons] is due to either a relation of cause and effect, or to an essence, (both) being of restrictive character, (but) is due neither to a non-perception [of the logical reason in the dissimilar], nor to a [repeated] perception [of a concomitance between the logical reason and the consequence]."

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Manichaeism Meets Buddhism: The Problem of Buddhist Influence on Manichaeism

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Somewhere in Iran, probably at the court of king Shabuhr I., Mani, the founder of the Manichaean religion, met a wise man, Gundēš, who tested his knowledge in a dispute and was defeated and converted. At the end of their encounter he confessed: "Now I know indeed that you are the Buddha and the apostle".[1] So he must have been a Buddhist himself, who bowed to the superior wisdom of the new prophet and became his follower.

Another story is told in the Manichaean missionary history. On his way eastwards to the countries beyond Iran, Mār Ammō, a disciple of Mani, meets the protective spirit of Khorasan, and in order to get permission to enter the country, he has to legitimate himself. He first says that he is the missionary of a religion which commands its righteous followers not to eat meat, not to drink wine and to abstain from intercourse with women. "Those people I have already in my country", the spirit says. Then Ammō recites a key passage from Mani's "Treasure of Life" on the "collection", i.e. the closing of the senses. And now the spirit accepts Mār Ammō, and it is she (the spirit appears as a girl) who explains him the deep truth of his words by a sequence of parables. The eyes, the ear, the nose, and probably the tongue, all deceive man in order to ruin him, they bring to his mind the beautiful illusion of a happy world.[2] This is the message of Buddhism which was at home in Bactria and beyond when in the 3rd century A.D. Manichaeism infiltrated the country. An allusion to Buddhism can be found in the phrase that the eyes are deceived "by an empty appearance" (*pad dīdišn ī tuhīg*)[3], the word empty, *tuhīg*, reproducing the Buddhist idea of *śūnya* which can be said of all existing beings. Ammō found familiar ideas among the Buddhists, in this case the discussion about the fatal role of the *indriya*, the sense organs, which had its place in Manichaeism, too. Ammō was willing to accept them as confirmation of his own belief.

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[1] W. SUNDERMANN, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berlin, 1981 (Berliner Turfantexte, XI), 89.

[2] F. C. ANDREAS, W. HENNING (ed.), "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan", II, in: *SPAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin, 1933, 304–306 (W. B. HENNING, *Selected Papers* I, *Acta Iranica* 14, Leiden, Téhéran - Liège, 1977, 201–203).

[3] Cf. note 2 (ANDREAS - HENNING 1933, 305, 9–10; HENNING 1977, 202).

Both legends illustrate the twofold approach of Manichaeism towards Buddhism, its endeavour to supersede Buddhism, and its readiness to integrate components of the Buddha's doctrine into its own teaching.

Manichaeism is conventionally characterized as a syncretistic, i.e. mixed, religion, being composed of Christian, Zoroastrian, and Buddhist elements. This is correct but needs some qualification as far as the importance of these religions for Manichaeism is concerned. Moreover, the definition is incomplete in an essential point. The basic Manichaean dogmatic system can be characterized by two theses:

1. Manichaeism is a religion of the Gnostic type.
2. Manichaeism started as a Christian religion, and even as a non-Christian religion its theological concept remained a basically Christan one.[4]

1. Manichaeism is a religion of the Gnostic type. Manichaeism shared with Gnosticism a pessimistic and reproachful world-view. According to Gnosticism this world is not a divine creation, nor is it the well-arranged perfect cosmos of Greek idealism. It is the work of a lapsed deity, imperfect and corrupt as its creator. The Manichaean view was more complex. It regarded the creation of the macrocosm as a divine achievement, but the creation of man, of the microcosm, as the work of the powers of darkness.

In Manichaeism and Gnosticism the distinction between the divine realm and the terrestrial world is radical. What forces them together is a fatal precosmic event which preconditions the history of the world and of mankind: the imprisonment of one part of the divine substance in the material world. The imprisoned divine substance appears as the world-soul, which suffers from the contamination of matter and from its separation from its transcendent home. This is the reason for the negative world-view in Gnosticism and Manichaeism.

The human souls are regarded as atomized elements of the world soul. They have the chance, however, to become aware of their miserable situation, to express their desire for return to the divine world, and to obtain salvation. Salvation is gained not by practising redeeming ritual acts, and for some Gnostics, not even by good deeds, but by Gnosis, by the recognition of truth. Gnosis is a revealed salvation doctrine which enlightens man about his true nature, his origin and destiny. All this is more or less also true of Manichaeism, even if Manichaeism soon replaced the old rites by a system of new ones, and even if it emphasized the importance of good deeds.

Gnostic movements did not claim to be new religions, even if they were it in fact. They claimed to produce the perfect interpretation of the Christian faith, of the figures and events of Greek mythology and Egyptian theology.

[4] I have tried to give reasons for this thesis in my still unpublished article "How Zoroastrian is the Manichaean Dualism?"

The Gnostics were heretics and sectarians par excellence, not apostates. Manichaeism started in the same way, but it evolved into a well organized, universal church with a graduated hierarchy, a lay community and high-ranking benefactors. It is for this reason as well as on occasion of some elements characteristic of Zoroastrianism, especially its radical dualism, that some scholars do not regard Manichaeism as a Gnostic movement and why they rather speak – as I have done here for the sake of convenience – of Manichaeism *and* Gnosticism. I think that Manichaeism and Gnosticism have so much in common that it is still more correct to incorporate Manichaeism into the manifold world of Gnosticism.

2. Manichaeism started as a Christian religion. This has finally been proved by the recently discovered and deciphered so-called "Cologne Mani-Codex" which says in clear words that Mani grew up and was educated in the Jewish-Christian community of the Elkhasaites. Mani's theological system grew and took shape in steady discussion with and progressive refusal of the Jewish Christian doctrine and life-style in his paternal community. But even so, Mani always remained under the spell of the basic Christological message of god's self-sacrifice, in the person of god's son, on behalf of mankind. Mani did not challenge this idea, he reinterpreted it in Gnostic manner, antedating it to a pre-cosmic time and raising it to the divine world, and thereby de-Christianizing it.

If Christianity played a large and Zoroastrianism an early part in the formation of Manichaeism, which role is left then for Buddhism? As a Gnostic religion Manichaeism shared with Gnosticism in general a remarkable phenomenological comparability with Buddhism. This was most lucidly pointed out by E. CONZE, who even discussed the question of a possible influence of one side on the other.[5] Manichaeism can well be included in this comparison. I give as an argument the fundamental quest for self-recognition in all these religions.

A Manichaean text, the "Sermon on the Soul", formulates the problem as a series of questions, directed to man as a wanderer: "Whence have you come and where do you go, what is your purpose, why have you come, where have you been sent, and what is your name?" The correct answer would be that man's name is his soul's name, his way is his soul's way, and his soul is at the same time the cosmic, divine soul.[6]

A similar sequence of questions I have found in the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. The Buddha says that those sinful Brahmins who find themselves after death in the *Avīci*-hell should think three thoughts: "The first

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[5] E. CONZE, "Buddhism and Gnosis", *The Origins of Gnosticism. Studies in the History of Religions*, 12, Leiden 1967, 651–667.

[6] Text and translation according to my still unpublished edition *Der Sermon von der Seele. Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus*, § 12.

thought is: Where have I come from, thus here to be born? ... The second thought is: What place is it where I am born now? ... The third thought arises: by what causal relations am I born here?" These reflections might help them, the Buddha says, to find the way out of hell in their next existence.[7]

But a similar sequence of questions belongs also to the Gnostic tradition. Clement of Alexandria (2nd century A.D.) quotes the Valentinian teacher Theodotos as saying that Gnosis, rather than baptism, opens the way for salvation. Gnosis is to recognize "who we were, what we have become, where we were, where we have been thrown, where we hurry, whence we have been redeemed, what birth is and what rebirth."[8]

The Manichaean missionaries who were confronted with Buddhism must also have learned how the Buddhists behaved, which rules they obeyed in their daily life and how they viewed the human life on earth in general. They found some acceptable truth in Buddhism, as we have seen. And what is more striking: they hardly polemicised against Buddhism. They attacked the Christians, the Zoroastrians, and even the followers of Bardesanes and Markion, to whom Mani owed some inspiration. They attacked the Jews more than others. But I do not know of Manichaean polemics against Buddhism.

On the other hand a deeper insight into the Buddhist doctrine was forestalled by the Manichaean claim to know better than the Buddhists what the true message of the Buddha had once been. One characteristic example may suffice: the Manichaeans knew about the Buddhists' kind, merciful behaviour towards animals. The Manichaeans did not kill animals either, but on the other hand they did not care much for them, because the animals, even if they might carry some of the divine light, were regarded as creatures of the demons. The conclusion of the Manichaean writer is: if the Buddha command his followers to care for the animals he did not have real animals in mind, but, so we may restore the defective text, he spoke in a metaphorical way about human beeings in need and worthy of help, and these were the Manichaean electi![9]

A second fact, briefly mentioned already, minimized the effect of the Buddhist encounter with Manichaeism. Manichaeism came twice into contact with Buddhism, first in the short span of time of 240-241 when Mani set out on his missionary tour to India, and second in the whole millennium of its existence when Manichaeans lived side by side with Buddhist communities in Central Asia, in China, and perhaps in Tibet. Both events took place when

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[7] K. YAMAMOTO, *The Mahayana Mahaparinirvana-Sutra* II, Tokyo, 1974, 393, text in: *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō. The Tripiṭaka in Chinese*, ed. J. TAKAKUSU, K. WATANABE, Tokyo, repr. 1988, 702b, 9-12.

[8] F. M. M. SAGNARD, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Extraits de Théodote*, Paris, 1970, S. 202 (78.2).

[9] W. SUNDERMANN, "Manichaean Traditions on the Date of the Historical Buddha", *The Dating of the Historical Buddha* I, ed. H. BECHERT, Göttingen, 1991, 437-438.

Mani's doctrine had already been formed, and they took place after Manichaeism had been exposed to the Christian faith, to Gnosticism and Zoroastrianism. It was no longer possible for Buddhism to contribute to the essentials of the Manichaean doctrine, but it was able to influence the local development of Manichaeism in Central Asia.

At this point I wish to discuss some aspects of a possible Buddhist influence on Manichaeism.

Particularly striking is the undeniably close phenomenological similarity between Manichaean and the Buddhist ethics. They were certainly the solid ground for a long, peaceful coexistence of both religions, under Manichaean and under Buddhist dominance, and they might well have resulted in some borrowings of one side from the other. Both religions regarded "greed", *concupiscentia*, *rāga*, in the Iranian texts of both religions *āz*, as the most powerful source of harm and mischief. Both religions prohibited the killing of any living beings. The Buddhist *ahiṃsā* could have an equivalent in the Manichaean Sogdian *pu-āzarmiyā*, the second commandment for the electi.[10] It is impossible for chronological reasons that Buddhism has learned all this from the Manichaeans. As for the Manichaeans, these ideas belonged to the very first, original components of their system, their ideological framework being the Manichaean, Gnostic and Platonic doctrine of the suffering world-soul and the Zoroastrian doctrine of the primitive, stupid aggressiveness of the demons. It is possible, however, that the Manichaean imagery of the demoniac world was enriched by the Buddhist concept of "greed" and that the Manichaean Iranian terminology was coined in immitation of Buddhist patterns.[11] Gnostic sytems often underline "numbness, sleep and intoxication" as the effects of the demoniac corruption of mankind, but the idea of seduction by worldly love and love of worldly things, of *concupiscentia* in a broader sense, is also a "tiefeingewurzeltes Motiv der Gesamtgnosis".[12]

The Manichaean idea of transmigration has often been derived from Buddhist sources. But that cannot be correct. The Manichaeans seem never to have become familiar with the Buddhist principle of *an-ātman* which denies the existence of a soul and so also its migration. It should be stressed that the Manichaean concept of transmigration is a peculiar one. It does not presuppose the restitution, after death, of a human being as another individuality. It teaches the transitory dwelling of a human soul in an alien body, the earth or the water, or a hell, a plant or a fruit, an animal or a star, and last but not

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[10] W. HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, Berlin, 1937 (APAW 1936, Phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. 10), 15 = W. B. HENNING, *Selected Papers* I, Leiden, Téhéran - Liège, 1977, 429.

[11] W. SUNDERMANN, "Some more remarks on Mithra in the Manichaean pantheon", *Études mithriaques, Acta Iranica* 17, Leiden, Téhéran - Liège, 1978, 490–499.

[12] H. JONAS, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* I, Göttingen, 1964, 118. Cf. also H. JONAS, *The Gnostic Religion*, Boston, 1958, 71–73.

least another man, a sinful or a righteous one.[13] The Gnostic term (attested i.a. in the *Pistis Sophia*, probably from the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.), used also by the Manichaeans, is μεταγγισμός, "transvasement".[14]

It is not for nothing that the great Islamic scholar al-Bīrūnī stated that Mani became familiar with his doctrine of transmigration in India, he did not say, in Buddhist circles.[15] There is indeed a closer affinity of the Manichaean with the Jaina concept. But even so, Bīrūnī's statement is contradicted by the passage from Mani's "Book of Mysteries" which he quotes. The text cites the Messiah, i.e. Jesus, not the Buddha or Mahāvīra, and the wording has a Gnostic ring.

It is true, however, that the original Manichaean concept, which was certainly a Gnostic one, underwent a considerable change in the Central Asian Manichaean communities. The best example I can offer is a Parthian Manichaean *Jātaka* story the correct interpretation of which has been given by H. H. SCHAEDER.[16] The story is about *nāgas*, dragons, and in the end Mani says: "And that *nāga* which is called 'Here', that am I, Mār Mānī, and that one which is called 'Beyond', that are you, Mār Ammō, and that one which is called *'Ākundag'*, that was Ahriman".[17] In this story the adaptation of the Buddhist pattern is obvious.

Mani accepted the Buddha as one of his apostolic predecessors. But it happened only in the Chinese Manichaeism of the 8th century, in the so-called "Compendium of the doctrine of Mani, the Buddha of Light", that his biography was adapted to the life of the Buddha. He is born in a palace like the Buddha, the birth is effected through the mother's chest, and the birth date of Mani (the 8th day of the 2nd month, i.e. April 14)[18] may have been the birthday of the Buddha according to some Buddhist tradition, which, by the

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[13] On the Manichaean doctrine of transmigration cf. in general A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, "The Doctrine of Metempsychosis in Manichaeism", *JAOS* 45, 1925, 246–268; J. CASADIO, "The Manichaean metempsychosis: Typology and Historical Roots", *Studia Manichaica*, ed. G. WIESSNER, H.-J. KLIMKEIT, Wiesbaden, 1992, 305–318. Cf. also H. J. POLOTSKY (ed.), *Manichäische Homilien*, Stuttgart, 1934, 27, 6–18, 35–38.

[14] *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, ed. C. SCHMIDT, H.-M. SCHENKE, Berlin, 1981, 160, 13, 161, 33. The term itself is older and may have a background in the ancient Pythagoraean philosophy (H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon* II, Oxford, 1951, 1110b). Mani himself might have learned the term from the Elkhasaites who applied it to the reappearance of the spirit of Christ in the chain of their prophets (R. MERKELBACH in: *Manichaean Studies*, ed. P. BRYDER, Lund, 1988, 121–122).

[15] Cf. W. SUNDERMANN, "Mani, India and the Manichaean Religion", *South Asian Studies* 2, 1986, 16.

[16] H. H. SCHAEDER, "Der Manichäismus nach neuen Funden und Forschungen", *Morgenland* 28, 1936, 96, n. 1.

[17] F. C. ANDREAS, W. HENNING (ed.), "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan", III, *SPAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin, 1933, 856 = W. B. HENNING, *Selected Papers* I, Leiden, Téhéran - Liège, 1977, 283.

[18] Cf. G. HALOUN, W. B. HENNING, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light", *AM NS* 3, 1952, 190–191, 196, 201.

way, makes this precise, generally accepted date of Mani's biography doubtful.[19] Mani himself seems not to have known all these things. Even the relative chronology of the dates of the Buddha given in the earlier Manichaean texts is contradictory.[20] But the simple fact that Mani declared the Buddha one of his forerunners is important enough. In doing so he did what no other Christian or Gnostic sect leader had done; he transgressed the self-imposed limits of those groups, and he expressed his claim to be the leader of a worldwide, universal church far beyond the limits of Christianity.

Another example of Buddhist influence on Manichaeism is the institution of monasteries. Do the Manichaean *mānistāns* imitate the Buddhist *vihāras*? J. P. ASMUSSEN has advocated the Buddhist origin of the Manichaean monasteries, and he regards them as a local, East-Manichaean institution.[21] He stresses the point that no Manichaean monasteries in the western world are known. So, if they are restricted to the Central Asian area, the Buddhist model offers itself. The argument is not compelling, but one might put forward in favour of ASMUSSEN's thesis that in the third century A. D. the Christian monastic institution was not developed beyond the level of solitary coenobitarian settlements. The only possible alternative is the celibatarian communities of the Elkhasaites.[22] But in fact more often than not important information about their communal life escapes us, and what we know from the "Cologne Mani Codex" has less in common with the Manichaean monastery pattern as described in the "Compendium of the Teaching of Mani" than the Buddhist monasteries in India had.[23]

But ASMUSSEN's thesis is challenged now by the fact that a monastery, a *mānistān*, is already mentioned in the hagiographical report of Mani's last journey.[24] So, if we accept ASMUSSEN's thesis we should modify it and say that the monastic institution is more likely to have been introduced by Mani himself who became familiar with it during his journey to India.[25]

A more general suggestion would be to derive the basic Manichaean hierarchical division of the community of the faithful into the perfect and the auditors, and their separation from the worldly people, from the Buddhist monk and lay degrees. But a similar dual or tripartite division of mankind

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[19] H. Ch. PUECH, *Le Manichéisme. Son fondateur, sa doctrine*, Paris, 1949, 115, n. 109.

[20] Cf. note 9, 430–435.

[21] J. P. ASMUSSEN, *X^vāstvānīft. Studies in Manichaeism*, Copenhagen, 1965, 260–261, n. 14; *idem*, "Manichaeism", *Historia Religionum* I, ed. C. J. BLEEKER, G. WIDENGREN, Leiden, 1969, 599.

[22] Cf. L. KOENEN, "Manichäische Mission und Klöster in Ägypten", *Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 1983 (1988), 102–105.

[23] Cf. note 15, 17.

[24] W. SUNDERMANN, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. Berlin, 1981 (Berliner Turfantexte, XI), 70.

[25] Cf. note 15., 17.

into the spiritual (πνευματικοί), the soul-oriented (ψυχικοί), and the worldly (ὑλικοί) people is also known from Gnostic cycles, and the incorporation of this division into the hierarchical order might be a consequence of Mani's establishment of a Christian-style church.

Most far-reaching and best provable for us is the Buddhist influence, progressive in time and increasing the further one goes eastwards, on the forms and images of the Manichaean literature.

One interesting example is to be found in the so-called Manichaean "Parable Book", a late, Central Asian Sogdian composition. One of its stories is an allegory comparing the Manichaean religion with the world-ocean *samudra* in 10 points. It is vast and endless like the ocean. Many other religions find their way into the Manichaean religion, just as many rivers fall into the ocean. The holy men who guide and lead the community are like those miraculous wonderful animals in the ocean which fantastic stories tell about, etc.[26] This is a well known, often attested Buddhist motif. In the 32nd chapter of the *Mahāyāna-Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* it illustrates the deep wisdom of this book in eight very similar items: going from shallow to deep, bottomlessness, keeping valuable deposits in store, housing big creatures, etc. Other Buddhist works enumerate ten points like the Manichaean text. There was e. g. a small Chinese sutra called "Sutra of the Ocean and the *dharma*", translated about A.D. 300 into Chinese. Early versions of the motif are also to be found in the Pali *Aṅguttaranikāya* (4th century).[27]

The Manichaean text can hardly be older than the 9/10th century. So the only possible conclusion is that the Manichaean version depends on one of the Buddhist ones.

A better known example is the text of the so-called *Traité Manichéen*, the Chinese rendering of the "Sermon on the Light-Nous", which had eventually taken the shape of a *sūtra* of the Buddhist type.[28]

These examples encourage me to go one step further and suggest that the Manichaeans even borrowed literary forms from the Buddhists. ASMUSSEN was right, I think, when he argued that the Manichaean confessional forms

[26] W. SUNDERMANN, *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*, Berlin, 1985 (Berliner Turfantexte, XV), 19–28, 36.

[27] W. SUNDERMANN, "Eine buddhistische Allegorie in manichäischer Überlieferung", *Corolla Iranica. Papers in honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie*, ed. R. E. EMMERICK, D. WEBER, Frankfurt a.M., e.a. 1991, 198–206.

[28] W. SUNDERMANN, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous. Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus*, Berlin, 1992 (Berliner Turfantexte, XVII), 19–21. It is true that the *sūtra*-style frame of the Chinese text is very similar to the story as told in the 38th Coptic *Kephalaion* (as pointed out by me l.c., 19). But even if the frame story was a genuine Manichaean composition, a Buddhist styling of its Chinese version would be given by the use of many typically Buddhist terms (cf. E. CHAVANNES, P. PELLIOT in *Journal Asiatique* 1911, 509, nn. 2 and 5; 510, nn. 1 and 2; 585, n. 5; 587, n. 2; 588, n. 5).

were inspired by the Buddhist confessional literature.[29] And I think that the Manichaean parable books, i.e. collections of instructing and spiritually edifying stories, imitated the model of Buddhist *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* collections.[30]

In Quanzhou, a small village of the Chinese province of Fujian, a Manichaean place of worship in Buddhist disguise has been discovered. Its centre is a sitting statue which does not represent the Buddha and so may have been Mani, but it is so similar to a sitting Buddha-figure that it was kept as such by the Buddhist devotees who took over when Manichaeism disappeared.[31] This Buddhist style outfit of a Manichaean sanctuary may also betray Buddhist influence, for in the genuine, old Manichaean services no cult figures are mentioned. The most we know of is that on Bema day an empty throne was erected, and an image of Mani was put on the throne.[32]

More could be said, but the most important examples have been discussed. What I have not discussed is a possible Manichaean influence on Buddhism. This has also been assumed.[33] I think, however, that Buddhism as a developed philosophy remained as resistant to Manichaeism as the Christian faith and its developed theology.

I have called my paper the "problem" of Buddhist influence on Manichaeism. Problem does not mean that Buddhist influence on Manichaeism is questionable. Nor is it a problem that the Buddhist influence was more penetrating in the east than in the west, and that it was growing in the course of time. Problems are proof and counterproof in concrete cases. However the answer may be, Manichaeism and Buddhism remained extremely different religions.[34] The Manichaean adaptation to Buddhism was an outward one. The Buddhist teachers could not be impressed by what must have been in their eyes a naive, superstitious religion. The Manichaeans for their part did not, they would not or they could not, express their doctrine on a sophisticated philosophical level, neither in their discussions with the Abhidharma masters (if there were such) nor in their discussions with St. Augustine.[35] So

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[29] Cf. note 21, pp. 86, 122–124, 149, 217, 263, esp. pp. 217, 254–255. This conclusion remains true even if one supposes, as H.-J. KLIMKEIT does ("Manichäische und buddhistische Beichtformeln aus Turfan. Beobachtungen zur Beziehung zwischen Gnosis und Mahāyāna", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 29, 1977, 197, 215–216), that there was a mutual influence of one religion on the other.

[30] W. SUNDERMANN, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin, 1973 (Berliner Turfantexte, IV), 5.

[31] Cf., with reference to earlier publications, P. BRYDER, "... Where the faint traces of Manichaeism disappear", *AoF* 15, 1988, 201–208.

[32] J. RIES, "La fête de Bēma dans l'Église de Mani", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 22, 1976, 220; H. Ch. PUECH, *Sur le Manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris, 1979, 391.

[33] Cf. in particular KLIMKEIT's article quoted in note 29, 193–228.

[34] In China Manichaean communities came to be registered as Taoist groups (S. N. C. LIEU, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, Manchester, 1984, 217).

[35] Cf. P. Brown, *Augustinus von Hippo*, Leipzig, 1972, 49–51.

far as we know, such intelligent and noble discussions on an equal level, as were held between the Japanese Zen master Ninshitu and the Jesuit father Francis Xavier in the 16th century, cannot be thought of in the Manichaean encounter with Buddhism.

Abkürzungsverzeichnis

AM NS	*Asia Major*, New Series, London
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*, Berlin
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschften, Berlin

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscript Fragments in the Āśā Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal

HIROFUMI TODA, Tokushima

Five folios of a palm-leaf fragment manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (BS-83, Run. no. 2914, Micro. no. 2976) are preserved in the Āśā Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal. This paper intends to transliterate a reading of these five folios into Roman letters as exactly as possible and to clarify the characteristics of the text appearing in the fragments.

It can be said that the text of these folios is without doubt parallel to a Saddharmapuṇḍarīka manuscript (Ms. no. 5-144, N3) preserved in the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu because the first letters of the Āśā MS. IIIa, 1 "hana(ṃ)" follow without discontinuity the letters "jjānavā-," which appear in the facsimile of N3, 69B, 6 (provided by the courtesy of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project).

When the present writer refers to the text of the Āśā MS. in relation to other Nepalese manuscripts, the first portion from Ia, 1 through "viditvā" in IIa, 4-1, has recognizable resemblance to the texts of N2 and B; the remaining portion beginning with "avamardditacittam" in IIa, 4-1 bears the closest parallel with the text of T8, and is analogous to N2 and B. Italics in the Romanized text indicate key words, which demonstrate the Āśā MS.'s similarities with the texts of T8, N2 and B. Text-critical remarks as well as grammatical analyses will be possible at a time when a reliable transliteration of N3 is completed.

Under the auspices of Prof. Dr. Kamal Prakash MALLA of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, the treasurer of the Āśā Archives, as well as people concerned, a reproduction of the manuscript photographs could be attached to this paper. I heartily appreciate the kindness rendered by Professor MALLA and other people. At the same time, I am indebted to Mr. Noriyoshi MIZUFUNE, research fellow at the Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Tokyo, who provided a great deal of assistance. Without his earnest commitment, this paper could not have materialized.

Last but not least, I should refer to the unforgettable debt of obligation owed by me to Prof. Dr. Heinz BECHERT. Through his kind offices, the writer was able to acquire a set of microfilm of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka manuscripts preserved in the National Archives of Nepal in 1981.

The following symbols are used for textual readings:

( ) indicates that this part is damaged, illegible or omitted in the manuscript.
[ ] indicates that this part is to be deleted from a critical edition.
* indicates a virāma, e.g. m* and t*.
' indicates avagraha which is not written in the manuscript.
' indicates avagraha which is written in the manuscript.

Abbreviations

Kn: Kern-Nanjio's edition;
B: Ms. Or. no. 2204, the British Library;
N2: Ms. no. 3-672, the National Archives of Nepal;
N3: Ms. no. 5-144, the National Archives of Nepal;
T8: Ms. no. 414, the Tokyo University Library.
Note: The whole first line in the rubbed portion of IVa can be read in a color photograph taken by Mr. Kazunori KOSAKA in November 1991. However, the monochrome photo accompanying this paper is not clear enough to read the portion. Regarding IIIb-1, the akṣara "va" of anuttva- (correctly anuttara-) can be read as "ra" (correct reading) in the monochrome taken in 1995, however, Mr. KOSAKA's photo clearly reads "va". The portion might have changed due to a bug bite or in the film making process.

Transliteration of the Āśā Manuscript

BS-83, Run. no. 2914, Micro. no. 2976; 54.0 cm × 5.0 cm; 6 lines

Ia (fol. 3a)

I (Kn 4.13-6.8)

1 nnararāj(ai)ḥ sārddhaṃ bahukinnarakoṭīśatasaha(srapariv)āraiḥ | tad yathā | drumeṇa ca kinnararājena | mahādharmeṇa ca kinnararājena | sudharmeṇa ca kinnararājena | dharmadhareṇa ca kinnararājena | caturbhiś ca gandharvakāyikair ddevaputraiḥ sārddham bahugandharvaśatasahasraparivāraiḥ || tad yathā || manojñena gandharveṇa | ma(nojñasvare)ṇa (ca) madhureṇa ca | ///

2 ndharveṇa | bahubhiś cāsurendraiḥ sārddham bahva(surakoṭ)īśatasahasraparivāraiḥ | tad yathā | balinā cāsurendreṇa | *kharaskandhena* cāsurendreṇa | *vemacitriṇā* cāsurendreṇa | (left out) caturbhiś ca garuḍendraiḥ sārddham *bahugaruḍakoṭīśata*sahasraparivāraiḥ | tad yathā | mahātejasā ca garuḍendreṇa | mahākāyena ca | mahāpūrṇṇena ca | (ma)rhaddhiprāptena ca garu(ḍendreṇa | rā)-

3 jñā cājātaśatruṇā māgadhena vaidehīputre(ṇa sārddham*) | tena khalu punaḥ samayena bhagavāñ catasṛbhiḥ parṣadbhiḥ parivṛtaḥ puraskṛtaḥ satkṛto gurukṛto mānitaḥ pūjito 'rccito *'pacito* mahānirddeśaṃ nāma

dharmaparyāyaṃ sūtrāntaṃ mahāvaipulyaṃ bodhisatvâvavādaṃ sarvabuddhaparigraham bhāṣitvā | tasminn eva mahādharmāśane paryaṅkam ābhujya anantanirddeśapra(ti)-

4 ṣṭhānan nāma samādhiṃ samāpanno 'bhūt* | aniñjamānena kāyena sthita āniñjyaprāptena ca cittena | samanantarasamāpannasya | khalu punar bhagavato mandāravamahāmāndāravāṇām mañjūṣakamahāmañjūṣakāṇāñ ca divyāṇāṃ puṣpāṇāṃ mahat puṣpavarṣam abhiprāvarṣat* | *tac ca* bhagavantaṃ tāś ca[ca]tasraparṣado 'vākirat* *sa rvāvac ca* buddhakṣetraṃ ṣaḍvikāram prakampitam abhū-

5 /// (ta)ṃ sampravedhitaṃ kṣubhitaṃ samprakṣubhitaṃ | tena khalu punaḥ samayena *ye* tasyām parṣadi bhikṣubhikṣuṇyupāsakôpāsikā devanāgayakṣagandharvâsuragaruḍakinnaramahoragamanuṣyâmanuṣyāś *ca* sannipatitā abhūvan* sanniṣaṇṇāḥ | rājānaś ca maṇḍalino balacakravarttina caturdvīpakāś cakravarttinaś (ca) te sar(v)e (sapari) ///

6 /// sma | āś(caryapr)āptā *adbhutaprāptā audbilyaprāptāḥ* | atha khalu tasyām velāyām bhagavato bhrūvivarântarād ūrṇṇākośād *ekā rasmi niścaritā sā* pūrvasyān diśi | aṣṭādaśabuddhakṣetrasahasrāṇi praśṛtā tāni ca sarvā(ṇi) buddhakṣetrāṇi tasyā *rasme(ḥ)* prabhayā *supari* ///

Ib (fol. 3b)

I (6.8–8.3)

1 hāniray(o) yāvac ca bhavâgra /// /// (ṣa)tsu gatiṣu satvāḥ saṃvidyante te sarve aśeṣeṇa sandṛśyante sma | ye ca teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu buddhā bhagavanta(ḥ) tiṣṭhanti dhriyante yāpayanti te 'pi sarve sandṛśyante sma | yañ ca te buddhā bhagavanto dharmam bhāṣante sa ca sarvo nikhilena (śrū)yate sma | ye ca teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu bhikṣu ///

2 ḥ prāptaphalāś ca [prāptaphalāś ca] te 'pi sa(r)ve sa(ṃ)dṛśyante sma | ye ca teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu bodhisatvā mahāsatvā anekavividhaśravaṇārambaṇâdhimuktihetukāraṇair upāyakauśalyair bodhisatvacaryāñ caranti te 'pi sarve sandṛśyante sma | ye ca teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu buddhā bhagavantaḥ parinirvānti | te 'pi sarve sandṛśyante sma | y(e) ///

3 bhagava[n]tān dhātustūpā ratnamayās te 'pi sarve sandṛśyante sma | atha khalu maitreyasya bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasyaitad abhavat* | mahānimittaṃ prātihāryaṃ batêdan tathāgatena kṛtaṃ ko nv atra hetur bhaviṣyati | kiṃ kāraṇaṃ yad bhagavatā idam evaṃrūpaṃ mahānimittaṃ prātihāryaṃ kṛtaṃ bhagavāṃś ca samādhiṃ samāpanna imāni c(ai)va(ṃ)rū ///

4 ni mahā-ṛddhiprātihāryāṇi sandṛśyante sma | kin nu khalv aham etam artham paripraṣṭavyaṃ parisphuṭaṃ paripṛccheyaṃ ko nv atra samarthaḥ syād *enam* artham visarjjayituṃ tasyaitad abhūt* | ayam mañjuśrī(ḥ)

kumārabhūtaḥ pūrvajinakṛtâdhikāro 'varopitakuśalamūlaḥ | bahubuddhaparyupāsito dṛṣṭapūrvāṇi cânena mañjuśriyā kumārabhūtena pū(r)va ///

5 tānām arhatāṃ samyaksambuddhānām evaṃrūpāṇi (ni)mittāni bhaviṣyanti | *anubhūtapūrvāṇi ca mañjuśriyā kumārabhūtena* mahādharmasāṃkathyāni ya(n) nv aham mañjuśriyaṃ kumārabhū(tam e)tam artham paripṛccheyaṃ tāsāṃ catasṛṇām parṣadāṃ bhikṣubhikṣuṇyupāsakôpāsikānām bahūnāñ ca devanāgayakṣagandharvâsuragaruḍakinnaramahoragamanuṣyâma(nuṣyā)-

6 ṇām imam evaṃrūpam bhagavato mahānimitta(maha)rddhiprātihāryâvabhāsaṃ dṛṣṭvā āścaryaprāptānām adbhutaprāptānāṃ kautūhalaprāptānām etad abhavat* | kin nu khalu vayam imam evaṃrūpaṃ bhagavato maharddhiprātihāryâvabhāsaṃ kṛtam paripṛcchema : | atha khalu maitreyo bodhisatvo mahāsatvas (ta)s(m)i(nn) e(va kṣaṇalavamuhū)r(tt)e (t)ā(sā)ṃ ///

IIa (fol. 29a)

IV (107.6 – 108.16)

1 (mastṛ)ṣ(i)t(o) vi(ṃ)sativa(r)ṣāṇi ta(ṃ) *(p)utraka(ṃ)* sa(ṃ)kāradhānaṃ *sodhāpayet** | atha *viṃsatīnāṃ* varṣāṇām atyayena sa daridrapuruṣas tasya gṛhapater niveśane viśrabdho bhavet* | niṣkramaṇapraveśe tatraiva ca *kaṭakapallikuñcikāyāṃ* vāsaṃ kalpayet* ‖ *atha bhagavan* tasya gṛhapate(r) glānyaṃ pratyupasthitaṃ bhavati | *maraṇakālasamayaṃ* c' *ātmanaḥ sa(manu)paśye* ///

2 (ṣa)m evam vaded āgaccha tvam bhoḥ puruṣa idaṃ mama prabhūtaṃ hiraṇyasuvarṇṇadhanadhānyakośakoṣṭhāgāraṃ asty ahañ *ca* bāḍhaglāna icchāmy etaṃ yasya dātavyaṃ yataś ca pragrahītavya(ṃ) yac ca nidhyātavyaṃ bhavet* | *tat sarvam* saṃjānīyāḥ ‖ tat kasya hetor yādṛśam evâham asya dravyasya svāmī tādṛśas tvam api mā ca me tva(ṃ) kiñcid ato *vipraṇāsayi* ///

3 (da)ridrapuruṣo 'nena paryāyeṇa *tac ca* tasya gṛhapateḥ prabhūtaṃ hiraṇyasuvarṇṇa[ṃ]dhanadhānyakośakoṣṭhāgāraṃ sañjānīyād ātmanā ca tato ni(ḥ)spṛho bhavet* | na ca tasmāt kiñcit prārthayed antaśaḥ *saktuprasthamūlyamātram* api tatraiva ca *kaṭakapallikuñcikāyāṃ* vāsañ kalpayet tām eva daridracintām anuvicintayamānaḥ | atha (bhaga)va ///

4 putraṃ saktam paripālakam paripakvaṃ viditvā *avamarddit acittam* udārasaṃjñayā ca *paurvikayā* daridracintayā ṛtīyaṃtaṃ jehrīyamānaṃ jugupsamānaṃ viditvā maraṇakālasamaye pratyupasthite tan daridrapuruṣam *ānayya* mahato *jñātisaṃghasyôpanāmayitvā upanāmya ca* | rājño vā rājamātrasya vā *purato* naigamajanapa ///

5 śrāvayet* | śṛṇvantu bhavanto 'yam mama putra auraso mayaiva *janitaḥ* | amukaṃ nāma nagaran tasmād *eṣa* pañcāsadvarṣo naṣṭaḥ | amuko nāmaiṣa nāmnā aham apy amuko nāma tataś câhaṃ nagarād enam eva

mārgayamāṇa ih' āgataḥ | eṣa mama putro 'ham asya pitā yaḥ kaścit *mamôpabhogo* 'sti | tam sarvam asmai puruṣāya ///

6 ñcid asti *pratyātmakam* dhanan tat sarvam eṣa eva jānāti | *atha bhagavan** sa daridrapuruṣas tasmin samaye imam evamrūpam ghoṣam śrutvā āścaryâdbhutaprāpto bhavet* | evañ ca cintayet sahasaiva mayā idam eva tāvad dhiraṇyasuvarṇṇadhanadhānyakośakoṣṭhāgāram pratilabdham iti | evam eva bhagavan* vayan tathāgatas(ya) ///

IIb (fol. 29b)

IV (108.16-110.10)

1 tathāgataś câsmākam evam vadati | putrā mama yūyam iti | yathā sa gṛhapati(r) vayañ ca bhagavaṃs *tiśṛbhir* duḥkhatābhiḥ sampīḍitā abhūvam* | katamābhis tiśṛbhir yad uta duḥkhaduḥkhatayā *vipraṇāmaduḥkhatayā ca saṃskāraduḥkhatayā ca* 'saṃsāre ca hīnâdhimuktā tato vayaṃ bhagavatā *bahavo dharmāḥ pratyavarāḥ* sa(m)kāradhānasadṛ ///

2 teṣu câsma prayuktā *ghaṭamānā vyāyacchamānā* nirvāṇamātram ca vayam bhagavaṃ divasamudrām iva paryeṣamāṇā mārgāmaḥ | tena ca vayaṃ bhagavaṃ nirvāṇena | pratilabdhena tuṣṭā bhavāmo bahu ca labdham iti *manyamānāḥ* | tathāgatasyântikād eṣu dharmeṣv abhiyujitvā ghaṭitvā *vyāyamitvā* jānāti ca tathāgato 'smākaṃ hīnâdhimu ///

3 vān asmān upekṣate na sambhinatti n' ācaṣṭe yo 'yan tathāgatasya jñānakośa eṣa eva yuṣmākam bhaviṣyatīti | bhagavāṃś câsmākam upāyakauśalyenâsmiṃ tathāgatajñānakośe dāyādāṃ sthāpayati | ni(ḥ)spṛhāś ca *tatra* vayam bhagavaṃs tata *evaṃ jānīmaḥ* | etad evâsmākam *bahukaraṃ* yad vayaṃ tathāgatasyântikā(d) divasamu drā(m) i ///

4 (mah)e | te vayaṃ bhagava(n*) bodhisatvānāṃ mahāsatvānāṃ tathāgatajñānadarśanam ārabhyôdārāṃ dharmadeśanāṃ kurmaḥ tathāgatajñānaṃ vivarāmo darśayāma | upadarśayāmo vayaṃ bhagavaṃ tato ni(ḥ)spṛhāḥ || tat kasya hetoḥ | upāyakauśalyena tathāgato 'smākam *adhimuktīḥ* prajānāti | tac ca vayaṃ na jānīmo na budhyāmahe tad idaṃ bhagava ///

5 /// bhūtāḥ pu(trā) bhagavāṃś *câsmākam* smārayati | *tathāgatajñānadāyādān** | tat kasya hetor yathā 'pi nāma vayaṃ tathāgatasya bhūtāḥ putrā iti api tu khalu punar hīnâdhimuktāḥ saced *bhagavann* asmākam paśyed adhimuktibalaṃ bodhisatvaśabdaṃ bhagavān asmākam udāhared vayaṃ punar bhagavatā dve kārye *kārāpitāḥ* | bodhisat(vā) ///

6 /// k(t)ā n(a) côdā(rāyāṃ buddha)bh(ūm)au samādāpitā | asmākaṃ cêdānīṃ bhagavān adhimuktibalaṃ jñātvā idam udāhṛtavān* | anena vayaṃ bhagavan* paryāyenaivaṃ vadāmaḥ | sahasaivâsmābhir ni(ḥ)spṛhair anākāṃkṣitam amārgitam *aparyeṣitam* acintitam aprārthitaṃ sarvajñatāratnaṃ pratilabdhaṃ | yathā 'pîdaṃ tathāgatasya ///

IIIa (fol. 37a)

V (140.12-143.7), VI (144.1-144.3)

1 *hana(ṃ)* | (65) abhyantarâvasthito *'pi* yadā bhavati koṣṭhake | bahir yad varttate tad vai na jānīṣe tvam alpadhīḥ | (66) yo 'bhyantare 'vasthitas tu bahir *jñāne* kṛtâkṛtam* || so 'py *ādyâpi* na jānāsi kutas tvaṃ *vetsyase 'naghaḥ* | (67) pañcayojanamātre tu yaḥ śabdo niścared iha || śrotun tan na samartho 'si prāg evânyam vidūrataḥ | (68) tvayi ye pāpacittā vā anunītā tathā 'pa ///

2 *tathā* jñātuṃ abhimānaḥ kuto 'sti te | (69) krośamātre 'pi *gantavye padavīn* na vinā gataḥ | mātuḥ kukṣau ca yad vṛttaṃ vismṛtan tat tad eva te | (70) abhijñā yasya pañcêmāḥ sa sarvajña ihôcyate | tvam mohād apy akiñcijjñaḥ sarvajño 'smîti bhāṣase | (71) sarvajñatvaṃ prārthayase yady abhijñā 'bhinirhara : | tañ câbhijñābhinirhāram araṇyastho *vicintaya* | dharmam viśuddhan te(na)

3 tvam abhijñāḥ pratilapsyase | (72) so 'rthaṅ gṛhya *tato 'ranyaṃ* cintayat susamāhitaḥ | pañcâbhijñāḥ prāptaṃvā nacireṇa guṇânvitaḥ | (73) tathaiva śrāvakāyâtha nirvāṇaprāptasaṃjñinaḥ | jino *'[r]tha deśanāyaty* asmai viśrāmo 'yan na nirvṛtiḥ | (74) upāya eṣa buddhānāṃ vadanti yad iman nayaṃ | sarvajñatvam ṛte nâsti nirvāṇan tat *samārabha :* | (75) tryadhvajñānam anantañ ca *pañca* pāra-

4 mitāḥ śubhāḥ | śūnyatām *ānimittañ* ca praṇidhānavivarjitaṃ | (76) bodhicittañ ca ye cânye dharmā nirvāṇagāminaḥ | sāsravā 'nāsravā sāntā sarve gaganasannibhāḥ | (77) *brahmā*vihārāś catvāraḥ saṅgrahā ye ca kīrttitāḥ | satvānām vinayârthāya *kīrttitā ye maharṣibhiḥ* | (78) yaś ca dharmām vijānāti māyāsvapnasvabhāvakān* | *kadalīskandanissārān* pratiśrutkā(sa)-

5 mā(nakā)n* || (79) tatsvabhāvañ ca jānāti traidhātukam aśeṣataḥ | abaddham avimuktañ ca *sa* vijānāti nirvṛtiṃ | (80) sarvadharmān* samān* śūnyān nirnānākaruṇātmakān* |. na.caitām.prokṣate nâpi *kañcid* dharmam vipaśyati | (81) sa paśyati *mahāprājño* dharmakāyam aśeṣataḥ | nâsti yānatrayaṃ kiñcid ekayānam ihâsti tu | (82) sarvadharmāḥ samāḥ sarve samā samasamāḥ sa(dā |)

6 (evaṃ jñā)t(v)ā vijānāti nirvāṇam amṛtaṃ śivaṃ (83) | || āryasaddharmapuṇḍarīke auṣadhīparivartto nāma pañcamaḥ | || atha khalu bhagavān imā gāthā bhāṣitvā sarvāvantaṃ bhikṣusaṅgham āmantrayate sma | ārocayāmi vo bbikṣadaḥ prativedayāmi | ayam mama śrāvakaḥ kāśyapo bhikṣus *triṃśato buddhakoṭīsahasrāṇāṃ satkāraṃ* ka ///

IIIb (fol. 37b)

VI (144.3–146.7)

1 /// (mā)nanām (pūjanām a)rccanām apacāyanāṃ kariṣyati | teṣāñ ca buddhānām bhagavatāṃ saddharman dhārayiṣyati | sa paścime samucchṛaye avabhāsaprāptāyāṃ lokadhātau mahāvyūhe kalpe rasmiprabhāso nāma tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddho loke bhaviṣyati | vidyācaraṇasampannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttavaḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ śāst(ā) ///

2 /// buddho bhagavāṃ *dvādaśântarakalpān* āyuṣpramāṇam bhaviṣyati | *viṃśati cântarakalpān* saddharmaḥ sthāsyati | *viṃśatir* evântarakalpān saddharmapratirūpakaḥ sthāsyati | tac câsya buddhakṣetraṃ śuddham bhaviṣyati | śuci-apagatapāśānaśarkkarakaṭhalyam* | apagatasvabhraprapātaṃ *apagatagūthôḍillam* samaṃ ramaṇīyam prāsādikan darśanīyam* | ///

3 yaṃ ratnavṛkṣapratimaṇḍitaṃ *suvarṇṇasūtrâṣṭāpadanibaddham** | puṣpâbhikīrṇṇaṃ bahūni *ca* tatra bodhisatvaśatasahasrāṇi utpatsyante | aprameyāni ca tatra śrāvakakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi bhaviṣyanti | na ca tatra māraḥ pāpīyān avatāraṃ lapsyate | na ca *māraparṣan* prajñāsyate | bhaviṣyati tatra khalu punar māraś ca *māraparṣadaś* ca | api tu *khalu* ///

4 /// dhātau tasyaiva bhagavato rasmiprabhāsasya tathāgatasya śāsane *saddharmaparigrahāyâbhiyuktā* bhaviṣyanti | atha khalu bhagavāṃs tasyām velāyām imā gāthā abhāṣata | paśyāmy ahaṃ *bhikṣava* buddhacakṣuṣā sthaviro hy ayaṃ kāśyapa buddha bheṣyati | anāgate 'dhvāni asaṃkhyakalpe kṛtvā *tu* pūjāṃ dvipadôttamānām* | (1) triṃśatsahasrāḥ paripūrṇṇa ko-

5 /// cariṣyatī tatra ca brahmacaryaṃ bauddhasya jñānasya kṛtena *bhikṣuḥ* | (2) kṛtvā ca pūjāṃ dvipadôttamānāṃ samudāniya jñānam idaṃ anuttaram* | sa paścime côcchrayi lokanātho bhaviṣyate apratimo *maharṣiḥ* | (3) kṣetrañ ca tasya pravaram bhaviṣyati vicitra ś(u)ddhañ ca *sudarśanīyaṃ* | manojñarūpaṃ sada premaṇīyaṃ suvarṇṇasū(trai) (4d)

6 /// ṣṭāpadasmiṃ tahi eka-eke | manojñagandhañ ca vimuñcamānā bheṣyanti kṣetrasmi *imasya bhikṣoḥ* || (5) puṣpôpakārais samalaṃkṛtañ ca vicitrapuṣpair upasobhitañ ca | svabhraprapātā na ca tatra santi samaṃ śivaṃ *bheṣyati* darśanīyaṃ | (6) tahi bodhisa /// (7a)

N3 photo 26B

IVa (fol. 75a)

XIII (294.3–296.3), XIV (297.1–297.3)

1 /// s(o) supinasmi paśyati deśenta dharmam *bahuprāṇikoṭinām** | rasmīsahasrāṇi pramuñcamānaṃ valgusvaraṃ kāñcanavarṇṇa nāthaṃ | (62) so *cā tahī* bhoti *kṛtâñja(lī* sthito *abhiṣṭuvanto* dvipadôtta)mam munim* |

so ca *jjino* bhāṣati agradharmaṃ *cata śṛṇā(m)* parṣa *mahābhiṣaṅko* ‖ (63) so ca prahṛṣṭo *bhavatī* śruṇitvā prāmodyajātaś ca karoti pūjām* | supine ca so

2 dhāraṇi prāpuṇoti avivarttiyaṃ jñāna spṛśitva kṣipraṃ | (64) jñātvā ca so *āsayu* lokanāthas taṃ vyākarottī puruṣarṣabhatve | kulaputra tvaṃ pîha anuttaraṃ śi /// /// ‖ (65) tavâpi kṣetraṃ vipulam bhaviṣyati parṣāś ca catvāri yathaiva mahyaṃ | śroṣyanti dharmam vipulaṃ *anāśravaṃ* sagauravā bhūtva kṛtāñjalī ca ‖ (66) punaś ca so paśya-

3 ti *ātmabhāvaṃ bhāventa* dharmaṃ girikandareṣu | *bhāvetva* dharmañ ca spṛśitva dharmatāṃ samādhi so *labdha jinaś ca* paśyati ‖ (67) suvarṇṇavarṇṇaṃ śatapuṇyalakṣaṇaṃ supina /// /// ca taṃ parṣadi *samprakāśayi* supino khu *tasyo* ayam evarūpaḥ | (68) svapne *hi* sarvaṃ prajahitva rājyaṃ antaḥpuraṃ jñātigaṇan tathaiva | abhiniṣkramī sarva jahitva

4 /// pasaṃkramī yena ca bodhimaṇḍam* | (69) siṃhāsane tatra niṣīdiyāna drumasya mūle tahi bodhi-arthiko divasāna saptāna tathā 'tyayena anuprā(70d) /// /// dh(i)ṃ ca prāpto tatu *vyusthihitvā* pravarttayī *cakram anuttaraṃ śivaṃ* | *cataśṛparṣāṇa* sa dharma deśayī acintiyā kalpasahas(r)ako(ṭya)ḥ | (71) prakāśayitvā tahi

5 /// (va)m* nirvāpayitvā bahuprāṇikoṭyaḥ | nirvāyatī *hetukṣayāya* dīpo supino ayaṃ so bhavat' evarūpaḥ | (72) bahu ānusaṃsāś ca ananta /// /// bhonti | yo paścime kāli *im' agradharmaṃ* sūtraṃ prakāśeya mayā sudeśitam (73) iti | ‖ sukhavi ///

6 /// nām bodhisat(v)ānāṃ mahāsatvānām *aṣṭagaṅgānadīvālikāsamā* bodhisatvā mahāsatvās tasmin samaye tataḥ /// /// *añjalīṃ* prag(ṛ)hya bhagavato *'bhimukhād* bhagavantan namasyamānā bhagava(nta) ///

IVb (fol. 75b)

XIV (297.4–298.12)

1 bhaga /// /// (parini)rvṛtasyâsmin *sahe* lokadhātau samprakāśayemo vācayemo *likhemaḥ* | pūjayemaḥ | asmiṃś ca *dharme* yogam āpadyemahi | ta(t) sādhu bhagavānn asmākam apîman dharmaparyāyam anujānātu | atha khalu bhagavāṃs tāṃ b(odhisatvā)n (e)ta ///

2 ha m /// /// lokadhātau ṣaṣṭhigaṅgānadīvālikāsamāni bodhisatvakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi ekasya bodhisatvasya parivāraḥ | evaṃrūpāṇāñ ca bodhisatvānāṃ *ṣaṣṭh' eva* gaṅgānadīvālikôpamāni *bodhisatvakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi* | yeṣām ekaikasya bo ///

3 pa(r)i /// /// man dharmaparyāyan dhārayiṣyanti vācayiṣyanti samprakāśayiṣyanti | samanantarabhāṣitā cêyaṃ bhagavatā vāg a'thêyaṃ sahā lokadhātuḥ samantat* sphuṭitā visphuṭitā *'bhūt* tebhyaś ca *visphuṭebhyo*

visphoṭāntarebhyaś ca bahūni bodhisatvakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi *uttiṣṭhan-te sma* | suva(r)ṇṇava(r)ṇṇ(ai)ḥ kāy(air d)v(ā) ///

4 /// manvāgatāḥ | ye *'syā* mahāpṛthivyā adha ākāśadhātau viharanti sma | *imam* eva sahāṃ *lokadhātau niśrāya* | te khalv idam evaṃrūpaṃ bhagavataḥ śabdaṃ śrutvā pṛthivyā adhaḥ samutthitāḥ | yeṣām ekaiko bodhisatvaḥ ṣaṣṭhigaṅgānadīvālukôpamabodhisatvasahasraparivāro gaṇī mahāgaṇī gaṇācāryas tādṛśānāṃ bo-

5 dhisatvānām mahāsatvānāṅ gaṇīnām mahāgaṇīnāṅ gaṇācāryāṇām* | *ṣaṣṭh' eva* gaṅgānadīvālikāsamāni bodhisatvakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi ye itaḥ *sahālokadhāto* dharaṇivivarebhyaḥ samunmajjante sma | kaḥ punar vādaḥ pañcāśadgaṅgānadīvālikôpamabodhisatvaparivārāṇām bodhisatvānāṃ mahāsatvānāṃ kaḥ puna-

6 (r vā)daś catvāriṃśadgaṅgānadīvālikôpamabodhisatvaparivārāṇāṃ bodhisatvānām mahāsatvānāṅ kaḥ punar vādas triṃśadgaṅgānadīvālukôpamabodhisatvaparivārāṇām bodhisatvānām mahāsatvānāṃ kaḥ punar vādo viṃśadgaṅgānadīvālikôpamabodhisatvaparivārāṇāṃ bodhisatvānām mahāsatvānām* | kaḥ punar vādo daśagaṅgā-

Va (fol. no. illegible)

XVIII (354.8–357.3)

1 *pari yāvad* bhavâgraṃ tat* sarvaṃ drakṣyati | prākṛtena māṃsacakṣuṣā ye ca tasmin satvā upapannās tān sarvān drakṣyati | karmavipākañ ca teṣāṃ jñāsyatīti || atha khalu bhagavāṃs tasyām velāyām imā gāthā abhāṣata || ya imaṃ sūtra bhāṣeta parṣāsu ca *viśāradaḥ* | anolīnaḥ prakāśe /// (1c)

2 s tasya cakṣuṣo bhonti sarvaśaḥ | yenâsya vimalam bhoti śuddhaṃ cakṣur anāvilaṃ | (2) so māṃsacakṣuṣā tena mātāpitṛkasambhunā | paśyate lokadhātv emāṃ sarvān *sântarabāhirāṃ* | (3) *sumeruṃ meru sarvāś ca cakravāḍāṃ* sa paśyati | ye cânye parvatā ghuṣṭāḥ samudrāṃś câpi paśyati || (4) yāvān avī(ci heṣṭena) ///

3 *paśyatī vīro* māṃsacakṣu 'sya īdṛśaṃ | (5) na tāva divyaṃ cakṣu 'sya bhoti no câpi *jānati* | viṣayo *māṃsacakṣusya* bhavet tasyâyam īdṛśa (6) *iti* || punar aparaṃ satatasamitâbhiyukta sa kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā iman dharmaparyāyaṃ samprakāśayamānaḥ pareṣāñ ca *saṃśrāvayan** | tair dvādaśabhiḥ śrotraguṇa ///

4 *sāhasramahāsāhasrāyāṃ* lokadhātau *vividhāṃ* śabdā niścaranti | yāvad avīcir mmahānirayo yāvac ca bhavâgraṃ *śântarbahiḥ* | tad yathā || hastiśabdā vā aśvaśabdā vā *gośabdā vā* ajaśabdā vā *janaśabdā* vā rathaśabdā vā *rudatiśabdā* vā śokaśabdā vā *bhairavaśabdā vā ghaṇṭāśabdā vā* bherīśabdā vā krī ///

5 ṣ(ṭra)śab(d)ā (vā) vādyaśabdā vā | strīśabdā vā puruṣaśabdā vā *dārakaśabdā* vā | dharmaśabdā vā adharmaśabdā vā sukhaśabdā vā duḥkhaśabdā vā | bālaśabdā vā āryaśabdā vā manojñaśabdā vā amanojñaśabdā vā | devaśabdā vā nāgaśabdā vā *yakṣaśabdā vā* gandharvaśabdā vā asuraśabdā vā garu ///

6 /// manuṣyaśabdā vā amanuṣyaśabdā vā | agniśabdā vā *udakaśabdā vā* | *vāyuśabdā vā* grāmaśabdā vā nagaraśabdā vā | bhikṣuśabdā vā śrāvakaśabdā vā pratyekabuddhaśabdā vā bodhisatvaśabdā vā tathāgataśabdā vā | yāvantaḥ kecit *trisāhasramahāsāhasrāyāṃ* lokadhātau ///

Vb (fol. no. illegible)

XVIII (357.4–359.6)

1 /// śrotêndriyeṇa *cchṛṇoti* | na ca tāvad divyaṃ śrotram abhinirharati | teṣāñ ca teṣāñ ca satvānāṃ rutāny avabudhyate | teṣāñ ca teṣāñ ca satvānāṃ rutāni vibhāvayati *vibhajati* | tena ca prākṛtena *śrotêndriyena* teṣāṃ teṣāṃ satvānā(ṃ) rutāni śṛṇvantaḥ | tasya t(ai)ḥ sa ///

2 (bhi)yu(kta ta)sya bodhisatvasya (mahāsatvasya) *śrotêndriyasaṃlambho* bhavati | na ca tāvad divyaṃ śrotram abhinirharati || idam avocad bhagavān idam vaditvā sugato hy athâparam etad uvāca śāstā | *śrotêndriyan* tasya *viśuddha* bhoti anāvilaṃ prākṛtakañ ca tāvat* | vividhāṃ hi yenêha *śṛṇotha* śabdān iha /// (7c)

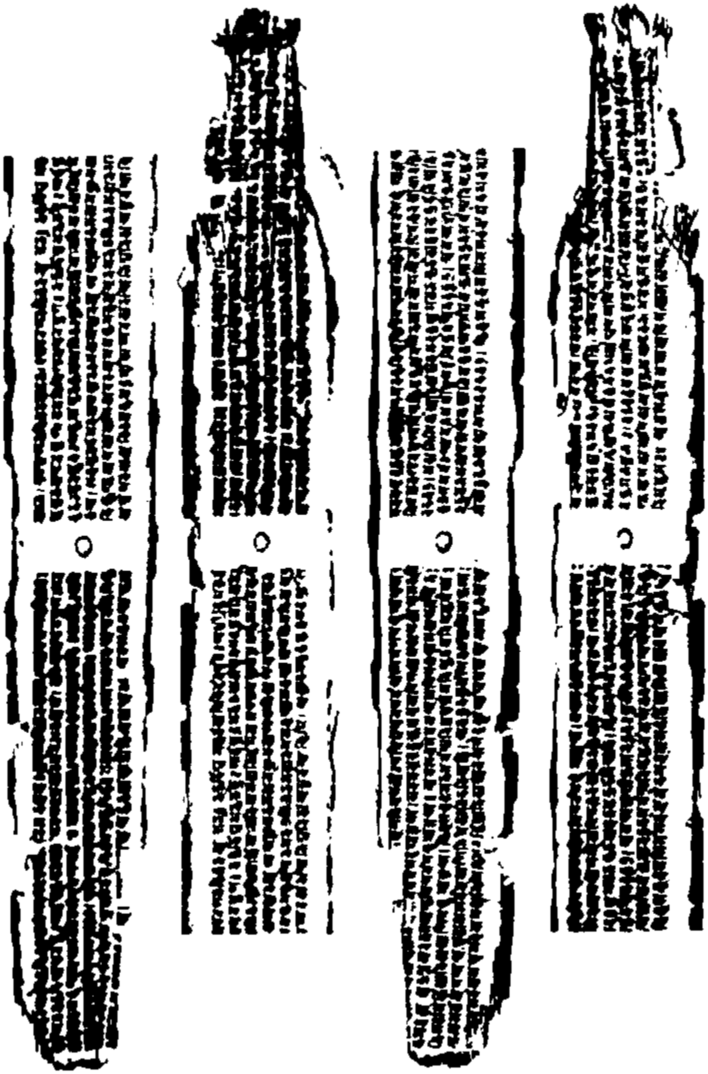
3 *śṛṇotha* śabdān rathāna *goṇānam ajêḍakānāṃ* | bherīmṛdaṅgāna sughoṣakāṇāṃ vīṇāna veṇūna 'tha vallakīnāṃ || (8) gītam manojñam madhuraṃ śṛṇoti na câpi so sajjati tatra dhīro | manuṣyakoṭīna śṛṇoti śabdāṃ bhāṣanti yaṃ yañ ca yahiṃ yahiṃ te | (9) devāna co nitya *śṛṇotha śabdaṃ gītasvarañ ca* madhu ///

4 *câpi* tatha dārakāṇām atha dārikāṇām* || (10) ye parvateṣv eva guhānivāsī kalaviṅkakā kokilabarhiṇaś ca | pakṣīṇa ye jīvakajīvakā hi teṣāñ ca valguṃ *śṛṇute* hi śabdān* || (11) narakeṣu ye vedana *vedayantaḥ sudāruṇaś* câpi *karonti* śabdān* | āhāraduḥkhair *avapīḍitā* vā yāṃ preta kurvanti tathaiva /// (12c)

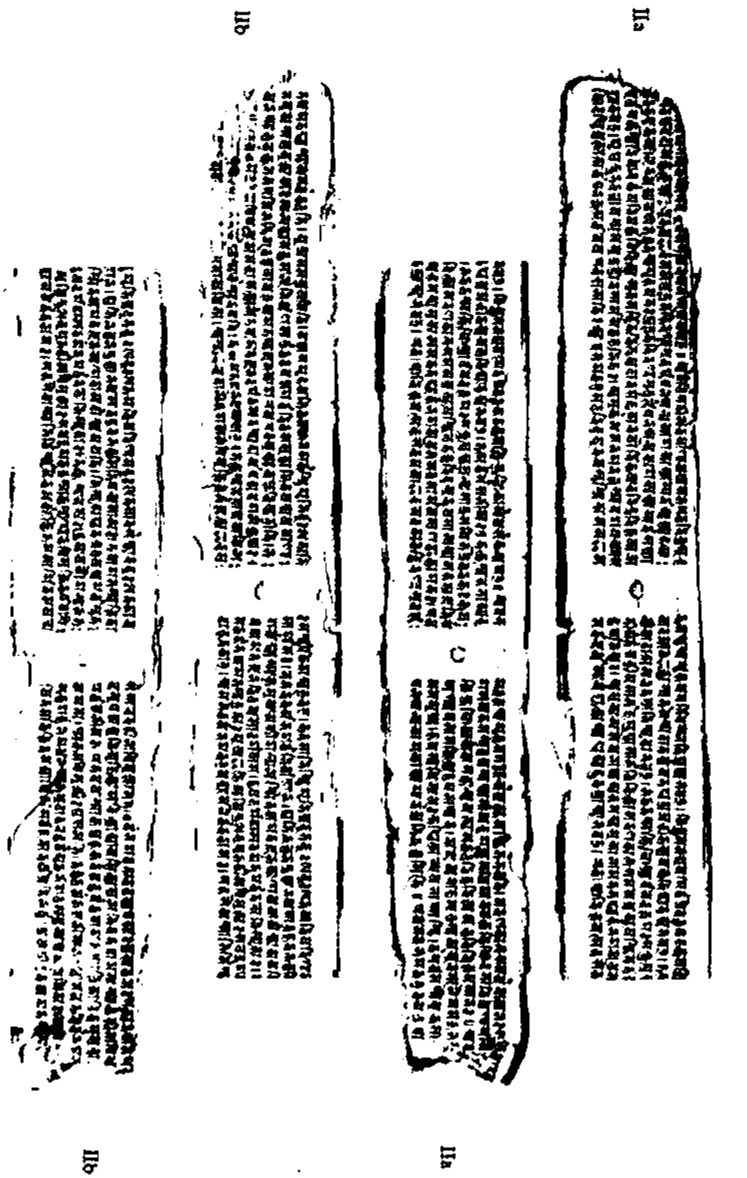
5 *madhyavāsī* muñcanti ghoṣāṃs tatha cânyamanyān* | *sarvāṇi* 'hastho sa hi dharmabhāṇako śṛṇoti śabdān na ca *ostarīyati* || (13) tiryāṇa yonīṣu rutāni yāni anyonyasambhāṣaṇatāṃ karonti | iha sthitas *tān* api so śṛṇoti vividhāni śabdāni bahūvidhāni || (14) ye brahmaloke nivasanti devāḥ | a ///

6 ś cânyamanyasya karoti ghoṣāṃ śṛṇoti tāṃ sarvam aśeṣato 'sau || (15) svādhyāya kurvanti 'ha ye ca bhikṣavaḥ sugatān' *ihi* śāsani pravrajitvā | *pariṣāsu* yaṃ deśayate ca dharmaṃ teṣāṃ pi śabdaṃ śṛṇute-sa nityam* | (16) ye bodhisatvāś c' iha lokadhātau svādhyāya kurvanti parasparena | (sa)ṃ /// (17c)

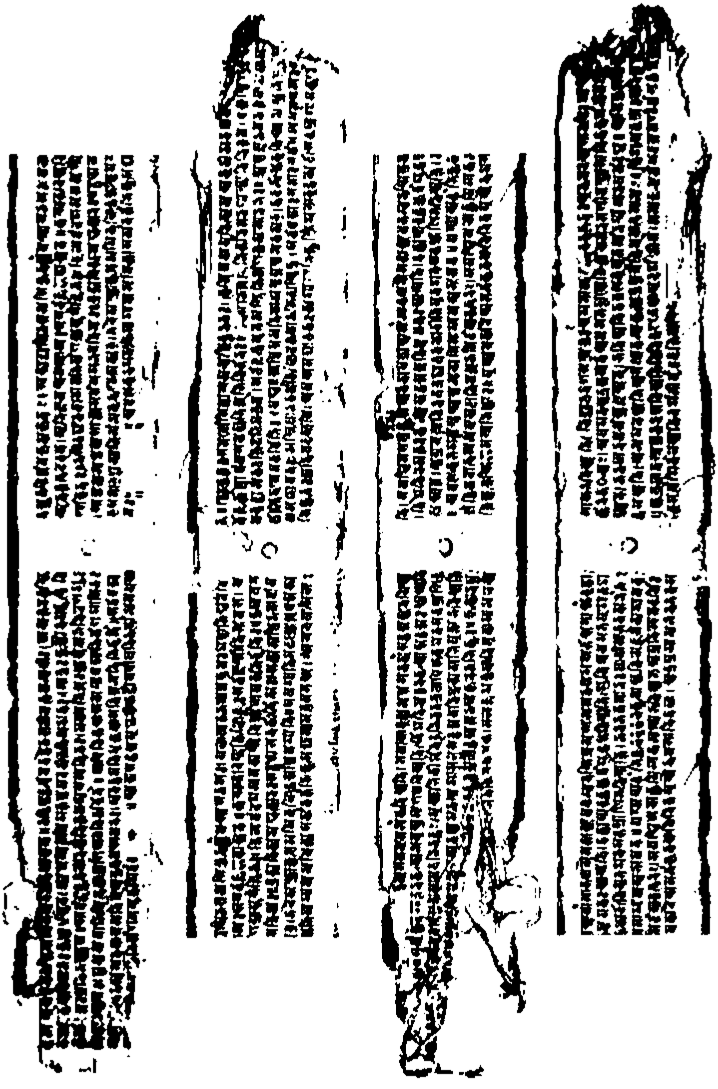
1a 1b



1a 1b

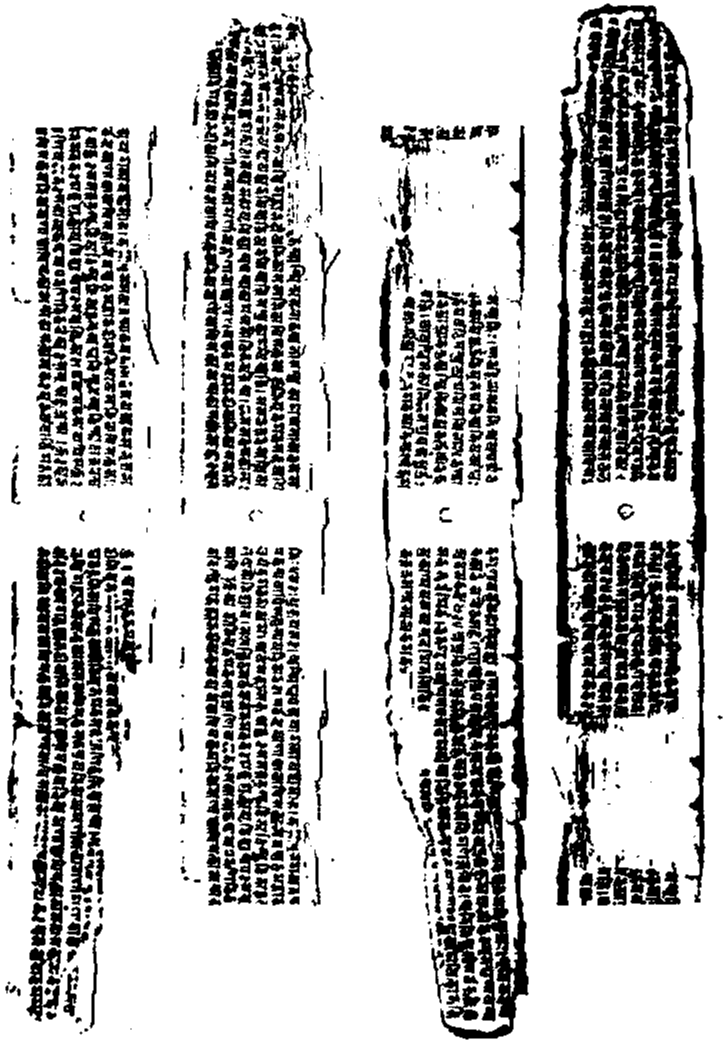

IIb
IIa
IIb
IIa

IIIa IIIb



IIIa IIIb

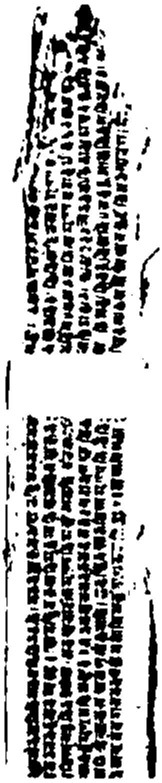
IVb IVa



IVb IVa

Va

Vb



Va

Vb

On the Date of the Poṣadha Ceremony as Taught by the Mūlasarvāstivādins

CLAUS VOGEL, Bonn

1. The Poṣadhavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, which forms the second section of the Vinayavastu of that school, deals with the temporal aspect of the Poṣadha ceremony in the following terms:[1]

(a) §§ 26–28: *poṣadhaḥ katamaḥ* (|) *yo vo mayā bhikṣavo prātimokṣasūtroddeśa uddiṣṭaḥ sa vo 'dyāgreṇānvardhamāsam uddeṣṭavyaḥ* (|) *uktaṃ bhagavatā anvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeśa ud(d)e(ṣṭavya iti* | *te na jānate kenoddeṣṭavya iti* |) *bhagavān āha* | *saṃghasthavireṇānvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeśa uddeṣṭavya iti* | *uktaṃ bhagavatā saṃghasthavireṇānvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeśa uddeṣṭavya iti* | *bhikṣavas tasya layanaṃ gacchanti* ...

"What (is) Poṣadha? That recitation of the Prātimokṣasūtra, monks, which (was) recited to you by me, (is) to be recited to you half-monthly as from to-day. (After it had been) said by the Exalted One (that) the recitation of the Prātimokṣasūtra (was) to be recited half-monthly, they did not know by whom (it was) to be recited. The Exalted One spoke, 'By the senior of the congregation the recitation of the Prātimokṣasūtra (is) to be recited half-monthly.' (After it had been) said by the Exalted One (that) by the senior of the congregation the recitation of the Prātimokṣasūtra (was) to be recited half-monthly, the monks went to his cell ..."

(b) § 33.3–4: *atha saṃbahulā bhikṣavas tad eva poṣadhe pañcadaśyāṃ poṣadhāmukhe saṃniṣaṇṇā(ḥ) saṃnipatitā yadbhūyasā āyuṣmantaṃ Brāhmaṇakapphiṇam āgamayamānāḥ* (|) *athāyuṣmato Brāhmaṇakapphiṇasyaitad abhavat. adya saṃghasya poṣadhaḥ pāñcadaśikaḥ mamāpi Kapphiṇasya bhikṣoḥ poṣadhaḥ pāñcadaśikaḥ* (|) ...

"Then on that very (day), the Poṣadha day, the fifteenth, many monks had settled (and) gathered at (the site) fit for the Poṣadha ceremony, virtually all (of them) waiting for the reverend Brāhmaṇakapphiṇa. Then this (thought) came to the reverend Brāhmaṇakapphiṇa, 'To-day (there is) for the congregation the Poṣadha day falling on the fifteenth; for me too, the monk Kapphiṇa, (to-day there is) the Poṣadha day falling on the fifteenth ...'" Cf. § 34.2.

The words *tad eva poṣadhe pañcadaśyām* "on that very (day), the Poṣadha day, the fifteenth" are a stereotyped phrase frequently used in the text; see §§

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[1] Quoted from the exemplary edition and translation by H. HU-VON HINÜBER, *Das Poṣadhavastu. Vorschriften für die buddhistische Beichtfeier im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*, Reinbek, 1994.

62.1–5, 64.1, 65.1, 69.1.a, 85.2–4, 88.1–4, 91.1–5, 92.1–2, 94.1–5, 95.1, 98.1–11.

(c) § 65.1: *atha bhagavāṃs tad eva poṣadhe pañcadaśyāṃ purastād bhikṣusaṃghasya prajñapta evāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ* (|) *niṣadya bhagavān bhikṣūn āmantrayate sma* | *nirgacchati bhikṣavo rātriḥ* (|) *kuruta bhikṣavaḥ poṣadham* |
"Then on that very (day), the Poṣadha day, the fifteenth, the Exalted One settled in front of the congregation of monks on the seat just arranged (for him). Having settled, the Exalted One told the monks, 'Night, monks, is beginning; perform, monks, the Poṣadha ceremony!'"

(d) § 90.1–6: *naivāsikānāṃ pañcadaśī āgantukānāṃ caturdaśī vā pratipad vā alpatarakā(ṇā)m* (|) *anuvartitavyam āgantukaiḥ naivāsikānāṃ bahutarakāṇām* (|) *naivāsikānāṃ pañcadaśī āgantukānāṃ caturdaśī vā pratipad vā samakānām* (|) *anuvartitavyam āgantukair naivāsikānāṃ samakānām.* ⟨*naivāsikānāṃ pañcadaśī*⟩ *ā*⟨*ga*⟩*ntukānāṃ caturdaśī* ⟨*vā*⟩ *pratipad vā bahutarakāṇām* (|) *anuvartitavyaṃ naivāsikair āgantukānāṃ bahutarakāṇām* (|) *āgantukānām pañcadaśī · naivāsikānāṃ caturdaśī* ⟨*vā*⟩ *pratipad vā alpatarakāṇām* (|) *anuvartitavyaṃ naivāsikair āgantukānāṃ bahutarakāṇām* (|) *āgantukānāṃ pañcadaśī naivāsikānāṃ caturdaśī vā pratipad vā samakānām* (|) *anuvartitavyam āgantukair naivāsikānāṃ samakānām* | *āgantukānāṃ pañcadaśī naivāsikānāṃ caturdaśī* ⟨*vā*⟩ *pratipad vā bahutarakāṇām* (|) *anuvartitavyam āgantukair naivāsikānāṃ bahutarakāṇām* (|)
"(If) for residents (it is) the fifteenth (and) for guests (it is) either the fourteenth or the (next) first,[3] (and these are) less numerous, (then) the guests must adapt themselves to the residents, (who are) more numerous. (If) for residents (it is) the fifteenth (and) for guests (it is) either the fourteenth or the (next) first, (and these are) equally numerous, (then) the guests must adapt themselves to the residents, (who are) equally numerous. (If) for residents (it is) the fifteenth (and) for guests (it is) either the fourteenth or the (next) first, (and these are) more numerous, (then) the residents must adapt themselves to the guests, (who are) more numerous. (If) for guests (it is) the fifteenth (and) for residents (it is) either the fourteenth or the (next) first, (and these are) less numerous, (then) the residents must adapt themselves to the guests, (who are) more numerous. (If) for guests (it is) the fifteenth (and) for residents (it is) either the fourteenth or the (next) first, (and these are) equally numerous, (then) the guests must adapt themselves to the residents, (who are) equally numerous. (If) for guests (it is) the fifteenth (and) for residents (it is) either the fourteenth or the (next) first, (and these are) more numerous, (then) the guests must adapt themselves to the residents, (who are) more numerous."

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[3] That is to say, if for residents it is Poṣadha and for guests it is either the day before or the day after Poṣadha, the Poṣadha day being counted here as the fifteenth in relative — not absolute — terms. On this interpretation, which deviates from the customary one, see P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ, *Die Sīmā. Vorschriften zur Regelung der buddhistischen Gemeindegrenze in älteren buddhistischen Texten*, Berlin, 1992, p. 104*sqq.*

(c) § 94.1: *yathāpi tad tad eva poṣadhe pañcadaśyām āgantukā bhikṣavaḥ saṃniṣaṇṇās saṃnipatitāś catvāro vā uttare vā | ⟨te⟩ tatra paśyanti naivāsikākārāṇi naivāsikaliṅgāni naivāsikanimittāni tadyathā vihāraṃ siktaṃ sammṛṣṭaṃ sukumāri⟨m⟩ gomayakarṣūn anupradattā⟨m⟩ śayanāsanaprajñaptiṃ kṛtāṃ tailapradyotān ādīpitāṃs ...*

"For of course on that very (day), the Poṣadha day, the fifteenth, guest monks had settled (and) gathered, either four or more; they saw there the residents' characteristics, the residents' marks, the residents' signs such as, for instance, (that) the monastery (had been) sprinkled (and) swept, (that) a tender coating of cow-dung (had been) spread on, (that) the preparation of beds and seats (had been) finished, (and that) oil-lamps (had been) lit ..." Cf. § 94.2–5.

The foregoing passages show that the Mūlasarvāstivādins were in the habit of holding the Poṣadha function (1) every fortnight, (2) as a rule on the fifteenth, as an exception on the fourteenth, and (3) after dark, when the use of a lamp was necessary. The picture so gained harmonizes fully with the regulations binding on Theravāda Buddhists, as may be learnt from this pick of testimonies:

(a) Vinayapiṭaka I, p. 104.31–33: *anujānāmi bhikkhave sakiṃ pakkhassa cātuddase vā pannarase vā pātimokkhaṃ uddisituṃ ti.*

"I allow (you), monks, to recite the Pātimokkha once in the half-month: either on the fourteenth or on the fifteenth."

(b) Vinayapiṭaka I, p. 111.24–26: *dve 'me bhikkhave uposathā cātuddasiko ca pannarasiko ca, ime kho bhikkhave dve uposathā 'ti.*

"(There are) these two Uposatha days, monks, that falling on the fourteenth as well as that falling on the fifteenth; these indeed, monks, (are) the two Uposatha days."

(c) Vinayapiṭaka I, p. 118.26: *anujānāmi bhikkhave uposathāgāre padīpam kātuṃ ti.*

"I allow (you), monks, to make a light in the Uposatha hall."

What is noteworthy in this context, though, is the fact that, in designating the fourteenth and fifteenth days of a half-month, the Mūlasarvāstivādins chose feminine ordinals (*caturdaśī, pañcadaśī*), while the Theravādins used masculine or neuter ones (*cātuddasa, pannarasa*). The present paper aims, amongst other things, at finding an answer to the question of what may have caused such a variation of gender.

2. Information on the Poṣadha ceremony of the Mūlasarvāstivādins is not limited to the Poṣadhavastu; it may also be gathered from sources like the Karmavācanās, which are the basis of the Vinayavastu but do not themselves constitute a part of the Vinayapiṭaka. One of these formularies, found in Gilgit Manuscript No. 3 of the National Archives, New Delhi,[3] and edited by

[3] Published in facsimile by RAGHU VIRA and LOKESH CHANDRA, *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*, I, New Delhi, 1959.

O. VON HINÜBER[4] and A. C. BANERJEE[5] respectively, states with reference to the matter in hand (fol. 42r2–3 and 7):

XIV. *samanvāharāyuṣmann adya saṃghasya poṣadhaḥ pāñcadaśika(ḥ) mamāpy evaṃnāmno bhikṣoḥ poṣadhaḥ pāñcadaśikaḥ* ... XV. *āṣāḍhasya bahulapakṣe bhadrapade* [!] *tathā kārttike (puṣye) phālgunavaiśākhābhyāṃ* [!] *poṣadhakarmaś cāturdaśika(ḥ)* ·

"Take heed, reverend one! To-day (is) for the congregation the Poṣadha day falling on the fifteenth; for me too, a monk named so-and-so, (it is) the Poṣadha day falling on the fifteenth ... In the dark half of Āṣāḍha, in Bhādrapada, likewise in Kārttika (and) Puṣya along with Phālguna and Vaiśākha, the Poṣadha service falls on the fourteenth."

The calendar underlying this precept has not been traced so far in any work of undisputed Mūlasarvāstivāda affiliation, but it may be reconstructed with next to absolute certainty from a parallel of similar orientation. In the Śayanāsanavastu, the fifteenth section of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavastu, it says (p. 4.31–35):

pañceme bhikṣavaḥ samayāḥ | haimantikaṃ graiṣmikaṃ vārṣikaṃ mṛtavārṣikaṃ dīrghavārṣikam iti | tatra haimantikaṃ catvāro māsāḥ | graiṣmikaṃ catvāro māsāḥ | (vārṣikam eko māsaḥ |)[6] *mṛtavārṣikam ekaṃ rātriṃdivasam | dīrghavārṣikaṃ rātryūnās trayo māsāḥ |*

"There (are), monks, five seasonal periods: winter, summer, rains, short rains, (and) long rains. Of these, winter (is) four months, summer (is) four months, the rains (are) one month, the short rains (are) one night and day, (and) the long rains (are) three months less a night (and day)."

Now the same facts are given in much the same words in the Upasaṃpadājñapti (p. 19.9–14), which is close to the Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā (p. 135.17–21) and hence may well be of Mūlasarvāstivāda origin,[7] yet they are amplified there by the names of the pertinent months:

pañca samayāḥ | haimantiko graiṣmiko vārṣiko mṛtavārṣiko dīrghavārṣikaḥ | tatra haimantikaḥ catvāro māsāḥ | mārgaśīrṣa-puṣya-māgha-phālgun(ā)ḥ | graiṣmikaḥ catvāro māsāḥ | caitra-vaiśākha-jyeṣṭhāṣāḍh(ā)ḥ | vārṣiko māsaḥ śrāvaṇaḥ | mṛtavārṣikam ekarātriṃdinaṃ bhādrapadasya māsasya pratipat | dīrghavārṣikam ekārātryūnās trayo māsāḥ | bhādrapadāśvayuja-kārttikāḥ |

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[4] "Eine Karmavācanā-Sammlung aus Gilgit", *ZDMG* 119, 1969, pp. 102–132, covering fol. 39–42.

[5] "Bhikṣukarmavākya", *IHQ* 25, 1949, pp. 19–30, covering fol. 43–54.

[6] Added on the basis of the Tibetan version, which reads *zla-ba gcig ni dbyar yin-no;* see Peking Kanjur, 'Dul-ba section, vol. 94 (*ne*), fol. 180b1 [= Otani reprint, vol. 41, p. 312]. A variant canonical rendering of an obviously identical statement lost in the original Sanskrit is met with in the Tibetan Pravrajyāvastu (p. 150.11–18); the missing words are given there as *dbyar-gyi dus ni zla-ba gcig-go* (l. 15).

[7] Cf. M. SCHMIDT, "Zur Schulzugehörigkeit einer nepalesischen Handschrift der Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā", *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur* (*SWTF* Beih. 5), Göttingen, 1994, pp. 155–164.

"(There are) five seasonal periods: winter, summer, rains, short rains, (and) long rains. Of these, winter (is) four months: Mārgaśīrṣa, Puṣya, Māgha, and Phālguna; summer (is) four months: Caitra, Vaiśākha, Jyeṣṭha, and Āṣāḍha; the rains (are one) month: Śrāvaṇa; the short rains (are) one night and day: the first of the month of Bhādrapada; the long rains (are) three months less one night (and day): Bhādrapada, Āśvayuja, and Kārttika."

The subdivision of the year manifesting itself here must have been fairly widespread among Buddhist monks. It is also mentioned in the Mahāvyutpatti (8668 with 9282–9286), in the Khotanese so-called Book of Zambasta (p. 260/261), and in the Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa-chuan (ch. 19) by I-ching, who claims it to be an ordinance of the Buddha holding good for the Vinaya only and having a "mystic sense".[8]

Both the passage quoted from the Gilgit Karmavācanā formulary and that quoted from the Upasampadājñapti, when taken together, yield the following result: For Mūlasarvāstivādins, Poṣadha was on the fourteenth in the dark halves of Āṣāḍha, Bhādrapada, Kārttika, Puṣya, Phālguna, and Vaiśākha; it was on the fifteenth in the light halves of these months and in either halves of Śrāvaṇa, Āśvayuja, Mārgaśīrṣa, Māgha, Caitra, and Jyeṣṭha. Their year opened with the winter season and with the month Mārgaśīrṣa.[9]

In his comments on the Gilgit text, VON HINÜBER (*op. cit.*, p. 125 *sqq.*) has already pointed out that this schedule is quite in keeping with the practice of the Theravādins as specified in Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā (p. 1035.14–15), who fixed the Poṣadha day as under:

ekassa utuno tatiye ca sattame ca pakkhe dvikkhattuṃ cātuddase avasese chakkhattuṃ pannarase
"in the third as well as the seventh fortnight of one season twice on the fourteenth, in the rest six times on the fifteenth",

with one season — out of three in all — reckoned at four months or eight fortnights. More detailed is a similar statement in his Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī (p. 3. 15–18):

tattha hemantagimhavassānānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ utūnaṃ tatiyasattamapakkhesu dve dve katvā cha cātuddasikā, avasesā aṭṭhārasa pannarasikā ti, evaṃ ekasaṃvacchare catuvīsati uposathā.
"Of these (Uposatha days) six fall on the fourteenth, two each — in the third and seventh fortnights — having been laid down for the three seasons winter, summer, and rains; the other eighteen fall on the fifteenth. Thus (there are) twenty-four Uposatha days in one year."

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[8] Taishō Issaikyō No. 2125: vol. 54, p. 219c 18–26 (J. TAKAKUSU's translation, p. 101 *sq.*). Cf. J. NOBEL, "Ein alter medizinischer Sanskrit-Text und seine Deutung", *JAOS* Suppl. 11, 1951, p. 19 *sq.*; C. VOGEL, "Die Jahreszeiten im Spiegel der altindischen Literatur", *ZDMG* 121, 1971, p. 299 *sq.*

[9] Cf. VOGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 296 *sqq.*

The congruence of the two systems may easily be seen from the synopsis printed on p. 687, which also shows that the order of fortnights was that of the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, typical of northern India, in which the dark fortnight or period of the waning moon came before the bright fortnight or period of the waxing moon; that is, months were treated to last from full moon to full moon.

By its number of days, which add up to 354, the year of the Poṣadha calendar proves to be lunar. Such a year is made up of twelve synodic months of about 29½ days each,[10] this being the interval between two successive full (or new) moons styled a lunation. If the Poṣadha ceremony had been celebrated on the fifteenth throughout, after two months already it would have taken place one day later than full moon, which would surely have been noticed by the monks. It is for this reason that one day was dropped, and the function was held on the fourteenth instead of the fifteenth, every other month. Hence Poṣadha always fell on full-moon or new-moon day.

3. Besides those who kept the Poṣadha ceremony on the fourteenth only when the fifteenth had to be cancelled for chronological reasons, there were others who stuck to the fourteenth on principle. In the Poṣadhavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, both usages were recognized as equal in that special rules were laid down for resident and guest monks living together but differing on this issue. In the Pravrajyāvastu of the same school, however, celebrating the Poṣadha ceremony strictly on the fourteenth was classified as heterodox (p. 45.10–12):

> *tīrthyānāṃ poṣadhaś cāturdaśiko bhikṣūṇāṃ ca pāñcadaśikaḥ sa caturdaśyāṃ tīrthikānāṃ antike poṣadhaṃ pratyanubhavati pañcadaśyāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ* |
> "For heretics Poṣadha falls on the fourteenth and for monks on the fifteenth; (so) he spent Poṣadha among heretics on the fourteenth (and) among monks on the fifteenth."

The person spoken of here is a heretic who had turned Buddhist without parting from his former brethren. His double life was not noticed until the Poṣadha day happened to fall on the fourteenth for both congregations (p. 45.12–13):

> *yāvad apareṇa samayena ūnarātrīpatitaṃ bhikṣūṇām api cāturdaśikaḥ poṣadho jātaḥ.*
> "When at (some) other time a day came to be dropped, for monks also Poṣadha fell on the fourteenth."

[10] More precisely speaking, a synodic month is equal to 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, and 2.8 seconds of mean solar time.

The further course of the narrative is of no interest in the present context. The whole case was ultimately stated to the Buddha, who ordered the heretic to be expelled from the monastic community, and all future candidates for initiation to be interrogated about their doctrinal leanings (p. 46.5–12).

What renders this episode most valuable is not so much its content but rather the fact that it offers the only instance found in Buddhist literature as yet of the term *ūnarātrī* serving to designate the missing fifteenth day. The word seems to have been borrowed from astronomical handbooks, where it is spelt either *ūnarātra* or *ūnarātri*, and stands in need of explanation on several counts. To start with, there is the puzzle of its basic meaning, which may be that of a descriptive compound ("a night less") or that of a possessive compound ("having a night less"). Both possibilities would make good sense: As the lunar month has roughly 29½ civil days and the civil day is taken in India to run from sunrise to sunrise (not from midnight to midnight), *ūnarātri* could originally have been either the night wanting from the last day of the month or the last day of the month lacking a night. Modern dictionaries are split on the proper interpretation.[11]

Then there is the strange ending of *ūnarātra*. According to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (V 4.87), *rātri* becomes *rātra* in determinative compounds when preceded by numerals, indeclinables, *ahan*, *sarva*, words denoting parts of the night, *saṃkhyāta*, and *puṇya*. Since *ūna* does not belong to this list, the form *ūnarātra* must be considered irregular.

Lastly there is the riddle of its gender as given in European lexica, namely, masculine for *ūnarātra* and feminine for *ūnarātri*[12]. While the former tallies with Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (II 4.29), the latter is plausible only if *ūnarātri* is understood to be a descriptive compound, which takes the gender of its final member. As a possessive compound, however, it cannot be feminine unless qualifying — if tacitly — a feminine noun. Such a noun will be hard to find among the synonyms for "day" known in Sanskrit, which are usually masculine or neuter.[13] The best way out of this difficulty is probably to have a look at the acceptation of *ūnarātra* or *ūnarātri* as manifesting itself in the astronomical nomenclature and paraphrased by Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS in the following way: "a N. applied to a particular lunar day (which is omitted if two lunar days end in one solar day)."

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[11] *PW* V, 1207: "die fehlende Nacht"; *MW* 221: "defective by a night".

[12] *pw* I, 256; *MW* 221.

[13] The span from sunrise to sunrise is called *aharniśa* (n.), *ahorātra* (m. n.), *kṣapāha* (n.), *divānakta* (n.), *divārātra* (m. n.), *naktaṃdina* (n.), *rātriṃdiva* (n.), etc.; the span from sunrise to sunset is called *ahan* (n.), *ghasra* (m.), *dina* (n.), *div* (m. n.), *divasa* (m. n.), *vāsara* (m. n.), etc.

4. The calendar at the bottom of this definition has its root in what D. PINGREE[14] has named the "Greek" period — Greek, that is, showing Greek influence — of Indian astronomy (c. 400–1600 A.D.). It is lunisolar, trying to reconcile the solar year of about 365¼ days with the lunar year of about 354 days. The earliest ascertainable and indisputably genuine date founded on it is — as far as known to the author — that of a Muttra stone pillar inscription of Candragupta II, written in A.D. 380/81,[15] and the earliest verifiable such date coupled with a weekday that of an Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta, written on Thursday, 21 June 484.[16] The method employed is ingenious but confusing, and requires a few elucidative remarks.[17]

(a) The sun's apparent orbit or the ecliptic — apparent because in actual fact it is not the sun that revolves round the earth but the earth that revolves round the sun — is divided into twelve equal parts of thirty degrees in arc length called signs of the zodiac (*rāśi*). Similarly, the moon's orbit is divided into twenty-seven equal parts of thirteen degrees and twenty minutes in arc length called lunar mansions (*nakṣatra*).

(b) The solar year commences with the sun's entrance (*saṃkrānti*) into the sign of Aries (*meṣa*), which simultaneously is the beginning of the solar month of Vaiśākha. In like manner, the beginnings of the eleven other solar

[14] *Jyotiḥśāstra. Astral and mathematical literature*, Wiesbaden, 1981, p. 9.

[15] Cf. D. C. SIRCAR, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian history and civilization*, I², Calcutta, 1965, p. 277*sq*. In the following reproduction of the pertinent passage, square brackets mark syllables damaged but still legible, round brackets mark syllables damaged but no more legible and hence reconstructed by divination, and angular brackets mark syllables left out by the scribe owing to negligence:

bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-[rājādhi]rāja-śrī-Samudragupta-sa[tpu]trasya bhaṭṭāraka-ma[hārāja]-(rājādhi)rāja-śrī-Candraguptasya vija(ya)-rājya-saṃvatsa(re) [paṃ]caṃ(e) [5] kālānuvarttamāna-saṃvatsare ekaṣaṣṭhe (read *°ṣaṣṭe*) *60 1 (āṣāḍha-māse) [pra]thame śukla-divase paṃcamyāṃ*

"In the fifth year of the triumphant reign of the noble lord, great king, and king *of kings*, the illustrious Candragupta, the good son of the noble lord, great king, and king of kings, the illustrious Samudragupta; in the sixty-first year concurrent (with it) in time, in the first *month of Āṣāḍha*, on a day of the bright (fortnight), the fifth (lunar day)."

If D. R. BHANDARKAR's judicious conjecture *āṣāḍha-māse* is accepted for completing the lacuna after *60 1* ("Mathura pillar inscription of Chandragupta II: G. E. 61", *EI* 21, 1931–32, p. 3*sq.*), which this writer is prepared to do, the date works out at Monday, 25 May 380, when the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the first lunar Āṣāḍha ended about 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise at Laṅkā; it would work out at Tuesday, 23 June 380, for the same lunar day of the second lunar Āṣāḍha, which ended on that civil day about 18 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. Computation by H. JACOBI's general tables (see note 17) shows that there were in fact two lunar Āṣāḍhas in the Gupta year 61; for the solar Āṣāḍha of that year lasted from 18 May 380, 15 h. 9 m., till 19 June 380, 5 h. 48 m., and the moon was new on 20 May 380 about 19 h. 0 m. and on 19 June 380 about 2 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

[16] Cf. J. F. FLEET, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings and their successors*, Calcutta, 1888, p. 89: *śate pañca-ṣaṣṭy-adhike varṣāṇāṃ bhūpatau ca Budhagupte | āṣāḍha-māsa-ś[ukla]-[dvā]daśyāṃ sura-guror ddivase |*

[17] The following sketch of the fundamentals of the Indian lunisolar calendar relies on H. JACOBI, *Kleine Schriften*, II, Wiesbaden, 1970, p. 948*sqq*.

months are determined by the sun's entrance into the subsequent signs of Taurus (*vṛṣa*) etc. The names of the solar months are derived by *vṛddhi* strengthening from the names of those twelve lunar mansions in which full moon occurred at the time of introduction of the system: Vaiśākha from Viśākhā etc.

(c) The lunar year has twelve lunar months, which correspond to as many lunations and are counted either from new moon to new moon (*amānta* scheme) or from full moon to full moon (*pūrṇimānta* scheme). It opens either with the new moon in Caitra (*caitrādi* year) or, seven months later, with the new moon in Kārttika (*kārttikādi* year).

(d) Each lunar month falls into two halves or fortnights (*pakṣa*). The bright fortnight is the period of the waxing moon, the dark fortnight that of the waning moon. In the *amānta* scheme the bright fortnight is the first half of the month, in the *pūrṇimānta* scheme it is the last; but in either scheme it covers the same space of time. Things are different with the dark fortnight; for the dark fortnight of an *amānta* month coincides with that of the succeeding month in the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, and the dark fortnight of a *pūrṇimānta* month coincides with that of the preceding month in the *amānta* scheme.

(e) Without regard to the sequence of the two fortnights, the name of the lunar month always depends on the new moon forming the true beginning of its bright fortnight; for the lunar month assumes the name of the solar month in which that new moon occurs. If two new moons occur within one solar month, there will be two lunar months of the same name: the proper one (*nija*) and the intercalated one (*adhika*). If no new moon occurs in a solar month,[18] there will be no lunar month of that name, and the month is considered expunged (*kṣaya*).

(f) Each fortnight is distinguished into fifteen lunar days (*tithi*). A lunar day is the time required by the moon to increase its distance westward from the sun by twelve degrees of the zodiac. As the true motions of the sun and moon vary in speed with their respective orbital positions, the lunar days are of unequal duration; they may be as short as 21 h. 34 m. 24 s. and as long as 26 h. 6 m. 24 s.[19]

(g) The lunar days of a fortnight are numbered from one to fifteen, either by figures or by ordinals, the latter of which take their feminine forms, *tithi* being understood. The fifteenth of the bright fortnight is also called the full-moon day (*paurṇamāsī*), the fifteenth of the dark fortnight — the new-

[18] This will be the case whenever an unusually short solar month coincides with an unusually long lunar month; for while the mean length of a solar month is greater by about nine-tenths of a day than that of a lunar month, the true length of a solar month — according to the Sūryasiddhānta — varies from 29 d. 7 h. 38 m. to 31 d. 15 h. 28 m. and that of a lunar month approximately from 29 d. 7 h. 20 m. to 29 d. 19 h. 30 m. Cf. R. SEWELL and Ś. B. DIKSHIT, *The Indian Calendar*, London, 1896, p. 25.

[19] Cf. SEWELL-DIKSHIT, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

moon day (*amāvāsī, amāvāsyā*), and the first of either half — the initial day (*pratipad, pratipadā*). The instants of full and new moon are the terminal points of the bright and dark fortnights.

(h) In civil reckoning, a period of seven days is used. These civil days (*vāra*) run from true sunrise to true sunrise and bear the names of the sun, the moon, and the five planets known to the ancient world: Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. They are linked in this order to the lunar days ending on them.

(i) It sometimes happens — on the average once in $63\,^{10}/_{11}$ lunar days — that two lunar days end on one civil day; in that case the second lunar day, which totally falls within the civil day, is held to be expunged (*kṣaya*) and skipped in numeration, and the civil day in question is numbered after the first lunar day ending on it. On the contrary, if a lunar day begins on one civil day, runs over the following, and ends on the next but one, the civil day on which no lunar day ends takes the same number as the previous lunar day, which is thus repeated (*adhika, dvitīya*).

5. In the light of what has been recapitulated here from H. JACOBI's masterly representation, it will be clear that *ūnarātra* or *ūnarātri* is one of the technical terms for a lunar day to be struck out from the almanacs. Commencing as it is after sunrise of one civil day and expiring before sunrise of the next, such a lunar day may indeed be described as "having an incomplete night"; for the missing final part is not counterbalanced by the final part of the previous night, as would be the case if the lunar day started before sunrise. Hence it follows that from the linguistic point of view *ūnarātri* is a substantivated possessive compound of feminine gender, with *tithi* to be added mentally as governing noun.

The oldest extant testimony to *ūnarātra/ūnarātri* is the Paitāmahasiddhānta, also constituting chapters 166–174 of the second book of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, which dates back as far as the early fifth century A.D.,[20] and where the word is met with five times in a computation of the Ahargaṇa, that is, the number of days having passed since the beginning of the Kaliyuga on Thursday, 18 February 3102 B.C., at midnight (IV [~ II 169] 1–3):

> *taṃ pṛthakkalpāvamahataṃ kalpacandradinair vibhajet* | *labdhaṃ gatonarātriḥ* |
> "This (number of lunar days), multiplied by the lost lunar days in a single Kalpa, one shall divide by the lunar days in a Kalpa. The quotient (is the number of) lost lunar days lapsed."

> *avamaśeṣasya* kalpena rātrer [read *kalponarātrair*] *bhāge hate eṣyonarātrakālaḥ* | *avamaśeṣa(m) kalpacandradivasebhyaḥ saṃśodhyāvaśeṣasya* kalponarātrena rātrer [read *kalponarātrair*] *bhāge hate eṣyonarātrapātakālaḥ* |

[20] Cf. PINGREE, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

"If one divides the remainder of the lost lunar days by the lost lunar days in a Kalpa, (the quotient is) the time (having passed since the beginning) of the lost lunar day (that was) to be sought. If one subtracts the remainder of the lost lunar days from the lunar days in a Kalpa, and divides the remainder by the lost lunar days in a Kalpa, (the result is) the time (yet to pass) till the end of the lost lunar day (that was) to be sought."

Another fairly old occurrence, to be assigned to the early sixth century A.D.,[21] is Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā XV 24:

adhimāsakonarātragrahadinatithidivasameṣacandrārkāḥ |
ayanartvṛkṣagatiniśāḥ samaṃ pravṛttā yugasyādau |

"The leap months, lost lunar days, (mean longitudes of the) planets, days, lunar days, (lords of the) days, (mean longitudes of) Aries, the moon, and the sun, courses, seasons, motions of the asterisms, and nights commence equally at the beginning of the Yuga."

Later references are, *inter alia*, Sūryasiddhānta I 40 and 50 (about A.D. 800) and Bhaṭṭotpala's Bṛhatsaṃhitāvivṛti II 5 (dated A.D. 967).[22]

The word most frequently employed at all stages of the "Greek" period for denoting a lunar day subject to omission is *avama* (also with an attached *°dina* or *°rātra*). Some less common synonyms, chiefly found by glancing through the Ahargaṇa chapters of various pertinent works, are (in chronological order): *tithipralaya* in Āryabhaṭa I's Āryabhaṭīya III 6 and Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā I 14, with which compare *pralayas tithīnām* in Bhāskara I's Mahābhāskarīya I 23; *tithipraṇāśa* and *hīnadivasa, hīnarātra*, or simply *hīna* in Bhāskara I's Mahābhāskarīya I 6 and I 25, 26, 30 respectively; *tithikṣaya* in Sūryasiddhānta I 36 and 50; *dinakṣaya* and *kṣayāha* in Bhāskara II's Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Grahagaṇita I 2.10, 2.13, 3.3 and I 5.3, 5.4 respectively. The expression *kṣayatithi*, prevailing in modern research (H. JACOBI, F. KIELHORN, *et al.*), appears to be a neologism.

6. With the lunisolar calendar fully developed by A.D. 380/81 and its application rapidly expanding in the sequel, it was only a matter of time that the benefits of the more advanced methods of determining dates were also received into the Buddhist canonical and non-canonical literature. When exactly this adaptation took place cannot be made out; but it is rather improbable that the antiquated Poṣadha table should have coexisted with the new system for many centuries.

The formal switch-over was a very easy process; it simply needed two minor steps to be realized: the cancellation of a single rule — that limiting to fourteen days the dark halves of Puṣya, Phālguna, Vaiśākha, Āṣāḍha, Bhādra-

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[21] Cf. PINGREE, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[22] Cf. PINGREE, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 and 74.

pada, and Kārttika — and the substitution of a few feminine endings for masculine or neuter ones.

On the foil of the foregoing remarks, all passages collected above from the Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins appear to have already been adjusted to the lunisolar calendar; for the fourteenth and fifteenth are invariably denoted in them by feminine ordinals. The only text still reflecting an earlier phase is the Karmavācanā formulary discovered at Gilgit; but the special regulation provided there for the months of Āṣāḍha etc. belongs to a lengthy interpolation (fol. 42r7–42v9) originating with a somewhat clumsy second hand.[23]

Since performing the Poṣadha ceremony on the fourteenth was regarded by the Mūlasarvāstivādins as exceptional and peculiar to heretics, the innovation must have been most welcome to them; for while the fifteenth was previously omitted as often as six times a year, it had now to be expunged once or twice a year at worst.[24]

7. It remains to examine the question of how far the interpretation proposed above is substantiated by the Kanjur version of the passages concerned, which belongs to the latter half of the eighth century.[25] The stereotyped words *gso-sbyoṅ bco-lṅa-pa de-ñid-la*[26] and *gso-sbyoṅ bco-lṅa-pa*[27], corresponding to *tad eva poṣadhe pañcadaśyām* and *poṣadhaḥ pāñcadaśikaḥ*, are unilluminating inasmuch as they reproduce the underlying Sanskrit text quite literally and gender is not differentiated in the Tibetan language except with natural persons. The situation proves to be more promising in the case of Poṣadhavastu 90.1–6, where *tshes* has been added as governing noun to the several numerals, which in turn take the form of cardinals (as is common in Tibetan dates):[28]

dge-sloṅ gñug-mar gnas-pa-dag-gi ni tshes bcva-lṅa [Lh *bco-lṅa-pa*] *yin-la* | *dge-sloṅ glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa ches ñuṅ-ba-dag-gi ni tshes bcu-bźi'am tshes gcig yin-na* | *glo-bur-du 'pṅs-pa-dag-gis gñug-mar gnas-pa ches maṅ-po-dag-gi*

[23] Cf. VON HINÜBER, *op.cit.*, pp. 103 and 125.

[24] According to L. D. S. PILLAI's conversion tables for A.D. 701–750 (*An Indian Ephemeris*, I, pt. 2, Madras, 1922), there were 30 deletions of a 15th lunar day in 50 years.

[25] One of the revisors named in the colophon is dPal-brtsegs of sKa, who flourished under King Khri-sroṅ lde'u-btsan (755–797). Cf. G. TUCCI, *Tibetan painted Scrolls*, II, Roma, 1949, p. 680, n. 41.

[26] The references in this and the following note are only to that part of the Poṣadhavastu (§§ 69.1.b–85.1.a) which is lost in Sanskrit and hence has been edited by Mrs. HU in Tibetan on the basis of the Lhasa xylograph. — §§ 71, 72.1, 76.1, 79.1–10, 81.1.a–9.c, 82.1.a–9.c, 83.1.a–9.c, 85.1.a.

[27] §§ 69.1.b, 73.2, 74.4–5, 76.1, 79.3–8.

[28] Peking xylograph [P], 'Dul-ba section, vol. 92 (*khe*), fol. 189b8–190a5 [= Otani reprint, vol. 41, p. 78]; collated with Lhasa xylograph [Lh], 'Dul-ba section, vol. 1 (*ka*), fol. 279a4–279b5. — On P's spelling *bcva-lṅa* for *bco-lṅa* see W. SIMON, "Tibetan 'fifteen' and 'eighteen'", *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, p. 472*sqq*.

rjes-su 'jug-par bya'o ‖ *dge-sloṅ gñug-mar gnas-pa-dag-gi ni tshes bcva-lṅa* [Lh *bco-lṅa-pa*] *yin-la* 〈|〉 *dge-sloṅ glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa mñam-pa-dag-gi ni tshes bcu-bźi'am tshes gcig yin-na* | *glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa-dag-gis ni* [Lh om.] *gñug-mar gnas-pa mñam-pa-dag-gi rjes-su 'jug-par bya'o* ‖ *dge-sloṅ gñug-mar gnas-pa* [*ches ñuṅ-ba*]*-dag-gi ni tshes bcva-lṅa* [Lh *bco-lṅa-pa*] *yin-la* | *dge-sloṅ glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa ches maṅ-po-dag-gi ni tshes bcu-bźi'am tshes gcig yin-na* | *gñug-mar gnas-pa-dag-gis glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa ches maṅ-po-dag-gi rjes-su 'jug-par bya'o* ‖ *dge-sloṅ glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa-dag-gi ni tshes bcva-lṅa* [Lh *bco-lṅa-pa*] *yin-la* 〈|〉 *dge-sloṅ gñug-mar gnas-pa ches ñuṅ-ba-dag-gi ni* [P om.] *tshes bcu-bźi'am tshes gcig yin-na* | *gñug-mar gnas-pa-dag-gis glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa ches maṅ-po-dag-gi rjes-su 'jug-par bya'o* ‖ *dge-sloṅ glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa-dag-gi* [Lh *'oṅs-pa de-dag-gi*] *ni tshes bcva-lṅa* [Lh *bco-lṅa-pa*] *yin-la* 〈|〉 *dge-sloṅ gñug-mar gnas-pa mñam-pa-dag-gi ni tshes bcu-bźi'am tshes gcig yin-na* | *glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa-dag-gis gñug-mar gnas-pa mñam-pa-dag-gi rjes-su 'jug-par bya'o* ‖ *dge-sloṅ glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa-dag-gi ni tshes bcva-lṅa* [Lh *bco-lṅa*] *yin-la* | *dge-sloṅ gñug-mar gnas-pa ches maṅ-po-dag-gi ni tshes bcu-bźi'am tshes gcig yin-na* | *glo-bur-du 'oṅs-pa-dag-gis gñug-mar gnas-pa ches maṅ-po-dag-gi rjes-su 'jug-par bya'o* ‖

The same technique has been adopted in the Pravrajyāvastu (p. 307.12–17):

mu-stegs-can-rnams-kyi gso-sbyoṅ ni bcu-bźi-pa yin-la | *dge-sloṅ-rnams-kyi gso-sbyoṅ ni bco-lṅa-pa yin-pas* | *de tshes bcu-bźi-la ni mu-stegs-can-rnams-kyi gso-sbyoṅ ñams-su myoṅ-bar byed* | *tshes bco-lṅa-la ni dge-sloṅ-rnams-kyi'o* ‖ *ji-tsam dus gźan-źig-na źag bri-bar gyur-nas* | *dge-sloṅ-rnams-kyi gso-sbyoṅ bcu-bźi-pa-la bab-pa daṅ* | ...

The term *ūnarātrī* is metaphrased here by *źag bri-ba*, with *źag* — properly "day" — standing for *rātri* "night" as in a few parallel instances.[29]

The meaning of *tshes* given in modern dictionaries is usually incorrect; for the word does not signify a "day of the month or date",[30] that is, a civil day, but rather a lunar day, being one of the thirty portions of unequal length into which a synodic month is broken down by Tibetan astronomers after the model of the Indian *tithi* concept.[31]

That *tshes* translates or implies *tithi* appears with certainty from the copyist's colophon to a Nepalese manuscript of Śrīdharasena's Viśvalocana,

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[29] Mahāvyutpatti 8413: *źag bdun-na 'bral-ba* – *saptarātravipravāsa* "absence (from home) for seven nights"; Mahāvyutpatti 9121: *ñin-źag-gi(s) ruṅ-ba* – *ahorātrakalpa* "(water) suitable (for drinking) by (being kept for) a day and night (only)"; Kāśyapaparivarta 83: *btsun-mo dam-pa'i mnal-du gźon-nu ... chags-nas źag bdun lon-te* "when seven nights have elapsed since a prince ... was conceived in the womb of the principal queen" – *agramahiṣyā kukṣe saptarātropapannaḥ kumāraś* ... "a prince conceived seven nights before in the womb of the principal queen".

[30] Thus, e.g., S. C. DAS, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit synonyms*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 1032. The Sanskrit synonyms mentioned there are *ahan* and *tithi*.

[31] Cf. D. SCHUH, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 66 (where "22nd" on line 15 is a misprint for "12th").

which has by a lucky chance been included in the Tanjur rendering of this lexicon:[32]

> *Bal-po'i lo sum-brgya brgyad-cu rtsa gcig-pas | dbo'i zla-ba'i nag-pa'i tshes brgyad gza' phur-bu'i ñin | dpal Rol-pa'i groṅ | Gau-ta-ma lhag-par gnas-pa'i gtsug-lag-khaṅ chen-por || paṇḍi-ta gnas-brtan dpal rigs-mchog dPal || ye-śes-kyis 'drir bcug-pa'i sde-tshan rdzogs-so |*
>
> "In the Nepalese year 381, on the eighth dark lunar day of the month Phālguna, on the planet Jupiter's day, the(se) chapters, caused to be transcribed at Śrī Lalitapattana in the Gautamādhiṣṭhāna Mahāvihāra by Paṇḍita Sthavira Śrīkulavara Śrījñāna, have been completed."

The date is equivalent to Thursday, 24 February 1261.

8. To sum up, one can say the following: The Mūlasarvāstivādins, like the Theravādins, used to hold the fortnightly Poṣadha ceremony on the fifteenth, switching to the fourteenth only when the exigencies of the calendar rendered it unavoidable. In doing so, however, the Mūlasarvāstivādins based themselves on the novel lunisolar calendar gradually gaining ground in India from the fourth century A.D. onwards, while the Theravādins rather stuck to the time-honoured lunar calendar introduced in the early days of Buddhism by way of contrast to the Vedic sacrificial calendar. In this manner, the Mūlasarvāstivādins were able to differentiate themselves once again from the Theravādins — and possibly also from other Hīnayāna schools, which detail would have to be the subject of further investigation.

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[32] Peking Tanjur, mDo section, vol. 133 (*po*), fol. 266a5–7 [= Otani reprint, vol. 149, p. 126]. Cf. C. VOGEL, *Indian Lexicography*, Wiesbaden, 1979, p. 349, n. 183.

Buddhist Poṣadha (Uposatha) Calendar

Mūlasarvāstivāda School				Theravāda School		
No.	Month	Fort-night	Poṣadha day	Season	Fortnight	Uposatha day
1	Mārgaśīrṣa	dark	15	winter	1	15
		bright	15		2	15
2	Puṣya	dark	14		3	14
		bright	15		4	15
3	Māgha	dark	15		5	15
		bright	15		6	15
4	Phālguna	dark	14		7	14
		bright	15		8	15
5	Caitra	dark	15	summer	1	15
		bright	15		2	15
6	Vaiśākha	dark	14		3	14
		bright	15		4	15
7	Jyeṣṭha	dark	15		5	15
		bright	15		6	15
8	Āṣāḍha	dark	14		7	14
		bright	15		8	15
9	Śrāvaṇa	dark	15	rains	1	15
		bright	15		2	15
10	Bhādrapada	dark	14		3	14
		bright	15		4	15
11	Āśvayuja	dark	15		5	15
		bright	15		6	15
12	Kārttika	dark	14		7	14
		bright	15		8	15

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Vinayapiṭaka (OLDENBERG, London-Edinburgh, 1879–83).
Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (Bambaī, s. 1969 [1912/13]).

Sigla Used

BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
EI	Epigraphia Indica
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
MW	Monier-Williams
PW	Petersburger Wörterbuch (large edition)
pw	Petersburger Wörterbuch (small edition)
SWTF	Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna: A Reconsideration of the *yāna* Affiliation of An Shigao and His School[1]

BANGWEI WANG, Beijing

People familiar with the early history of Chinese Buddhism all know the important role An Shigao played and his pioneering contribution in rendering the Buddhist texts into Chinese at about the middle of the second century. He and his school for a long time are generally regarded by most scholars as representative of the Hīnayāna or, at least, being under strong Hīnayāna influence. The main reason for this is that the texts he and his collaborators translated all belong to the Hīnayāna, or, in another term, the Śrāvakayāna.[2] However, the conclusion, being drawn mainly from a simple judgment of the characteristics of the texts which An Shigao translated, is very dubious. This paper, while re-examining the relevant materials, is intended to propose a not improbable possibility of the yāna affiliation of this great master and bis school. With this it is hoped to throw some light not only on the issues concerning An Shigao but also on other questions in the history of Buddhism.[3]

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[1] Originally this paper was written for a workshop entitled "The works of An Shigao" held from the 19th to the 20th December 1996 at Leiden, Holland, but afterwards revised in some points. For its writing I have to express my sincere thanks to Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Paul Harrison. Without the suggestion of the former and the invitation to the workshop from the latter it would not have reached its present state. Here I would like to present it to Professor Heinz BECHERT as a token of my gratitude for bis kindness and the help he gave me in my academic research.

[2] Cf. Erik ZÜRCHER, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, Leiden, 1972, p. 33. This is a prevailing opinion, of which quite a number of examples can be found, at band, I may mention, e.g., REN Jiyu et al., *Zhongguo fojiao shi*, Vol. 1, Beijing, 1981, pp. 228 ff.

[3] Recently, Antonino FORTE raises the issue in his newly published book *The hostage An Shigao and his offsprings: An Iranian family in China*, Kyoto, 1995, questioning if An Shigao belongs to the Hīnayāna tradition. For some time I held views similar to those of FORTE. I am grateful to Prof. FORTE for sending me a complimentary copy of his book, which I unfortunately did not bring with me to Germany, thus being unable at present to consult it. Some contents of this paper may have been discussed by FORTE, but I think more approaches in detail in related respect will be of help.

Meaning of the appellations pusa *and* kaishi[4]

To start the discussion, we had better reexamine the account concerning An Shigao in the earliest literature which we possess today.

The first record we know of is from *Shami shihui zhangju xu* or *Preface to the Shami shihui zhangju*, composed by Yan Futiao.[5] As one of the direct disciples and collaborators of An Shigao, Yan's account can be thought of as contemporary and authentic data of the time of An Shigao. In his preface Yan says:

> "A *pusa* named Shigao hails from Anxi (Arsacid Persia) ..."[6]

The second earliest account is from *Anban shouyi jing xu*, the *Preface to the Anban shouyi jing*, a text translated by An Shigao. The preface was composed by Kang Senghui, a famous Buddhist monk with Sogdian origin but grown up in China, in which it is said as follows:

> "A *pusa* named An Qing, with the *zi* Shigao, who is the son of the King of Anxi with his Queen ..."[7]

The third is from *Yin chi ru jing xu*, the *Preface to the Yin chi ru jing*, composed by a certain *Mi*, of whom though we do not know the family name, we are sure that he lived at least at or before the middle of the third century. Judging from the contents of the preface, *Mi* is,.and he considers himself as well, a follower or disciple of An Shigao. In the preface, *Mi* says as follows:

> "The Duke An Shigao is a *Pujian pusa*. He renounced the throne ..."[8]

The fourth is from another *Anban shouyi jing xu*, but composed slightly later. The author of it is Xie Fu, a scholar of the Eastern Jin time (317–420).[9]

> "In the late Han time, there was a *kaishi* who renounced the family. His name is An Qing, with the *zi* of Shigao. He was the prince of the King of Anxi ..."[10]

Among other early sources, for instance, the accounts in Dao'an's two prefaces, the *Yin chi ru jing xu*, and the *Dao di jing xu*, are verbally the same.[11]

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[4] Both are Chinese translations of the term Bodhisattva. To my memory FORTE has also discussed these two appellations in his book, and I will go further.

[5] Here I use Yan's name Futiao rather than Fotiao though both are applicable.

[6] T 55, No. 2145, 69c.

[7] *Ibid.*, 43b, also T 15, No. 602, 163b.

[8] T 33, No. 1694, 9a. *Pujian pusa*, which also can be written as *Puxian pusa*, is the early translation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

[9] See Xie Fu's biography in *Jin shu*, the *History of the Jin Dynasty*, *juan* 94, Zhonghua ed., Beijing, 1974, Fasc. 8, pp. 2456–2457. The biography does not provide the exact date of Xie's life, but from other contemporary sources we can date him to the second half of the fourth century, around the reign (373–396) of the Emperor Xiaowu.

[10] T 55, No. 2145, 44b.

[11] *Ibid.*, 44c, 46b, 69b.

What do the appellations *pusa* and *kaishi* mean here for An Shigao? The simplest explanation might be that they are only appellations for a Buddhist master, being used without any specialized implication. But the fact is that, if we examine other accounts of this period, they are applicable only to the Mahāyāna masters. The examples can be found also in the records and prefaces or postfaces to the Buddhist texts of this time. In the *Postface to Daoxing jing (Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra)* and the *Record concerning the Banzhousanmei jing (Pratyutpannabuddhasammukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra)*, both with anonymous origin but belonging to the earliest Buddhist literature in China, Zhu Shuofo has been mentioned as a *pusa* from India, and Zhi Loujiachen (Lokakṣema) a *pusa* from Yuezhi.[12] Both of them are contemporaries of An Shigao. In Zhi Mingdu's *He shoulengyan jing ji*, the *Record concerning the new compilation of the Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*, and in an anonymous *Xuzhen tianzi jing ji*, Dharmarakṣa, the most well-known Buddhist translator in the Western Jin period (265-316), is called the *pusa* from Dunhuang or from India.[13] All these three are among the most prominent Mahāyāna masters of this time.

However, the two appellations, *pusa* and *kaishi*, are not indiscriminately applied to every Buddhist master from the west, even though he was prominent for his merits or other achievements. The Chinese Buddhist scholars of this time seem to have been quite conscious in what circumstance and to whom these appellations can be conferred. Moreover, from those accounts relating to the Buddhist translations we find some examples relevant to our topic. Dao'an, while mentioning An Shigao with the title of *kaishi* in his *Preface to the Yin chi ru jing*, refers to the appellation *yingzhen*, that is, the Arhat, and he obviously thinks that the level of the latter is lower than the former on their ways to ultimate spiritual liberation.[14] And the same is the case with his *Preface to the Dao di jing*.[15] In his other works Dao'an sometimes used the appellation *luohan*, another Chinese translation or transliteration of Arhat which became much better known later, but still with a similar implication.[16]

Huiyuan, the most excellent disciple of Dao'an, wrote with the same understanding as his teacher. In his *Lushan chu xiuxing fangbian chan jing tongxu*, he refers to Ānanda, Madhyāntika and Śaṇavāsin as the "three *ying-*

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[12] *Ibid.*, 47c, 48c.

[13] *Ibid.*, 49b, 48b. For the appellation *pusa* of Dharmarakṣa, see also another anonymous work, the *Puyao jing ji* or *Record concerning the Lalitavistara*, *ibid.*, 48b-c.

[14] *Ibid.*, 44b-45a.

[15] *Ibid.*, 69a-b.

[16] For instance, he mentions three Arhats in India or in central Asia of his time, each of them having composed a work to explain the Abhidharmapiṭaka. One of these works had been chosen to be translated into Chinese. See Dao'an's *Piposha xu* (Preface to the Vibhāṣā), *ibid.*, 73b.

zhen", but says Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena are of the Mahāyāna.[17] On another occasion he tells us how a Hīnayāna text was composed by a *yingzhen* called Shanxian but afterwards revised by a Mahāyāna upāsaka whose name is Saṃghasenā.[18]

As for the implication of the appellation *kaishi*, we have to turn to the *Fajing jing (Ugradattaparipṛcchā)*, a text translated by An Xuan and Yan Futiao, and the *Da mingdu jing (Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra)* by Zhi Qian.[19] The frequent appearance of *kaishi* in both texts shows how closely this appellation is related to the Mahāyāna.[20] It looks as if the Chinese Buddhist writers of this time clearly knew the meaning of these appellations.[21]

The master and his followers: two yānas?

All the disciples or students or collaborators of An Shigao, whoever they were, or how much we know of their lives, are followers of the Mahāyāna. Apart from the above-mentioned names, Yan Futiao, Kang Senghui and *Mi*, there are some others, e.g., Chen Hui from Kuaiji, Pi Ye from Yinchuan and Han Lin from Nanyang. They can be all included in this category. In fact it is quite difficult to conceive that a Hīnayānist master, if An Shigao was one, could have gathered around himself so many disciples who unanimously accepted Mahāyāna doctrine.

As a matter of fact it must be noticed that all these people, being of the Mahāyāna, always learned or explained the texts translated by An Shigao from a Mahāyāna point of view, though they sometimes are regarded as belonging to the Hīnayāna tradition by modern scholars. The examples are easily found in the commentaries, prefaces or postfaces to their master's works.

We look first at An Xuan and Yan Futiao. No one will doubt their identity as believers of the Mahāyāna because they co-produced the first Chinese translation of the Mahāyāna *Fajing jing*.[22]

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[17] *Ibid.*, 65b–66b.

[18] The *Preface to the Sanfa du*, *ibid.*, 73a.

[19] In the *Da mingdu jing*, the word *kaishi* is written in a slightly different way.

[20] See T 12, No. 323 and T 8, No. 225.

[21] On another occasion I have drawn the attention of scholars to these two appellations when they are applied by Chinese Buddhist writers in connection with two yānas; cf. my paper "Buddhist nikāyas through ancient Chinese eyes", *Untersuchungungen zur Buddhistischen Literatur*, ed. Heinz BECHERT, Göttingen, 1994, p. 193, note 19.

[22] The fact has drawn the attention of ZÜRCHER. He describes this as it "is somewhat surprising because this sūtra, a summary account of the career of a Bodhisattva, wholly belongs to the Mahāyāna. In spite of this, Yen Fo-t'iao regarded himself as a disciple of An Shih-kao ..." , *op.cit.*, p. 34. Yan Futiao actually did not feel any difficulty or embarrassment while dealing with these two kinds of texts.

Then we turn to Kang Senghui. In his *Preface to the Anban shouyi jing*, at the very beginning, as the first sentence in the first line, he writes as follows:

> "What *Anban (shouyi jing)* is, the Mahāyāna doctrine proclaimed by various Buddhas, that is to save all sentients from the flowing current. ... None of the *Dashi* and *Shangren*, as well as of the *Six Doubles* and *Twelve Persons*, do not behave according to the instructions of it ... Therefore, to show the real and righteous *Six du (pāramitā)*, (the Bodhisattva An Shigao) translated the secret and profound text of the *Anban (shouyi jing)* ..."[23]

Nothing can be more clearer than this to show what Kang Senghui thinks of the text and his master.

Another example is *Yin chi ru jing zhu*, the *Commentary on the Yin chi ru jing*. Although we do not know much about its origin and author, it belongs to the earliest works of its kind. Probably by that *Mi* as well, it is undoubtedly one of the most important commentary works to the *Yin chi ru jing*, because its commentator provides us with much information about the state of Chinese Buddhism at this early stage.[24] Through the contents we see definitely a Mahāyāna colour, or, more exactly speaking, a Mahāyāna stand. Trying to explain the doctrine of the *Yin chi ru jing*, the author spares no effort in citing various Mahāyāna texts. The list of them, at least, includes the following:

> The *Da mingdu jing*, the *Laomu jing*, the *Huiyin jing*, the *Fajing jing*, the *Weimojie jing*, i.e., the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Cunzhen jing*, i.e., the *Cunzhentuoluo jing*, and the *Liao ben jing*, i.e., the *Liao ben sheng shi jing*.[25]

Taking into consideration the comparatively limited number of the translated Mahāyāna texts at the time, we must say that the wide range of these texts on which the commentary relies is not of insignificance.[26]

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[23] See above note 7.

[24] See above note 8. In Chinese Tripiṭakas the work was generally attributed to Chen Hui. This attribution is doubted by modern scholars. Most of them think it was composed by *Mi*, the same author of the preface to it. It looks of course not improbable. Very often the commentator mentions that "the master says", and ZÜRCHER says this may refer to Kang Senghui. But I think in the context it should refer to An Shigao. One of the texts the commentator cited is the *Anban jie*, which ZÜRCHER also is inclined to identify with the commentary work mentioned by Kang Senghui in his *Preface to the Anban shouyi jing*. See ZÜRCHER, *op. cit.*, p. 54. I agree with ZÜRCHER on this point. The author of the *Anban jie* is just Chen Hui, because Kang Senghui tells us that when he studied under his three masters, viz., Han lin, Pi Ye and Chen Hui, Chen Hui composed a commentory work on the *Anban shouyi jing*, with Senghui as his assistant.

[25] See T 33, No. 1694, for the *Da mingdu jing*, 10b, 13b, 21c; for the *Laomu jing*, 10b; for the *Huiyin jing*, 11b, 11c, 12b, 13b; for the *Fajing jing*, 11c, 19a; for the *Weimojie jing*, 15a; for the *Cunzhenjing*, 13a; for the *Liao benjing*, 21a; There are some others of which I have not yet been able to determine the identities.

[26] This has also come into the eyes of ZÜCHER. See his above-mentioned book, p. 54.

Here it is not necessary to mention the works by Dao'an and the others. All Chinese Buddhist scholars or writers in this time understood An Shigao and his texts in a similar way as above. These people, while alleging themselves as An Shigao's disciples or followers, never thought of their master as of a Hīnayānin.

Other clues

Another text which An Shigao had translated may provide more clue for our arguments.

This text is the *Wushi jiaoji jing*. It consists of two *juans*. In Sengyou's catalogue, it is also called *Mingdu wushi jiaoji jing*. The second title looks very likely as having some Mahāyāna flavour. To my knowledge among the scholars interested in An Shigao no one has hitherto paid much attention to this text, perhaps because they think it has been lost, or because they doubt that it is a work of An Shigao?[27] Even if it was so, already from the word *mingdu* in its title on the lists of Dao'an and Sengyou, we may detect a possibility of its Mahāyāna identity.[28] But this is a fact, not only a possibility. In the Chinese Buddhist canon, in the voluminous Mahāyāna compilation of *Do fangdeng daji jing (Mahāvaipulyamahāsannipātasūtra)*, we find this text, though with a different title *Shifang pusa pin*, being numbered as the fifty-ninth and sixtieth *juans* at the ending part of it. For some reason it had been erroneously attributed to Narendrayaśas, an Indian Buddhist master who arrived in China in the seventh year of Tianbao (556), during the Gao Qi period, and passed away in the ninth year of Kaihuang (589) of the Sui period.[29] The reason and the process of how the text had been compiled into the *Da fangdeng daji jing* can be found in Fei Changfang's *Lidai sanbao ji (The historical account of the three jewels)*, a catalogue work of the Sui.[30] The text is undoubtedly of Mahāyāna origin, even though some people may

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[27] For instance, it does not appear in the list of ZÜRCHER, *op.cit.*, p. 331, note 82.

[28] *Mingdu*, as the earliest translation of the word *prajñāpāramitā*, is typical for the Mahāyāna literature during this period. Cf. Zhi Qian's famous translation *Da mingdu jing*, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, T 8, No. 225 and Kang Senghui's *Liudu ji jing*, T 3, No. 152. Cf. also ZÜRCHER's comments, *op.cit.*, p. 336, note 140.

[29] About Narendrayaśas, see T 49, No. 2034, 102c–103b, and his biography in T 50, No. 2060, 432a–433b.

[30] It had been done by Sengjiu, a Buddhist monk in the Sui period (581–618). See Fei Changfang's account, T 49, No. 2034, pp. 103a–b. It looks likely that at the very beginning the text had not yet been attributed to Narendrayaśas. The mistake occurred later, but not later than the Northern Song, when the first great project of printing a complete set of the Chinese Tripiṭaka started. About the *Mingdu wushi jiaoji jing* itself, I hope to find another chance to discuss it in more detail.

ask if it is a "pure Mahāyāna" text. Nevertheless, it is a text translated by An Shigao.

One may question how we are able to decide with certainty on its attribution to An Shigao. After a prelimary examination, however, I believe it truly derives from the hands of An Shigao. My judgment is mainly based on the following points:

(i) Both Dao'an and Sengyou refer to the text in their catalogues, as well as the other Chinese Buddhist cataloguers thereafter. All of them saw it when they edited their catalogues. When it became necessary to classify all Buddhist texts according to the two yāna categories, they did not hesitate to put it under that of the Mahāyāna.[31]

(ii) About how it lost its own identity and was absorbed into the *Da fangdeng daji jing*, Fei Changfang's book and Daoxuan and Zhisheng's catalogues provide us with an explicit and convincible account.[32]

(iii) The contents and the technical terms in the text look very old. They form in fact a kind of "An Shigao style", which can not be produced by Narendrayaśas or any other of the late translators.[33]

Another example is the well-known text *Dao di jing (Yogācārabhūmi)*, also called the *Xiuxing dao di jing*.[34] It is said to be composed by Saṃgharakṣa, a Buddhist master of whom we do not have much knowledge. During a certain period of time the text became fairly popular among Chinese Buddhists. An Shigao's translation is the first one, and we have at least two others. Judging only by the contents of An Shigao's version, it may be said to belong to the Hīnayāna tradition. But if we turn to the version attributed to Dharmarakṣa as we have it today, we find at its end a text consisting of three *pins* or one *juan* with much Mahāyāna flavour.[35] Although it is impossible today to trace the original on which An Shigao's version is based, it

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[31] See, for instance, the *Zhongjing mulu* compiled by Fajing et al., and another *Zhongjing mulu* by Yancong. Both are works of the Sui time (581-618), T 55, No. 2146, 115b; No. 2147, 151b. The same holds for Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 55, No. 2154, 602c.

[32] Although we have to be careful when we deal with material from Fei Changfang's *Lidai sanbao ji*, for this paragraph about the *Da fangdeng daji jing* I trust Fei's account, and Daoxuan's as well.

[33] See, for instance, 394b, 396a, 396c, 397b, 398b, 400c, 401a, 406b, 407a. Still, as other works of the early period, particurlarly those of An Shigao, the text needs a detailed study which may furnish valuable information for our present topic.

[34] T 15, No. 607.

[35] See T 15, No. 606, particularly the last *juan*. These three *pins* seem to be added to the original text of *Xiuxing daodi jing* at quite an early time, probably somewhere in the fourth century. Cf. P. DEMIÉVILLE, "La *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṃgharakṣa", *BEFEO* 44 (1954), particularly pp. 351-363. But still it is not clear where this part of the text was from and how it had been attached to the "original or main body" of *Xiuxing daodi jing*. The titles of these three *pins* are: (i) *Dizi sanpin xiuxing pin*, the *Chapter of the cultivation of three kinds of disciples*, (ii) *Yuanjue pin*, the *Chapter of the Śrāvakas*, and (iii) *Pusa pin*, the *Chapter of the Bodhisattvas*.

shows that the text of the *Xiuxing dao di jing* is not always considered as of Hīnayāna making and so easy to be "contaminated" by the Mahāyāna.[36]

Lastly, I may mention the *Shisi yi jing* or, the *Sūtra of the fourteen thoughts*, in the list of Sengyou. Sengyou was unable to see it while he edited the catalogue. He says, however, that it has another title *Pusa shisi yi jing*, i. e. the *Sūtra of the fourteen thoughts of a Bodhisattva*.[37] Similar as above, it could possibly be a text with some Mahāyāna elements.

Conclusion

Among those scholars interested in An Shigao, obviously more are concerned with the question to which nikāya he is affiliated than with the question to which yāna he belongs. But this does not mean that the approach to the latter is a thing unworthy of doing. To clarify this issue will definitely help us towards a better understanding of the historical situation and the context in which An Shigao and his group once acted. From the very beginning the Chinese Buddhists, particularly those Buddhist scholars, although still trying to learn or study various Buddhist theories from the west, basically accepted or favoured only Mahāyāna Buddhism. In this sense, and with the other evidences mentioned above as well, it is difficult to say that An Shigao and his school belonged to the Hīnayāna tradition.

Of no less importance for this matter is the evaluation of the texts. In this respect An Shigao and his works are of considerable significance. Even if we can put the major part of his works into the so-called Hīnayāna category, we are still not able to say with certainty that he and his school belong to the Hīnayāna tradition. In its process of spreading from the west to the east, there were many Buddhist masters, in ancient China and in the west as well, who worked both on Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna literatures. Not in all cases is it possible to draw a conclusion easily with one or two "evidences" from a few texts.[38] On many occasions these evidences are not enough, and some-

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[36] Significant to us is the fact that for Chinese Buddhists almost from the beginning the text was not always considered as belonging to the Hīnayāna. Another thing not without interest is that another version of the *Xiuxing dao di jing*, the *Xiao dao di jing*, has been attributed to Zhi Yao. Zhi Yao, an Indo-Scythian Buddhist monk contemporary with An Shigao, is unanimously considered as a Mahāyāna master. Although the attribution has to be reexamined, the text looks very old indeed. See T 15, No. 608.

[37] See T 55, No. 2145, p. 6a.

[38] Knowing this is particurlarly important for the scholars of Buddhist history. The Chinese Buddhist school, *Lüzong* (*Lü-tsung/Ritsu*), is ambiguously ranked among those of "the earliest schools", but excluded from "the Mahāyāna schools", in an article on "The Buddha and Buddhism", by Giuseppe TUCCI et al. (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., Chicago, 1985, vol. 15, pp. 268, 278), probably because the authors think that this school is based on a vinaya text, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, which is generally said to belong to the early tradition.

times they may lead to an incorrect conclusion. We must remember that An Shigao, and his contemporaries as well, lived at a time when Buddhism was just undertaking transition from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna. From time to time new doctrines and new texts appeared, but this does not mean it always brought about the disappearance of the old ones. For the Buddhists of that time, most of the old Hīnayāna texts were clearly still in use as tools to learn the primary or basic teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha. Thus those great masters did never hesitate to devote their energy on translating the so-called Hīnayāna texts once they thought it was necessary or the texts were of importance.[39] And on the other hand, the doctrines of the Mahāyāna, as they did not absolutely reject all heritage of the Hīnayāna, crept, in various ways, more or less, into the old texts.[40] This, in my opinion, is one of the reasons why in traditional Hīnayāna texts sometimes some Mahāyāna elements exist, a phenomenon which since long has been noticed by scholars. In this sense, the research, either on the historical background of An Shigao and his school or on their works, will undoubtedly help us in all related academic fields.

This, of course, is not correct. Even among some scholars specialized in Chinese Buddhist studies, a similar misunderstanding prevails. For example, Buddhayaśas, the translator of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* in the early fifth century, is sometimes considered as a Hīnayānin, just because the texts he translated belong to the Hīnayāna (see REN Jiyu et al.: *Zhongguo fojiao shi*, vol 2, Beijing, 1985, p. 259). In fact it is not unusual that masters in ancient China, although they worked more on the texts of Hīnayāna than on those of the Mahāyāna, are still followers of the latter. See the second chapter of my introdution to the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiaozhu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995, pp. 66–88.

[39] Apart from An Shigao and his contemporary colleagues, I may mention Xuanzang of the Tang. As one of the greatest Mahāyāna masters in China, he worked on texts of both yānas.

[40] Examples can be found both in the āgamas and in the vinayas of northern Buddhism.

German Scholarship on South-East Asia: A Bio-bibliographical Survey

RUSSELL WEBB, London

In a volume honouring the doyen of German scholars of Early Buddhism, it is appropriate to concentrate our attention on one of his specialised fields of interest, that of Sri Lanka and mainland South-East Asia. We shall recall the pioneer achievements of both predecessors and contemporary colleagues.

Historically, and outside the sphere of transmitted legends and folktales, it would appear that the first recorded mention of the Buddha is included in Johann ZEDLER, *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste:* 'Sommonokhodom [Thai for Samana Gotama] is the name of an idol which is nowadays being worshipped by the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Siam. The Talapoins [bhikkhus] have strange notions about him; they say that his soul first migrated through many and varied bodies, during which time he acquired perfect knowledge of Heaven and Earth, of Paradise, Hell and the greatest mysteries of nature, whereupon he became divine'.[1]

The earliest published work on Pāli Buddhism is ADLER's translation of an Upaṃsampadā Kammavācā (Vinaya) text from Burma, "Einweihungsformular zum zweiten Grad der Bomanischen Mönche in Ava. Aus der heiligen Sprache der Bomanen"[2].

An initial expression of appreciation of (Theravāda) Buddhism emanated from the philosopher, Immanuel KANT (1724-1804), who lectured at Königsberg [Kaliningrad] University. Drawing a sympathetic portrait of the Burmese monks be says: 'The Talapoins of Pegu are praised as the world's kindliest men. They live on the food which they beg at the houses and give to the poor what they do not need for themselves. They do good to all living beings without making any discrimination of religion. They think that all religions are good which make men good and amiable'[3]. Despite the lack of original texts, presumably from travellers' accounts and missionary reports he was able

[1] Vol. 38, Col. 717-8, Leipzig and Halle, 1735. Translated by Walter LEIFER in *India and the Germans. 500 Years of Indo-German Contacts*, Bombay, 2nd ed., 1977, p. 92.

[2] *Eggers Deutsches gemeinnütziges Magazin* I, Leipzig, 1787.

[3] Translated by Helmuth von GLASENAPP in "The Influence of Buddhist Philosophy in East and West", *The Maha Bodhi* 65, Calcutta, 1957, repr. in *Buddhism and Comparative Religion*, Kandy, 1967, pp. 10-11.

to understand some of the salient teachings of Buddhism and expressed adherence to the concept of rebecoming[4].

An early German traveller to Asia was Johann Jakob MERKLEIN who, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, visited Java, Siam, China, Korea and Japan. He recorded his experiences in Dutch (Nuremberg, 1663, repr. 1672) which were translated into German under the title *Reise nach Java, Vorder- und Hinter-Indien, China und Japan, 1644–53* (The Hague, 1930, repr. as *Reise nach Ostasien*, 1644-53, Munich, 1985).

Another employee of this influential trade association was its onetime Medical Officer, Engelbert KÄMPFER (1651–1716), to whom we owe one of the earliest firsthand accounts of Buddhism in Japan. However, he also visited Siam as is clearly indicated by the title of his seminal work, *De beschryving van Japan ... eenes van het koningryk Siam* (Amsterdam, 1729), *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan* (2 vols, Lemgo, 1777–9, Stuttgart, 1964 and Tokyo, 1980; enlarged ed., 3 vols, Berlin-Heidelberg, 1980–3), *The History of Japan* (2 vols, London, 1728, 1977) – expanded to include ... *a description of the kingdom of Siam* (tr. from German, 3 vols, Glasgow, 1906, repr. 1971)[5].

The first noteworthy German explorer of South-East Asia was the ethnologist (Wilhelm) Adolf BASTIAN (1826-1905). During the years 1861–3 he travelled throughout the Mekong delta region, visiting Burma[6], Cambodia and Siam. He recorded his experiences in a series of volumes entitled *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens* (I-II Leipzig, 1866, III–VI Jena, 1867–71). Apparently impressed by the indigenous religion, he subsequently wrote on *Die Weltauffassung der Buddhisten* (Berlin, 1870), *Der Buddhismus in seiner Psychologie* (Berlin, 1882), *Religionsphilosophische Probleme auf dem Forschungsfelde*

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[4] Kant's most pertinent writings are contained in Wilhelm WEISCHEDEL's edition of his collected *Werke* (6 vols, Darmstadt-Frankfurt): IV. *Schriften zur Ethik und Religionsphilosophie* (repr. 1975). Otherwise, relevant secondary materials include R. C. ADHICARY, "Buddhism and Kant", *The Maha Bodhi* 48, 1940 (this author's synopsis of subsequent lectures failed to appear in print); Bhikkhu Dhammapāla (H. G. A. VAN ZEYST), "The Buddha and Kant", *The Buddhist* XXIX, 3–4, YMBA, Colombo, 1958; H. v. GLASENAPP, *Kant und die Religionen des Ostens*, Königsberg, 1944, repr. Kitzingen, Würzburg, 1954, "Kant und der Buddhismus", *Indische Welt* II, Munich, 1952 and "Indien in der Gedankenwelt deutscher Philosophen von Kant bis Jaspers", *Indologen-Tagung 1959*, Göttingen, 1960; Georg GRIMM, "Kant und Buddha", *Buddhistischer Weltspiegel* V, Munich, 1921–2; W. S. LILLY, "Kant and the Buddha", *Fortnightly Review* LXXXVI, London, and *Fortune* 86, New York, 1906; Kurt SCHMIDT, "Buddhistisches bei Kant", *Die Einsicht* V, Konstanz, 1952; C. Veljačić, "Le Bouddha et Kant", *La Pensée Bouddhique* IV,1, Paris, 1951.

[5] An extract from his recorded visit has been translated under the title "Ayuthaya and Siam" for the anthology, *Southeast Asia and the Germans*, Tübingen-Basle, 1978. As an exception to the secondary materials that have concentrated on KÄMPFER's association with Japan, we may cite B. J. TERWIEL, "Kaempfer and Thai History: the documents behind the printed texts", *JRAS*, 1989. See also Detlef HABERLAND, ed., *Engelbert Kaempfer: Werk und Wirkung*, Stuttgart, 1993.

[6] An extract from his travel account has been translated under the title "The Court of Mandalay and I" for *Southeast Asia and the Germans*, *op.cit.*

buddhistischer Psychologie und der vergleichenden Mythologie (Berlin, 1884), *Der Buddhismus als religions-philosophisches System* (Berlin, 1893) and *Kulturhistorische Studien unter Rückbeziehung auf den Buddhismus* I (Berlin, 1900). Articles included "Einige Worte über die Literatur der Birmanen" (*ZDMG* XVII, 1863), "Zur buddhistischen Psychologie" (*ZDMG* XX, 1866), "A visit to the Ruined Cities and Buildings of Cambodia" (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 35, London, 1865), "Die Verkettungstheorien der Buddhisten" (*ZDMG* XXIX, 1875), "Die Terrassenhimmel der Buddhisten" (*Verhandlungsbericht der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* XIII, 1881), "Die graphische Darstellung des buddhistischen Weltsystems" (*ibid.*, XXVI, 1894) and "Das Nirwana und die buddhistische Moral" (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* III, Berlin, 1871).

Two contemporaries also wrote on this region: Friedrich Anton HELLER VON HELLWARD, *Hinterindische Länder und Völker. Reisen in den Flussgebieten des Irawaddy und Mekong; in Annam, Kambodscha und Siam* (Leipzig, 1876) and Ernst VON HESSE-HARTEGG, *Siam, das Reich des weissen Elefanten* (Leipzig, 1899, ? 1986).

A neglected pioneer of Thai studies is Oskar FRANKFURTER (1852-1922).[7] Born (and died) in Hamburg, he studied the Classics and Sanskrit in Berlin and Göttingen (from where he obtained his doctorate in 1874). Going on to Oxford, in 1884 he met the Siamese Consul-General, Prince Prisdang, and accepted his invitation to become interpreter and secretary in Bangkok. Thereafter, he served in other governmental advisory capacities, representing his adopted country at the International Conference of Orientalists which was held in his native city in 1902. However, it was his part in two ventures that have earned him a place in Thai history. First, he was instrumental in founding The Siam Society in 1904. Elected as Hon. Secretary (and President two years later), he ensured that the Society became a forum for scholarly research on Siamese culture and literature. Second, as a member of the Interior Ministry, he was, in 1905, entrusted with the reorganisation of the National Library and appointed its chief director. As such, he succeeded in converting a neglected royal foundation into a distinguished and well-cared for institution. Tragically, his career was abruptly terminated with the entry of Siam in the First World War in 1917. Despite almost a lifetime's work in and for the country whose culture he so enthusiastically espoused, he was interned as an 'enemy alien' and deported to British India from whence he was not allowed to return to Germany until 1920. Two years later he died in the position of lecturer at the University of Hamburg.

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[7] For what follows I am indebted to Prof. Dr O. v. HINÜBER who very kindly sent a copy of the article by Andreas STOFFERS, "Oskar Frankfurter – Ein Leben für Thailand", *Thailand-Rundschau der Deutsch-Thailändischen Gesellschaft e.V.* 92 (Munich, 1996), and translated by Maurice WALSHE.

FRANKFURTER's contributions to the *Journal of the Siam Society* comprised articles on Siamese language, history and religion. He was keen on making Thai more accessible to outsiders, hence his "Some Suggestions for Romanising Siamese" (III, 1906), "The Romanising of Siamese" (IV, 1907) and "Proposed System for the Transliteration of Siamese Words into Roman Characters" (X, 1913). Historical topics included "King Mongkut" (I, 1904), "Siam in 1688. Translation of an Early Narrative" (V, 1908), "Events in Ayuddhya from Chulasakaraj 686-966" and "Some Remarks on Kaempfer's Description of Siam, 1690" (VI, 1909) and "The Late King Chulalongkorn" (VII, 1910). Buddhism came into "Siamese Missions to Ceylon in the 18th Century" [when the ordination lineage was re-established] (IV, 1907) and "The Attitudes of the Buddha" [illustrated by traditional Siamese line drawings] (X, 1913). He also wrote on the "Buddhist Nirvāna, and the Noble Eightfold Path" (*JRAS*, NS XII, 1880), compiled "List of Pāli MSS in the Bodleian Library, Oxford", "List of Sinhalese, Pāli and Sanskrit MSS in the Oriental Library, Kandy" and "List of Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit MSS in the Colombo Museum" (all *JPTS*, 1882) and a *Handbook of Pali* (London, 1883). His last publication was "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Siams" (*Ostasiatische Studien* XXIII-XXV, Berlin, 1922).

At the end of the 19th century, a pioneer work by the Jesuit, Alexander BAUMGARTNER (1841-1910) – *Geschichte der Weltliteratur* II. *Die Literaturen Indiens und Ostasiens* (Freiburg, 1897) –, included chapters on "Buddhist prose and poetry in Sanskrit and Pāli", "Buddhist legendary literature", "Jātakas and Avadānas", "Pāli and Sinhalese literature of Ceylon", "Burmese/Siamese literature".

Generally speaking, and with special reference to the facilities at universities, a distinction can be made between the study of Pāli and related literature that originated in India, and post-canonical Pāli and vernacular Buddhist texts indigenous to South-East Asia (quite apart from the study of Buddhist societies) which will receive our attention in this paper. Similarly, although numerous works have appeared on the subject of "Early Buddhism", comparatively little has been based on the materials extant in the traditional Theravāda Buddhist countries.

What follows is an overview of the personalities and their output, relevant to the field under discussion, at German universities:

Berlin (Humboldt)

Before her departure, Dagmar SÖRGEL specialised in Oriental Art and Archaeology and South Asian Art and obtained her M.A. and Ph.D degrees for (published theses on) *Burmesische Jātaka-Darstellungen im Vergleich zu den indischen Jātaka-Darstellungen* (under her maiden name of RUGE – Halle, 1965) and *Die Schlange in Mythos und Kult in Burma* (Leipzig, 1970). She also described "The Influence of Buddhism on Snake and Naga Cults in

Burma" (*Buddhist Yearly*, Halle, 1970) and wrote "Zu einigen indischen und burmesischen Jātakadarstellungen" (*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität*, 1976).

Freiburg

Edmund HARDY (1852–1904), Head of the Department of Philosophy, Benedictine monk and Catholic priest, made prolific contributions to the PTS, including an edition of the Buddhagadya – a Sanskrit *stotra* from 17–18th century Ceylon – "On some Stanzas in Eulogy of the Buddha" (*JPTS*, 1897–1901). He also wrote on "Die Beichte bei den Buddhisten. (Nach Ceylonesischen Quellen)" (*Der Katholik*, NS 55, 3 parts, Mainz, 1886).

Today, the Orientalisches Seminar is under the direction of Prof. Dr. Oskar VON HINÜBER. Born 1939 in Hanover, he read Indology, Classical Philology, Slavonic studies, Japanese and Archaeology at Tübingen (1960–63), Classical Philology, Ancient History and Philosophy at Erlangen (1963–64) and Greek Philology and Oriental Studies at Mainz (1964–66). In 1966 he obtained his doctorate for the dissertation, *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-Piṭaka* (published Munich, 1968). From 1964 he began teaching at Mainz and two years later, was promoted from Lecturer to full Professor. His 'habilitation' dissertation was an edition and translation of *Das Saṃghāṭasūtra* (Mainz, 1973). In 1981 he transferred to Freiburg and in the following year was co-opted to the Council of the Pali Text Society.

Also from 1981 he has visited northern Thailand every year to pursue research into the indigenous Pāli textual tradition and has published the following relevant works: "On the Tradition of Pāli Texts in India, Ceylon and Burma" (*Buddhism in Ceylon ...*, ed. H. BECHERT, Göttingen, 1978), "The Tittira-Jātaka and the Extended Mahāvaṃsa" (*JSS* 70, 1982), *Notes on the Pāli Tradition in Burma* (*Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Buddhismus in Birma* I) (*NAWG* I, No. 3, 1983), *Sieben Goldblätter einer Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramita aus Anuradhapura* (*NAWG* I, No. 7, 1983), "Pāli Manuscripts of Canonical Texts from North Thailand. A Preliminary Report" (*JSS* 71, 1983), "The Thai Tradition of Canonical Pāli Texts" (*Proceedings of the XXXI International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa* [Tokyo and Kyoto 1983], Tokyo, 1984), "Two Jātaka Manuscripts from the National Library, Bangkok" (*JPTS* 10, 1985), "The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Milindapañha" [from North Thailand] (*JPTS* 11, 1987), "An Additional Note on the ..." (*JPTS* 12, 1988), "The Pāli Manuscripts kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok. A Short Catalogue" (*JSS* 75, 1987), "Remarks on a List of Books sent from Ceylon to Siam in the 18th Century" (*JPTS* 12, 1988), *Die Sprachgeschichte des Pāli im Spiegel der südasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung* (Stuttgart, 1988), *Sprachentwicklung und Kulturgeschichte. Ein Beitrag zur materiellen Kultur des buddhistischen Klosterlebens* (Stuttgart, 1992), "On Some Colophons of Old Lānnā Pāli Manu-

scripts" (*Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Thai Studies*, Kunming, 1990), "Pāli und Lānnā (Nord-Thai) in den Kolophonen alter Palmblatthandschriften aus Nordthailand" (*Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift für Helmut Rix*, Innsbruck, 1993), "Traces of Khmer Influence in Northern Thai Pāli Manuscripts" (*Études Thématiques I: Recherches Nouvelles sur le Cambodge*, Paris, 1994), "Chips from Buddhist Workshops. Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand" (*JPTS* 22, 1996) and (scheduled for publication in 1997) *Die Pāli-Handschriften des Klosters Lai Hin bei Lampang/Thailand*. Finally, in his definitive *Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin, 1996), apart from a whole section devoted to the "Pāli Literature from South East Asia", additional texts from the region are described elsewhere in the book.

Göttingen

Since the retirement of his illustrious predecessor, Ernst WALDSCHMIDT, in 1965, the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde has been ably and energetically directed by Prof. Dr. Heinz BECHERT. Born 1932 in Munich, he read Classical Philology and History, Indology and Tibetology at that city's university (1950–56) and at Hamburg (1954). He obtained his doctorate from Munich in 1956 for an edition of the Anavataptagāthā and Sthaviragāthā published under the title *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Verssammlungen aus zentralasiatischen Sanskrithandschriften* (Berlin, 1961). He served as a research assistant at Saarbrücken (1956–61), Research Fellow at Colombo (1958–59) and a research assistant at Mainz (1961–64) from where he was 'habilitated' by his thesis on the *Geschichte der Sanskritliteratur bei den Singhalesen*. Appointed Reader at Mainz, after six months he was invited to join the Oriental faculty at Göttingen and has concentrated on South-East Asian studies, with special reference to those affecting Sri Lanka. In the field of textual studies, for example, he has, with Maria BIDOLI, edited *Singhalesische Handschriften* I (VOHD, 1969) – see also his summary, "The Catalogue of Sinhala Manuscripts in Germany and the Present State of Cataloguing Sinhala Manuscripts" (*Spolia Zeylanica* 35, Colombo, 1980), and, assisted by KHIN KHIN SU and TIN TIN MYINT, compiled *Burmese Manuscripts* I (VOHD XXIII, 1979). He has also edited *Sanskrittexte aus Ceylon* (including some of the prescribed works in the monastic curriculum, Munich, 1962) and, with Heinz BRAUN, *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma* (PTS, 1981). His *magnum opus* is undoubtedly the definitive survey of *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländern des Theravāda-Buddhismus* (3 vols: 1. Frankfurt-Hamburg, 1966, 2. and 3. Wiesbaden 1967–73; I. *Grundlagen. Ceylon (Sri Lanka)*, repr. Göttingen, 1988), the most comprehensive study in this field. There is no need to enumerate his numerous research papers and articles which have been listed in his previous Festgabe, *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde* (ed. R. GRÜNENDAHL, J.-U. HARTMANN and P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ, Bonn, 1993).

Sponsored by the Kommission für buddhistische Studien, in 1974 Prof. BECHERT convened a symposium the papers for which were published under the title *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries* (1978). He contributed the entries on "Hindu Elements in the Religion of the Buddhist Baruas and Chakmas in Bengal" and "On the Popular Religion of the Sinhalese".

Prof. BECHERT's seniormost colleague, Dr. Heinz BRAUN, specialises in Burmese literary studies. Born 1936 in Augsburg, he studied at Erlangen, Mainz and Göttingen. From the last-named university he obtained his MA in 1972 for an edition of the Lokanīti and, two years later, his Ph.D for annotated editions of the Dhammanīti and Mahārahanīti – two further gnomic texts in Pāli from Burma. These treatises, together with the Rājanīti, provided the substance of *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma* (PTS, 1981) which he edited with BECHERT. With TIN TIN MYINT he compiled *Burmese Manuscripts* 2 (VOHD XXIII, 1985) and, with Anne PETERS, the third volume (1995).[8] BRAUN has also briefly described "The Buddhist Era in the *Mālālaṅkāravatthu*" (*DHB*) and "Birmanische Handschriften in Europa und Amerika" (*Studien*, 1993).

Dr. Klaus WILLE (now working for the Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland at the Akademie der Wissenschaften), obtained his M.A. in 1978 for a translation of Chapters 6–10 of the "Rasavāhini von Vedeha".[9]

Another connection with South-East Asia has been the work of Nandasena RATNAPALA, who edited the (romanised) texts and translated them in a study of *The Katikāvatas. Laws of the Buddhist Order of Ceylon from the 12th century to the 18th century*, (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1971).

Halle

Prof. Heinz MODE (1913–92), who was instrumental in founding the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für buddhistische Forschungen in 1966, was always closely associated with the culture of the Indian subcontinent. He went to Ceylon in 1932 to study Pāli and Buddhism under G. P. MALALASEKERA at Colombo University and two years later pursued Indian cultural subjects at Shantiniketan and Calcutta. Returning to Germany in 1935 he read the History of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology under Otto FISCHER *et al.* at Berlin and obtained his doctorate from Basle for a study on *Die Skulptur Ceylons* (published 1942). Six years later he was invited to lecture at Halle and was appointed Professor of Oriental Archaeology. Amongst his numerous writings are *Die*

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[8] Hellmuth HECKER has reported on BRAUN's researches into "Die Burmesen und der Pālikanon", *Wissen und Wandel* XXVII, Hamburg, 1981.

[9] See also the Göttingen doctoral dissertation (Osaka, 1990) by Junko MATSUMURA: *The Rasavāhini of Vedehathera. Vaggas 5 and 6, Nigapotakavagga and the Uttaroliyavagga.*

buddhistische Plastik auf Ceylon (Leipzig, 1963), "Ceylons Literatur" (*Lexikon der Weltliteratur*, ed. Gerhard STEINER, repr. Leipzig, 1965), "Halle and South East Asia. Traditions and Present Efforts" (*Democratic Germany* 3, 1968), "Folk-Tales of India and Ceylon" (*R. C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, ed. H. B. SARKAR, Calcutta, 1970); (ed.) *Sri Lanka. 2500 Jahre Reisen nach Ceylon* (Leipzig-Weimar, 1977) and *Kunst in Süd- und Südostasien* (Dresden, 1979).

Hamburg

The Abteilung Thailand, Burma und Indochina (part of the Seminar für Sprache und Kultur Chinas) has, since 1971, been directed by Prof. Dr. Dr. Dr. h.c. Klaus WENK. Born 1927 in Hamburg, he qualified in Law at the University in 1956 but thereafter pursued the study of Oriental languages (Sanskrit, Pāli, Thai, Khmer, Lao, Malay) obtaining his second doctorate in 1961. Four years later he was 'habilitated' and appointed Lecturer in South-East Asian Studies.

He has catalogued his country's collection of *Thai-Handschriften* (VOHD IX, 2 vols, 1963/8) and *Laotische Handschriften* (VOHD XXXII, 1975); produced several illustrated works on Buddhist art (mainly from Thailand), *viz.*, *Thailändische Miniaturmalereien* (from a Ms in the State Museum, W. Berlin – VOHD Supplement 3, 1965), *Wandmalereien in Thailand* (3 vols, Zürich, 1975) tr. as *Mural Paintings in Thailand* (Zürich, 1977), "Kunst in Thailand" (*Thailand*, Heraldsberg, 1976), *Thawan Duchanee* [a 20th c. Thai painter] *Zwölf Zeichungen. Die letzten zehn Leben des Buddha* (and in English, both Zürich, 1977), *Die buddhistische Kunst Thawan Datchanie – Zeichungen und Gemälde* (Zürich, 1979) tr. as The Buddhist Art of Thawan Dachanee (Zürich, 1981), "Der Buddha und seine Jünger. Zwei Perlmuttafeln aus dem thailändischen Nationalmuseum" (*OE* 26, 1979), *Perlmutterkunst in Thailand/The Art of Mother-of-Pearl in Thailand* (Zürich, 1980), *Murals of Burma* I. *Paintings from Pagan of the late Period, 18th c.* (Zürich, 1978) tr. as *Wandmalereien in Birma.I. Gemälde aus Pagan* (*ibid.*) and "The Paintings of Pagan" (*Courier*, UNESCO, Dec. 1979); and written on Thai history, literature and society in connection with Buddhism, *viz.*, *Die Metrik in der thailändischen Dichtung* (Tokyo, 1962), *Die Ruderlieder – kāp hē rüö – in der Literatur Thailands* (Wiesbaden, 1968), *The Restoration of Thailand under Rama I. 1782–1809* (Tucson, 1968), *Phali lehrt die Jüngeren – Phālī sọn nọng* (*MOAG* LXVII, 1977) tr. as *Phali Teaches the Young* (a literary and sociological analysis of this Thai poem – Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1980), *Studien zur Literatur der Thai, Texte und Interpretationen* I (*MOAG* LXXXIX, 1982), II. *Texte und Interpretationen von und zu Sunthorn Phū und seinem Kreis* (*MOAG* XLIV, 1985), III. *Texte und Interpretationen zur Literatur des 19 Jahrhunderts* (1987), IV. *Ein Textbuch zur Poesie der Neuzeit* (1989), "Prachum Phongsāwadān" ('collection of historical sources' – *OE* 9, 1962),

"Das khlăng aksǫn sam des Sī Mahŏsot" (*OE* 10, 1963), "Ein Lehrgedicht für junge Frauen – suphăsit sǫn ying – des Sunthon Phū" (*OE* 12, 1965), "Raden Landai. Das Leben und Werk des Phra Mahă Mantri" (*OE* 22, 1975), "Cau Fă Uthumpǫn – ein Mönch auf dem Thron Thailands" (*Asien. Tradition und Fortschritt. Festschrift für Horst Hammitzsch*, Wiesbaden, 1970), "Tamră māu – tamră sunak. 'Eine Abhandlung über Katzen und Hunde'" (*Folia Rara. W. Voigt 65th birthday vol.*, Wiesbaden, 1976) and eleven entries in *Dictionary of Oriental Literatures* II (ed. D. ZBAVITEL, London, 1974) which include short descriptions of *nirăt* poetry (cf. Sinhalese *sandēśa*), Phongsăwadăn ('Historical Sources') and the Traiphūm (dated 1345, the oldest work in Thai based on non-canonical Pāli sources).

One of WENK's assistants, Klaus ROSENBERG, has contributed "Bemerkungen zum buddhistischen Gehalt des Romans Phū Dī von Dok Mai Sat" (*NOAG* 118, 1975), *Die epischen Chan-Dichtungen in der Literatur Thailands mit einer vollständigen Übersetzung des Anirut Kham Chan* (Hamburg, 1976) and *Die Geschichte der Kākī. Ein Jātaka-Stoff und seine literarische Bearbeitung in Thailand und Kambodscha* (*MOAG* LXXXIII, 1980).

Heidelberg

Dr. Willem BOLLÉE is a staff member of Abteilung Indologie II and son-in-law of the late Indologist, Ludwig ALSDORF. Born 1927 in The Netherlands where he received his higher education in the Classics and Indology at Utrecht. He was appointed Assistant Professor at Münster's Institut für Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft (1971–78) and, following his 'habilitation' at Hamburg in 1975, simultaneously served as Lecturer (Professor from 1979) at the Süd-asien-Institut in the Department of the History of [Indian] Religion and Philosophy. Amongst other works on Early Buddhism he has described the 729 marble slabs in Mandalay and similar monuments of the Pāli Canon and its Commentaries in "Some less known Burmese Pāli texts" (*Pratidānam. F. B. J. Kuiper felicitation volume*, The Hague, 1968).

The Department of Political Science was established in 1967 with the appointment of its Head, Prof. Dr. Emanuel SARKISYANZ. Of Armenian descent, he studied at Teheran, the Asia Institute (New York) and Chicago from where he obtained his Ph.D. Emphasis is laid on the history and politics of South-East Asia and facilities permit the teaching of the regional vernaculars. The late British scholar, G. H. LUCE, entrusted the product of his lifetime's work on Burma's medieval epigraphical source materials to SARKISYANZ and fellow Burmese specialist, TIN HTWAY (who has contributed, in translation, an account of "Prosaliteratur in birmanischer Sprache von der frühesten Zeit bis 1942", *Sae* 24, 1973). SARKISYANZ has examined the relationship between Buddhism and politics in Burma (Chapters 25–27) and the Vajrayāna areas (Chapters 28–29) in *Russland und der Messianismus des Orients* (Tübingen, 1955) and, following his participation in the first conference organised by the

Südasien-Institut in 1964, produced the definitive study of *Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution* (The Hague, 1965). He has also described "Kommunismus und Geisteskrise Asiens: Marxismus und orientalische Weltanschauungen" (*Wissenschaftliche Politik*, ed. D. OBERNDÖRFER, Freiburg, 1962), "Historische Literatur über Südostasien" (*Literaturberichte über Neuerscheinungen zur außerdeutschen Geschichte I*, ed. W. KIENAST, Munich, 1962), "Birmanische Geistesgeschichte von U Nus buddhistischem Sozialismus. Entwicklungshilfe und Entwicklungsland" (*Westfälische geographische Studien* 15, Münster, 1962), "Zur buddhistischen Geistesgeschichte des birmanischen Sozialismus" (*Sae* 15, 1964), "Buddhist-Marxist Syncretism in Burma" (*Proceedings of the XIth International Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions [Claremont, 1965]* I, Leiden, 1968), "Die Rolle des Buddhismus in der Politik der Länder Südostasiens" (*Vierteljahresberichte. Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung* 32, 1968), "Messianic Folk- Buddhism as ideology of Peasant Revolts in 19th and early 20th century Burma" (*Review of Religious Research* 10, 1968), "Buddhism as a political factor in Southeast Asia" (*Issues in the Future of Asia*, ed. R. LOWENTHAL, New York, 1969), "The Social Ethics of Buddhism and Socio-Economic Order of Southeast Asia" (*Asian and African Studies* 6, Jerusalem, 1970), "Social Ethics of Theravāda Buddhism in Relation to Socio-economic Development Problems in Southeast Asia" (*Southeast Asia in the Modern World*, ed. B. GROSSMANN, Wiesbaden, 1972), "Die Religionen Kambodschas, Birmas, Laos, Thailands und Malaysias" (*Die Religionen Südostasiens*, Stuttgart, 1975), "Buddhist Backgrounds of Burmese Socialism" (*Religion and the Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma*, ed. B. L. SMITH, Chambersburg, 1978), "Fragen zum Problem des chronologischen Verhältnisses des buddhistischen Modernismus in Ceylon und Birma" (*Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, ed. H. BECHERT, Göttingen, 1978) and *Die Kulturen Kontinental-Südostasiens. Kambodscha, Birma, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Malaya* (Wiesbaden, 1979).

Mainz

Until her departure, Dr. Friedgard LOTTERMOSER was a research assistant in Pāli and Burmese at the Institut für Indologie. Born 1942 in Berlin, she studied Pāli in Rangoon (1960–65) and Mandalay (1965–70), obtaining her M.A. from the latter university for a study of the Paṭṭhāna – "The Doctrine of Relationship" (including a discussion of the Abhidhamma literature of Burma, 1969). A sequel to this, dealing with "Simultaneous Relations", was completed at the same time. She took the opportunity of learning colloquial and literary Burmese as well as studying Abhidhamma for two years at the Union Buddha Sāsana Council, passing three grades of examinations conducted in Burmese. Returning to Germany she enrolled at Frankfurt (1969–71) and Göttingen (1971–77) and obtained her doctorate at the latter for a dissertation

on *Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa. Materials towards the study of the Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* (1979). Between 1971–79 she undertook research and lectured on Burmese language and literature and thereafter began work on the *Critical Pāli Dictionary.* She has edited "Minor Pāli grammar texts: the Saddabindu and its 'new' commentary" (*JPTS* XI, 1987)[10]. A large number of translations from and writings on Burmese Buddhist texts and expository works remains unpublished.

Munich

The most prestigious name associated with textual studies of South Asia is that of Wilhelm GEIGER (1852–1943). Born in Nuremberg, he first read Classical Philology at Erlangen in 1873, also Sanskrit and Avestan under Friedrich SPIEGEL. He transferred to Bonn two years later but returned to take the State examination in Latin and Greek in 1876, took his doctorate in Iranian studies the same year and was placed in charge of the university library. In the following year he visited Berlin to study under Albrecht WEBER and met Hermann OLDENBERG who became a lifelong friend. Between 1878–80 GEIGER was Reader in Old Indian and Iranian Philology at Erlangen and thereafter a teacher in Classics at gymnasia in Neustadt and Munich, also giving regular lectures at the latter's university from 1886.

Visiting London on a grant study tour in 1888, GEIGER undertook research at the British Museum and the India Office Library. Returning to Germany, in 1891 he succeeded SPIEGEL as Professor of Indo-European Philology at Erlangen where he twice became Vice-Chancellor. Shortly after this appointment a leading Sinhalese scholar, Don Martino de ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE (1865–1941), became his pupil during 1892–93. He aroused in his mentor the latent interest in Sinhalese which one of his tutors, Ernst KUHN, had indirectly fostered.

GEIGER undertook a study of the language, history and culture of Ceylon "so closely linked to what is, together with Christianity, the noblest teaching known to the world – Buddhism". He made three extended visits to Ceylon (1895–96, 1925–26 and 1931–32[11]) – see his *Ceylon. Tagebuchblätter und Reiseerinnerungen* (Wiesbaden, 1898) – and learnt from the most prominent bhikkhus of that time: Hikkaduwe Srī Sumaṅgala, Waskaduwe Subhūti and Ratmalana Dharmārāma. During the last twenty years of his life, Polwatte BUDDHADATTA acted as principal adviser to GEIGER in all aspects of his is-

[10] Hitherto, one of the few Indologists to write on (medieval Sinhalese) Pāli grammatical texts was Rudolf Otto FRANKE (1862–1928) at Königsberg [Kaliningrad]. He surveyed "Moggallānas Saddalakkhaṇa und das Cāndravyākaraṇa", "Das Verhältnis von Candras Dhātupātha zu den Pali Dhātupāṭhas" and "Rūpasiddhi, Moggallāna, Mahāvutti und Vutti" (*JPTS*, 1902–03).

[11] See Ananda W. P. GURUGE's appreciation of his close connection with Ceylon, in *From the Living Fountains of Buddhism*, Colombo, 1984.

land's civilisation and, years later, published *Corrections to Geiger's Mahāvamsa* (Ambalangoda, 1957). The resulting literary productions included *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen* (Strasbourg, 1900), a preliminary study of the "Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa, die beiden Chroniken der Insel Ceylon"+[12] (*Festschrift der Universität Erlangen zur Feier des achtzigsten Geburtstages Seiner Königlichen Hoheit dem Prinzregenten Luitpold von Bayern*, Erlangen and Leipzig, 1901), "Zur Erklärung des Mahāvaṃsa" (*Album Kern*, Leiden, 1903) and *Dīpavamsa und Mahāvamsa und die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon* (Leipzig, 1905; repr. 1973)[13] which included an analysis of the Rājavaliya and Samantapāsādikā[14]. These were followed by romanised editions of the *Mahāvamsa* (PTS, 1908, 1958) and *Cūlavamsa* (PTS, 2 vols, 1925–27, 1980). With English collaborators both texts were translated under the respective titles of *Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (PTS, 1912, 1980; Colombo, 1950, New Delhi, 1986) and *Minor Chronicle of Ceylon* (PTS, 2 vols, 1929–30, 1973; Colombo, 1953, Delhi, 1996). Largely based on the latter, a volume describing the *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times* (Wiesbaden, 1960, 1986) appeared posthumously under the editorship of H. BECHERT who contributed "Unpublished Additions and Corrections to his translation of the Mahāvaṃsa and the Cūlavaṃsa by W. Geiger". Sections of this same volume include "Literary Activity", "Popular Religion" and "Buddhism". GEIGER also wrote "Noch einmal Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa"+ (*ZDMG*, 1909), "Notes on the Mahāvaṃsa" (*JRAS*, 1910), "Die Quellen des Mahāvaṃsa"+ (*Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* VII, Leipzig, 1929), "The Trustworthiness of the Mahāvaṃsa"+ (*IHQ* VI, 1930), "New Contributions to the Interpretation of the Mahāvaṃsa"+ (*IHQ* IX, 1933), "A Short History of Ceylon"+ (*IHQ* II, 1926; repr. in B. C. LAW, *Buddhistic Studies*, Calcutta, 1932, 1983), "Contributions from the Mahāvaṃsa to our knowledge of the medieval culture of Ceylon" (5 parts, *Journal of the Greater India Society* II–V, Calcutta, 1935–38) and "Studien zur Geschichte und Sprache Ceylons" (SBAW, 1941)[15].

Sponsored by the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) a *Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language* was launched under an editorial board of four Sinhalese scholars supervised by GEIGER who contributed a long introduction to "Sinhalese Language and Literature" (Fascicle 1, Colombo, 1935). The University of Ceylon took over editorial work in 1941 but in recent years the

[12] Part I was translated for *The Ceylon National Review* 5–6, 1908.

[13] Translated, in condensed form by C. A. NICOLSON in *IA* XXXV, 1906, and by Ethel M. COOMARASWAMY as *The Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa and their Historical Development in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1908.

[14] See also E. N. SNYDER, *Der Kommentar und die Textüberlieferung des Mahāvamsa*, Berlin, 1891.

[15] See also Sirima KIRIBAMUNE, "Geiger and the History of Sri Lanka", *Ceylon Journal of History and Social Studies* N. S. 7, 1977.

Ministry of Cultural Affairs has assumed responsibility for publication[16]. In this connection it should be mentioned that BECHERT edited two relevant pieces by GEIGER for the press: *Sinhalese and the Indo-Aryan Languages* (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1957) and "Chronological Summary of the Development of the Sinhalese Language" (*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 76, 1959). GEIGER's interest in Sinhalese culture was paralleled with that in Pāli. He compiled what was to prove an accepted textbook at institutes of higher education *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* (Strasbourg, 1916, Tokyo, 1977; English ed., Univ. of Calcutta, 1943, Delhi, 1996), Part I being subdivided into three sections: "The Canonical Literature", "The Non-Canonical Literature" and "From the 12th Century to the Modern Age". His second wife (a former pupil at Erlangen), Magdalena, collaborated with him to produce an edition and translation of *Die zweite Dekade der Rasavāhinī* (SBAW, 1918) and an analysis of *Pāli Dhamma vornehmlich in der kanonischen Literatur+* (AKBAW, 1920). He occupied the Chair of Indology at Munich between 1924–28 before retiring to the village of Neubiberg. His collected writings, including those items marked +, were edited by H. BECHERT under the title *Kleine Schriften zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde* (Wiesbaden, 1973). He also provided an account of *Wilhelm Geiger, his life and works* (2nd ed., Colombo, 1977).

Sociologists and Fieldworkers

Hans-Dieter EVERS (b. 1935) studied economics and sociology, obtaining his doctorate in the latter from Freiburg in 1962. Thereafter, he occupied various positions before being appointed to the Chair of Development Studies at Bielefeld in 1974. His main publication is *Monks, Priests and Peasants. A study of Buddhism and social structure in central Ceylon* (Leiden, 1972), whilst other writings relevant to Buddhism comprise "Buddhistische Gesellschaftsordnung und buddhistischer Wohlfahrtsstaat – religionssoziologische Grundlagen des ceylonesischen Nationalismus" (*Moderne Welt* 4, 1963), "Buddhism and British Colonial Policy in Ceylon, 1815–1875" (*Asian Studies* 2, Univ. of the Philippines, Quezon City, 1964), "Die soziale Organisation der singhalesischen Religion" (*Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 16, 1964), "Magic and Religion in Sinhalese Society" (*American Anthropologist* 67, Monasha, Wisconsin, 1965), "Some Comparative Notes on the Organization of the Sangha in Ceylon and Siam" (*Social Science Review* 4, Bangkok, 1966), "Kinship and Property Rights in a Buddhist Monastery in Central Ceylon" (*American Anthropologist* 69, 1967), "Buddha and Seven Gods: The Dual Organization of a Temple in Central Ceylon" (*Journal of Asian Studies* 27, Ann Arbor, 1968),

[16] See Julius de LANEROLLE (one of the original board members) "Sinhalese Dictionary and the Ceylon Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society", *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* N. S. I, Colombo, 1950.

"The Buddhist Sangha in Ceylon and Thailand: A Comparative Study of Formal Organizations in Two Non-Industrial Societies" (*Sociologus* 18, Berlin, 1968), "Monastic Landlordism in Ceylon: A Traditional System in a Modern Setting" (*Journal of Asian Studies* 28, 1969), "The social complexity of South-East Asian Religions: The current debate on Buddhism" (*ibid.* 37, 1977) and (edited) *Sociology of South East Asia.* Readings on social change and development (London, 1981).

Prof. Dr. Detlef KANTOWSKY, was born 1936 in Berlin, graduated from Kiel in 1963 and seven years later was appointed to the Chair of Sociology at Konstanz specialising in the study of South Asian countries. He came into contact with Buddhism in 1975 via the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement in Sri Lanka and became a committed Buddhist in that he served on the committees of the Deutsche Buddhistische Union and Buddhistische Religionsgemeinschaft and leads the local Buddhistischer Kreis Bodensee. In 1970 he founded (with Alois Graf VON WALDBURG-ZEIL) *Internationales Asienforum,* an "International Quarterly for [contemporary] Asian Studies" (published in Munich and Cologne), to which he has contributed "Sarvodaya. Eine autochthone Form 'innerweltlicher Askese' in Südasien" (1982; tr. from "Sarvodaya. An Indigenous Form of 'Innerworldly Asceticism' in South Asia", *Law and State* 23, Tübingen, 1981, and *Gandhi Marg* 31, New Delhi, 1981). He has also been instrumental in launching the series, 'Forschungsprojekt "Buddhistischer Modernismus" (published by his university), which included as No. 6 (1992) his survey *Von Südasien lernen. Erfahrungen in Indien und Sri Lanka* (first ed., Frankfurt, 1985). Other relevant writings include "Sarvodaya and Development" (*Sozialwissenschaftlicher Studienkreis für Internationale Probleme – SSIP Bulletin* 47, Basle, 1978; repr. in *Sarvodaya and World Development,* ed. N. RATNAPALA, Sarvodaya Research Institute, Moratuwa, 1980, and in *Eine alternative Sozialbewegung in Südasien. Die Sarvodaya Shramadana in Sri Lanka,* ed. H. HECKER – including his own contribution repr. from *Wissen und Wandel* XXVII, Hamburg, 1981: "Sarvodaya Shramadana. Die buddhistische Sozialbewegung in Sri Lanka als Alternative in unserer Zeit" – Frankfurt, 1981), "Sarvodaya and State Power. Theory and Practice in South Asia" (*Journal of Gandhian Studies* 5, Univ. of Allahabad, 1978; repr. in *Colloques Internationaux du CRNS 582: Asie du Sud.* Traditions et Changements, Paris, 1979, and under the title "An Alternative Development Strategy based on Traditional Buddhist Values: The Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka", *Law and State* 19, 1979) and *Sarvodaya. The Other Development* (New Delhi, 1980).

Dr. Hans PENTH was born 1937 in Berlin and obtained a doctorate in the History and Languages of South-East Asia from Frankfurt in 1964. For the next three years he was hired by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) to teach German at Chulalongkorn University (Bangkok) and Chiang Mai where he established a German Section at the University. He was then

provided with a two-year scholarship by the German Research Foundation (DFG) to examine the historical documents of Lān Nā, being appointed in 1969 to lecture on the history of South-East Asia. From the following year he was attached to the Faculty of Social Sciences, instigated the project 'Inscriptions on Buddha Images in Chiang Mai' and assisted in the planning of a Lān Nā Research Centre which, in 1980, became the Social Research Institute of Chiang Mai University. He has initiated the Palmleaf Manuscript Research Project (1971), Lān Nā Inscriptions Project (1975) and the Archive of Lān Nā Inscriptions (1978). Of over 100 publications, the most relevant are "Die Inschriften des Lān Nā Thai – Ein Überblick" (*ZDMG – Supplementa III. XIX Deutscher Orientalistentag [Freiburg, 1975]*, ed. W. VOIGT, 1977), "Inscriptions on Buddha Images in Chiang Mai" (in Thai, 1976), "Reflections on the Saddhamma-saṅgaha" (*JSS* 65, 1977), "The Evolution of Lān Nā" (in Thai, 1984, 1989), "Inscriptions and Images on the Phra Mahā Thāt in Lamphūn" (*Artibus Asiae* XLIX, Ascona, 1988–89), "History of Phra Thāt Dòi Tung" (in Thai, 1993), *A Brief History of Lān Nā* (Chiang Mai, 1994), *Jinakālamālī Index: an annotated index to the Thailand part of Ratanapañña's chronicle* (PTS, Oxford, and Chiang Mai, 1994) and "Which Ratanapañña Composed the Jinakālamālinī?" (*JSS* 83, 1995).

Also based at Chiang Mai, in the Department of Thai, is Dr. Harald HUNDIUS. He has translated *Das Nirāt Mūang Klāng von Sunthon Phū (Südasienkunde* 5, Ostasiatisches Seminar, Frankfurt Univ. – Wiesbaden, 1976) and described "The colophons of 30 Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand" (*JPTS* XIV, 1990). Subsequently he took up a position at the university of Passau.

Miscellaneous Writings

Despite the presence of numerous German members of the Theravāda Sangha in Sri Lanka and Thailand, in the field of literary activities attention has been confined to the canonical Pāli literature emanating from India. With perhaps greater reason, the same observation applies to lay authors of Theravāda Buddhist expositions.

Of the earliest popularisers, even the prolific Karl SEIDENSTÜCKER (1876–1936), who obtained his doctorate from Leipzig in 1913 for a study of vaggas 6–8 "Über das Udāna", only contributed the following relevant essays: *Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Ananda-Tempels zu Pagan* (Südbuddhistische Studien I, Hamburg, 1916); a second part, entitled "Die vorgeburtliche Buddha-Legende (Jātaka) in den Tempelgemälden von Pagan", dated 1926, is only available in longhand and typescript at the Ethnographical Museum, Hamburg; and *Zwölf Jātaka-Reliefs am Ananda-Tempel zu Pagan* (Munich, 1926). A contemporary T. H. THOMANN, also wrote on *Pagan, ein Jahrtausend buddhistischer Tempelkunst* (Stuttgart and Heilbronn, 1924). The first English bhikkhu, ANANDA METTEYYA, saw two of his expositions relative

to his chosen land of domicile translated into German: *Im Schatten von Shwe Dagon* (Leipzig, 1908) and *Die Religion von Burma* (Breslau, 1911), although both works are essentially descriptive and do not utilise indigenous textual materials.

During the first half of this century, given the general lack of linguistic knowledge or cultural appreciation, it is not surprising that a mere handful of full-length works were published, *viz.* Wilhelm CREDNER, *Siam* (Stuttgart, 1935), Karl DÖHRING, *Buddhistische Tempelanlagen in Siam* (2 vols, Berlin, 1920), *Siam* (Munich, 1923) and *Die Thot Kathin-Feier in Siam* (Hannover, 1927), H. Fielding HALL (in tr.) *Das Lieblingsvolk Buddhas: die Burmanen und ihr lebendiger Glaube* (Berlin, 1931), J. HAGENBECK, *Unter der Sonne Indiens I. Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Ceylon* (Dresden, 1922).

It was not until the 1960s that a more widespread interest in Buddhism was generated by the public. Although commercial publishers tended to popularise the more exotic manifestations of the religion, and still tend to emphasise Tibetan and Far Eastern culture over that of South-East Asia, nonetheless a number of serious works, relevant to this field, have appeared, *viz.* Hans-Joachim AUBERT, *Sri Lanka: Kunst- und Reiseführer mit Landeskunde* (Stuttgart, 1984), Bere BENEDIKT and Martin THOMAS, *Thailand* (Munich, 1988), Gisela BONN, *Angkor* (Sachsenheim, 1985), Hans BRÄCKER, *Südostasien. Ceylon, Birma, Thailand, Kambodscha (Angkor), Indonesien (Bali und Java)* (Freiburg, 1974), BUDDHADASA (tr. Bhikkhu PĀSĀDIKA), *Siamesische Illustrationen der Buddhalehre* (from a 19th c. Ms. Bangkok, 1968), Mario BUSSAGLI, Weltgeschichte *der Architektur II. Indien, Indonesien, Indochina* (Stuttgart, 1985), Pisit CHANOENWONGSA and M. C. SHUBHADRADIS, *Thailand* (Munich, 1978), Edouard CLAUDIUS, *Als die Fische die Sterne schluckten. Märchen und Legenden aus Vietnam, Laos und Kambodscha* (4th ed., Halle and Leipzig, 1976), Johanna DITTMAR, *Thailand und Burma. Tempelanlagen und Königsstädte zwischen Mekong und Indischem Ozean*.(Cologne, 1986, 1989), A. ECKHARDT and NGUYEN TIEN HUU, *Vietnam. Geschichte und Kultur* (Freudenstadt, 1968), Annemarie ESCHE (ed. & tr.) *Märchen der Völker Burmas* (Leipzig, 1976, Wiesbaden, 1979; *Burmesische Märchen*, Frankfurt, 1993) and (ed.) *Die Goldene Pagoda. Shwedagon – ein Sinnbild des Buddhismus. Mit Legenden und Sagen aus Burma* (Hanau, 1983), Wolfgang FELTEN and Martin LERNER, *Das Erbe Asiens. Skulpturen der Khmer und Thai vom 6. zum 14. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1988) tr. as *Thai and Cambodian Sculpture* (London, 1989), Helmut FESSEN and Hans-Dieter KUBITSCHECK, *Geschichte Thailands* (Münster, 1992), Louis FRÉDÉRIC, *Südost- Asien. Tempel und Skulpturen* (Essen, 1968) and *Borobudur* (Munich, 1995), A. B. GRISWOLD, Chewon KIM and P. H. POTT, *Burma-Korea-Tibet* (Baden- Baden, 1964), Philippe GRAS and Nouth NARANG, *Angkor* (Heidelberg, 1988), Reinhold GRÜNENDAHL, *Hochschulschriften zu Süd- und Südostasien: Deutschland-Österreich-Schweiz (1959–79)* (Wiesbaden, 1981), Eugen HELFERICH, *Südostasiatische Geschichten*

(Oldenburg, 1966), Jürgen HOHNHOLZ (ed.) *Thailand: Geographie-Geschichte-Kultur-Religion-Staat-Gesellschaft-Politik-Wirtschaft* (Stuttgart, 1984), Otto KAROW, *Burmese Buddhist Sculpture. The Johann Möger Collection* (Bangkok, 1991), Rudolf KNUBEL and Ursula SCHULZ-DARNBURG, *Ansichten von Pagan, Burma* (compiled by U LU PE WIN, Cologne, 1978), Rainier KRACK, *Bangkok und Südthailand* (Cologne, 1990), Klaus A. PRETZELL and Jutta BODE (ed.), *Indochina* (2 vols, Reinbeck, 1975), Renate RAMB and Stefan LOOSE, *Thailand* (repr. Cologne, 1989), Ruth SACHER (ed. & tr.), *Sagen und Legenden der Khmer* (Munich, 1988), Alard VON SCHACK, *In Buddhas eigenem Land. Reiseeindrücke aus Thailand, Birma und Sri Lanka* (1981), Ulrich VON SCHROEDER, *Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka* (Hong Kong, 1990) and *The Golden Age of Sculpture in Sri Lanka. Masterpieces of Buddhist and Hindu Bronzes from Museums in Sri Lanka* (Hong Kong, 1992), Johannes SCHULTZ-TESMAR, *Thailand* (Bildband) (Munich, 1990), Henri STIERLIN, *Die Welt der Tempel und Pagoden. Kunst und Kultur Südostasiens unter dem Einfluß Angkors* (Bayreuth, 1979), Hans-Ulrich STORZ, *Birma. Land, Geschichte, Wirtschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1967), Helmut UHLIG, *Auf den Spuren Buddhas. Reise durch Ceylon, Birma, Thailand, Laos, Kambodscha, Vietnam* (rev. ed., Berlin, 1977, 1982), Hans-Hasso VON VELTHEIM-OSTRAU, *Tagebücher aus Asien* II. *Ceylon and South India*, III. *Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaya, Java and Bali* (Hamburg, 1956–58).

Abbreviations

AKBAW	Abhandlungen der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich
DHB	*The Dating of the Historical Buddha/Die Datierung des historischen Buddha. Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung IV*, Göttingen, 1988. Ed. H. BECHERT, 2 Parts, 1991–92.
IA	*The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, repr. Delhi, 1985
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, repr. Delhi, 1985
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*, London, repr. 1978; N.S. XII, Oxford, 1988
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London
JSS	*Journal of the Siam Society*, Bangkok
M/NOAG	*Mitteilungen/Nachrichten der Ostasiatischen Gesellschaft*, Hamburg
NAWG	*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen
OE	*Oriens Extremus*, Wiesbaden
Sae	*Saeculum*, Freiburg-Munich
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich
Studien	*Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde. H. Bechert Festgabe*, ed. R. GRÜNENDAHL, J.-U. HARTMANN and P. KIEFFER-PÜLZ, Bonn, 1993

VOHD Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Wiesbaden

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig; Wiesbaden after 1950; Stuttgart from 1984

The *Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā Dhāraṇī* Transliterated by Tz'ŭ-hsien

AKIRA YUYAMA, Tokyo

0. Introductory:

0.0. There can be no doubt about the popularity from ancient times of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-Dhāraṇī* (or *Uṣṇīṣavijayā Dhāraṇī;* hereinbelow abbreviated as *UDh*) in the history of Buddhist propagation. This is true particularly in East Asia. A number of versions of this *Dhāraṇī* and icons of the deified figures of *Uṣṇīṣavijayā* on maṇḍalas must have existed once upon a time. I have recorded such materials to the best of my ability in connection with a very interesting version preserved on a bell at the Temple Yeon-bog-sa[a] in Gaeseong[b], the ancient capital of the Koryŏ dynasty[c] (918–1392). This version is exactly the same one as the one inscribed on the wall of the Chü-yung-kuan[d] situated between the Great Wall and the then capital of Yen-ching (Peking)[e] of the Yüan dynasty. Both must have been versions made more or less at the very same time under the imperial authority. The former was cast by a Mongol artisan in the second year of King Chung-mog-wang,[f] i. e. 1346.[1] The version on the wall of the Chü-yung-kuan must no doubt have been carved almost at the very same time. It is thus very important in the history of Buddhism in Korea and in East Asia as a whole. The fact that the Tibetan systems of Buddhism played a great rôle in this region under the Yüan rule cannot be overlooked.[2]

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[1] For further details see A. YUYAMA, "Enpukuji Dōshō-no Bongo Meibun Oboegaki", *Tōyō Gakuhō,*[bk] LXVI, 1–4 (Tokyo, 1985), pp. 325–362 (English summary on p. *13f.); also its revised and summarized version, "Die Sanskrit-Texte in Lañ-tsha und tibetischer (Dbu-can) Schrift auf der im Jahre 1346 gegossenen Glocke des Tempels Yen-bog-jeol in Korea", *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag (Würzburg 1985) — Ausgewählte Vorträge* (= *ZDMG*, Supplementband X)(Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 429–434. Since then there have appeared before me a number of materials and studies on this literature and iconographical illustrations, of which I wish to publish a philological survey in the future.

[2] A. YUYAMA, "An Appraisal of the History of Buddhist Sanskrit Studies in East Asia", *Studies on Buddhism in Honour of Professor A. K. Warder*, edited by N. K. WAGLE and F. WATANABE (= *South Asian Studies Papers*, No. 5) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 194–203, esp. p. 196. Cf. Shigeo KAMATA, *Chōsen Bukkyōshi* (= *Tōyō Sōsho*, I)[bl] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1987), p. 3 (cum p. 6, n. 2); Jonseok JEON, "Kōrai Bukkyō to Gendai Ramakyō tono Kankei — Ramakyō-no Eikyō-o Chūshin-ni", *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū,*[bm] XXXV, 2 (Tokyo, 1987), pp. 176(677)–178(679).

0.1. By a fortunate chance I found the version made by Tz'ŭ-hsien (or Maitrabhadra in Sanskrit?) when I was looking through the *Chung-hua Ta-ts'ang-ching*[g]. The very text is to be found in Volume LXVIII (Peking, June 1993), p. 460a–b, with a note on the same page, column c, informing the readers of the fact that it was based on a text recorded in 1 fascicle in the famous stone-carved canon from the Yün-chü-ssŭ at Fang-shan.[h] From the reproduction it seems clear that the text was carved on two faces of the stone(s). Each face begins with the title and is numbered "tin"[i] according to the so-called "thousand-character" alphabet. The second face has "two" after the title.

0.2. In so far as the literature recorded in the *Taisho Edition* is concerned, Tz'ŭ-hsien is known to be the translator of the following five texts: Taisho 1090, 1192, 1193 and 1416, all of which belong to the Tāntric section. The last one is a *Dhāraṇī*, and the others are the so-called *Vidhi*-texts. Tz'ŭ-hsien's *UDh* is recorded neither in the *Taisho Edition* nor by Genmyō Ono in his renowned encyclopaedic dictionary of Sino-Japanese Buddhist literature.[j]

0.3. It is a matter of great pleasure that this stone-carved canon has been reprinted in the form of a rubbing in twenty-two volumes in Peking since 1989. The texts thus appear in white on a black background, in the negative as one might say. Our very text is to be found on page 499 of Volume XXI (1991), numbered "8724 under the tower".[k] Face A is either a little damaged or poorly rubbed. But the text is beautifully carved (see Plate II). This is not really clear from the *Chung-hua Ta-ts'ang-ching* edition, although the latter offers a clearer text in the positive (see Plate I). But, at the same time, the text is not as clear as one would expect. This fact may tell us that both editions have derived from rubbings made at different times.

0.4. Incidentally, the stone-carved canon at the Temple Yün-chü-ssŭ of Fang-shan,[l] begun by Ching-yüan[m] in 605 AC and continued till the Yüan dynasty, was made known publicly by a research group at the University of Kyoto more than sixty years ago.[n] In particular, the work done by Zenryū Tsukamoto has always been enlightening and stimulating.[o] Unfortunately, it has not really attracted the serious attention of scholars in related fields of study. In recent years, however, several works have appeared in China; for example, a brief but comprehensive introduction was published by the Buddhist Association of China.[p] The publication of a detailed study on the original introductions to texts has also been welcomed by scholars.[q] In this book is mentioned our text of the *UDh* (in one fascicle with no introductory text) numbered "tin" as Tz'ŭ-hsien's version of the Liao dynasty, which had been kept underneath the tower (p. 141). We learn from this book that his translations were preserved in the same place with the same number "tin". In a collection of fourteen articles on the *Fang-shan Shih-ching*[r] Jên Chieh gives a detailed bibliographical account of Tz'ŭ-hsien's translation work (pp. 58–64, esp. pp. 61f.: § III.6).[s] I do not see, however, how Jên has obtained the date of its

carving as 1146 AC (*ibid.*, p. 62).[t] This must simply be his guess, but may be right, given the sequence of the neighbouring texts carved in that year. In this connection one can refer to a well-documented catalogue of the canon carved in the Liao and Chin dynasties by Yao Ch'ang-shou (pp. 439–447, esp. p. 476, l. 6)[u]; cf. the work as quoted above[p] (p. 141).[v] Further, in this connection it is indeed important to encourage the restoration of the so-called "Ch'i-tan Ta-ts'ang-ching"[w], as is mentioned by Jên (*op. cit.*, p. 62 bottom) and Yao (*op. cit.*, p. 440). It is therefore very welcome to see that this question, among others, has at last been discussed in more detail by various scholars in the above-mentioned collection of articles, edited with utmost care by Yasunori Kegasawa.[s] It is unfortunate, however, that Tz'u-hsien's version has not been discussed from the textcritical or philological points of view. The content of this text has not been made known to us so far. It is now hoped that the entire corpus of the *UDh* will carefully be compared in the future.

0.5. It is worth noting that the text was translated by Tz'ŭ-hsien (= Maitrabhadra?), State Preceptor of the Great Ch'i-tan Kingdom, a Tripiṭakācārya from Magadha of Central India.[x] It does not mention "Sung" dynasty, whereas the Taisho edition gives it before (Great) Ch'i-tan in describing Tz'ŭ-hsien's name. Only "Sung" is put on top of Tz'ŭ-hsien in the otherwise very useful *Catalogue Volumes* of the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, Nos. 1090, 1192, 1193 and 1416 (new revised ed.: Tokyo, 1969).

0.6. At the time when I wrote the above-mentioned article on the *UDh* at Yeon-bog-sa I had no idea of the version translated by Tz'ŭ-hsien. It had simply escaped my notice due to my carelessness. The *UDh* translated by Tz'ŭ-hsien was actually mentioned in the well-known catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Canon *Chih-yüan Fa-pao K'an-t'ung Tsung-lu* by name (or *Chih-yüan-lu* in brief)[y] in ten fascicles compiled by Ch'ing Chi-hsiang[z] and others in the Yüan dynasty from 1285 to 1287 in Peking: *Taisho — Catalogue Volumes*, II, No. 25, p. 180b13; cf. *Hōbōgirin*, Fascicule Annexe[aa] (rev. ed.: Paris-Tokyo, 1978), p. 228, and 263b, *Keikishō*[z], s. v. Ch'ing Chi-hsiang is also well known as a co-worker of the famed Tibetan 'Phags-pa/Pa-ssŭ-pa[ab]. Tz'ŭ-hsien is cited in this catalogue as the State Preceptor of the Ch'i-tan Kingdom (907–1125/Liao 947–) from Magadha in Central India[x], as is found in the stone-carved text (cf. § 0.2 above): see *Taisho — Catalogue Volumes*, II, Fasc. IV, p. 205c20–21: Text No. 586. Cf. *Hōbōgirin*, Fascicule Annexe (1978), p. 258b, also Mochizuki's *Dictionary*,[ac] Vol. II (Tokyo 1933, rev. ed. 1954), p. 1766a, *Jiken*, ss. vv. To my regret, I have not yet discovered the precise dates of Tz'ŭ-hsien's birth and death, nor of his translation of the *UDh*. More careful study is needed.

0.7. Furthermore, it is to be noted that the version translated by Tz'ŭ-hsien is said in the *Chih-yüan-lu* to be a newly catalogued one[ad]. This statement is extremely important in the history of the Chinese Buddhist canons, i. e. *Ta-ts'ang-ching*. It means that Tz'ŭ-hsien's version had taken three centuries, if

not more, to receive the imperial authorization to be incorporated into the *Ta-ts'ang-ching*. In other words it reveals the very reason why this version has not been found for so long. It seems quite apparent now that this stone-carved version is the only extant text (cf. §. 1.0.1 and 3.3 below).

0.8. In his extremely useful table of concordance to the twenty-five extant Chinese canons and catalogues Ts'ai Yün-ch'ên[ae] has quoted on page 110 the *UDh* as the work by Tz'ŭ-hsien of the "Sung" dynasty. There Ts'ai identifies the version with the one in the Taisho: No. 974E, i.e. Vol. XIX pp. 389a1-396b6. The Indic text in Chinese characters is to be found on p. 389a3-b2. This Taisho text is a manuscript copied in the Heian Period and preserved in the Temple Tō-ji[af] in Kyoto. The translator's name is not given. It is no other than the one collated with the text which had been published in the so-called *Zoku Zōkyō*, known as the "Manji" Edition (1905-1912), or in its ful title *Dai-Nippon Zokuzōkyō*[ag]. In it is found the version in question as III.4 Text 16[ah]. No information as to the name of the translator is given: see its Catalogue *Dai-Nippon Zokuzōkyō Sōmokuroku*[ai] (reprinted in Tokyo 1967), p. 78a11 = *Taisho Catalogue Volumes*, II, No. 35, p. 513c24: Text No. 162. As a matter of fact, it is emphatically not Tz'ŭ-hsien's version. The very Indic text in Chinese characters is to be found on folios 372a2-b6 in the Manji Edition. It has been photomechanically reprinted in Taiwan: Vol. III (Taipei, n.d.), p. 0744. And, further, it has also been reprinted photomechanically, but in an entirely new format, in Japan:[aj] Text No. 187, Vol. II (Tokyo 1980), p. 844a3-b3. After all, it is absolutely clear that this is just mistaken information given by Ts'ai in his otherwise very useful table of concordance mentioned above. He may simply have guessed it on the basis of his knowledge at that time.

1. *Text Reconstructed:*

1.0.0. Now, let us romanize the Indic text back from the one transliterated in Chinese characters as seen in the *Chung-hua Ta-ts'ang-ching* (Chinese Section), Vol. LXVII, p. 460a-b (cf. § 0.2 above). This text is divided into 100 portions/groups of words/phrases. The Arabic numerals from 1 to 100 in parentheses follow exactly those given in the original text. Some words/phrases are mistakenly grouped, e.g. Nos. 3-4. Jên may well be right to say that Tz'ŭ-hsien's version was the longest one upto that time (*op. cit.*, pp. 61 f.). The *UDh*-literature must have been enlarged as time went on, accumulating similarly extended repetitive expressions and incorporating words and phrases from the other *mantra-dhāraṇī* sources. In any case, Tz'ŭ-hsien's version has been hitherto kept undisclosed and unknown in a dormant state in the cave.

1.0.1. This *Chung-hua Ta-ts'ang-ching* edition always gives as many variant readings as possible collated with others at the end of the text or fascicles, after having selected the best version apparently according to the criteria of

the editors. Their criteria are not shown in any text. In this case it explains on column c that the basic text is from the stone-carved canon of the Temple Yün-chü-ssŭ of Fang-shan[h] (see also § 0.2 above). No variant is reported here. This fact tells us at the same time that they have not seen any other extant version translated/transliterated by Tz'ŭ-hsien.

1.0.2. The *daṇḍa(s)* given in the reconstructed text below are put without notes by the present editor with reference to the other extant *UDh* texts. The *visarga* and the accusative plural *-ān* are also freely added in this way. The long vowel sign is augmented in accordance with the usual rules (cf. § 2.3.0 below). Apparent lacunae of words are added by ⟨ ⟩.

1.1.0. Face A:

1.1.1. Title in Chinese: *Fo-ting Tsun-shêng T'o-lo-ni*[ak], i.e. *Uṣṇīṣavijayā Dhāraṇī.*

1.1.2. The number of the face in the so-called "Thousand-Character" alphabet/numerals: *Tin.*[i]

1.1.3. The name and title of the translator: Translated by Tz'ŭ-hsien, State Preceptor of the Great Kingdom of Ch'i-tan, Tripiṭakācārya from Magadha in Central India.[x]

1.1.4. Reconstructed Text in Transliteration (Face A):

namo bhagavate (1) | sarva-trailokya-(2)prati(3)viśiṣṭāya(4) buddhāya (5) bhagavate (6) ‖

tad-yathā |

oṃ (7) bhrūṃ bhrūṃ (8) | śodhaya śodhaya (9) | viśodhaya viśodhaya (10) ‖ a-sama-sama-samantā(11)vabhāsa-(12)spharaṇa-(13)gati-gahana-(14)gagana-(15)svabhāva-viśuddhe (16) | abhisiñcantu māṃ (17) sarva-tathāgatāḥ sugata-(18)vara-vacana-(19)amṛtābhiṣekaiḥ (20) mahā-mudrā-(21)mantra-padaiḥ (22) ‖

oṃ āhara āhara (23) | āyuḥ-saṃdhāraṇi (24) | śodhaya śodhaya (25) | gagana-svabhāva-viśuddhe (26) | uṣṇīṣa-(27)vijaya-(28)pariśuddhe (29) | sahasra-raśmi-saṃcodite (30) | sarva-tathāgatā(31)valokini (32) | sarva-tathāgata-māte (33) | ṣaṭ-pāramitā-(34)paripūraṇi (35) | daśa-bhūmi-(36)pratiṣṭhiti (37) | sarva-tathāgata-(38)hṛdayā(39)dhiṣṭhānā(40)dhiṣṭhiti (41) ‖

oṃ mudre mudre mahā-mudre (42) | vajra-kāya-(43)saṃhatana-(44)pariśuddhe (45) | sarva-karmā(46)varaṇa-viśiddhe (47) | pratinivarta(48)ya ‖ āyur-viśuddhe (49) ‖

oṃ muni muni mahā-muni (50) | ā muni muni (51) | vimuni vimuni mahā-vimuni (52) | mati mati mahā-mati (53) | tathā-bhūta-kuṭi-(54)pariśuddhe (55) | visphuṭa-(56)viśuddhe (57) ‖

oṃ he he | jaya jaya mahā-jaya (58) |

1.2.0. Face B:

1.2.1. Title in Chinese: *Fo-ting Tsun-shêng T'o-lo-ni*[ak], i.e. *Uṣṇīṣavijayā Dhāraṇī*.

1.2.2. Underneath is written "Two", indicating the second page/face.

1.2.3. Followed by the numeral character "Tin".[i]

1.2.4. Reconstructed Text in Transliteration (Face B):

smara smara (59) | sphura sphura (60) | sarva-buddhā(61)dhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhiti (62) | śuddhe śuddhe (63) | vajre vajre mahā-vajre (64) | suvajre (65) | vajra-garbhe (66) | jaya-garbhe (67) | vijaya-garbhe (68) | vajra-jvala-garbhe (69) | vajrodgati (70) | vajrodbhavi (71) | vajra-sambhavi (72) | vajri | vajriṇi (73) | vajraṃ bhavatu (74) | mama śarīraṃ (75) sarva-satvānāṃ (76) ‖ kāya-pariśuddhiś ca (77) bhavatu me sadā (78) sarva-gati-(79)pariśuddhiś ca (80) ‖ sarva-tathāgatāḥ (81) samāśvāsa-niṣṭhite (82) sarva-tathāgatāś ca māṃ (83) samāśvāsayatu (84) ‖

oṃ sidhya sidhya (85) | budhya budhya (86) | viśodhaya viśodhaya (87) | vibodhaya vibodhaya (88) | moca moca | vimoca (89) | śodhaya śodhaya (90) | viśodhaya viśodhaya (91) | samantān parimocaya (92) ‖

samanta-raśmi-(93)pariśuddhe (94) | sarva-tathāgata-(95)hṛdayā(96)dhiṣṭhānā(97)dhiṣṭhite (98) ‖

oṃ mudre ⟨mudre⟩ mahā-mudre (99) | ⟨mahā-mudrā-⟩mantra-pada-niṣṭhite | svāhā (100) ‖

1.2.5. Concluded with the title in Chinese, the number of fascicle, and of the text in the "thousand-character" numeral as follows:

1.2.6. Title in Chinese: *Fo-ting Tsun-shêng T'o-lo-ni*[ak], i.e. *Uṣṇīṣavijayā Dhāraṇī*.

1.2.7. Immediately followed by the number of fascicle: *1 chüan*[al].

1.2.8. On the same line the number of the text is written underneath: *Tin*[i].

2. *Philological Remarks:*

2.0.0. For technical reasons as mentioned below it is difficult to discuss in detail the phonological questions of the Chinese characters in relation to the corresponding Indic. Therefore I must confine myself to making some general remarks and sporadic textcritical notes.

2.1.0. In the *mantra-dhāraṇī* texts it is not at all unusual to see many strangely invented Chinese characters representing Indic sounds. There are a small number of deformed characters. Some may be due to the technique of stone carving. It is therefore impossible for me from the technical point of view to reproduce such characters in print:

2.1.1. Say, for example, a number of characters are added with the radical "mouth" to the originals like "va" (in *bhagavat-* 1), "ra" (in *sarava-* → *sarva-* 2), "rai" (in *tarai-* → *trai-*2), "ta" (in *samanta-* 11, *tathāgata-sugata-* 18), "ṛ" (in *amṛta-* 20), "ra", "ṛ" and "ri" (in *pratinivarta-* 48, *hṛdaya-* 39, *mudri* 42), "he" (exclamatory *he he* 58: the carved character looks like "four", but it must originally be "plate"), "ro" (in *vajrodgati-* 70), "raṃ" (in *vajraṃ* 74), "raṃ" (in *śarīraṃ* 75), "nāṃ" (in *sarva-satvānāṃ* 76), the sacred syllable of *oṃ* (7, 23, 42, 50, 58, 85 and 99),[am] "h(a)" (in *hṛdaya-* 39, 96), "ṭha/ṭhā" (in *adhiṣṭhāna-* 97). The last two cannot be written with my computer dictionary: "ha" consists of "mouth" + "thread" + "seeking, begging".[an] and "ṭha" is an abbreviated form of "scolding", or rather, say, "house" without crown.[ao]

2.1.2. One more radical is added on top, e. g. "hand"[ap] is inserted between "mouth" and "dragon" for "rūṃ" (in *bhrūṃ bhrūṃ* 8).[aq]

2.2.0. The radical "woman" is added to "da"[ar] (in *hṛdaya-* 39). Note, however, that the same sound "da" (in *hṛdaya-* 96) is written without "woman". On "da" see further § 2.6.0 below.

2.3.0. No sign for a long vowel "yin"[as] is used in this text, except the very last word "svāhā" (100). But, strictly speaking, it is not *svāhā*, but *svahā*, according to our text.

2.3.1. Regarding the vowels *-i* and *-e*, either the stem in *-i* or the vocative ending in *-e*, are not observed from the grammatical point of view when compared with other corresponding texts. Such a phenomenon is seen elsewhere between the dative ending in *-e* of the *a(n)t*-stem noun. This must be examined more carefully in the context of Chinese historical phonology: see e. g. characters like "bottom", "emperor", "earth", "younger brother".[at]/[3] Some strange confusion may have taken place in the case of "engraving"[au] (in *bhūmi-* 36, *me* 78, *raśmi-/raśmi, raśme*? 93)(see PULLEYBLANK, *op.cit.*, p. 216)!

2.4.0. The sign "two combined"[av] for consonant clusters is not always indicated, or rather it is neglected, e. g., *sapharaṇa* (for *spharaṇa* 13); *pariśuddhiśa ca* (for *°śuddhiś ca* 77, 80); *tathāgatāśa ca* (for *°gatāś ca* 83).

2.4.1. This compound sign is sometimes given in an unnecessary place, apparently by mistake, e. g. *saṃmantraśme* (for *samanta-raśme* 93).

2.4.2. The consonant cluster *ddhe* is almost always represented by the Chinese character "brother"[aw], which is expected to be *dhe* (e.g. in *viśuddhe* 16, 25, 45). It is worth noting, however, that this character is always preceded by the character "autumn", from which one expects the Indic sound "śū"[ax], i.e.

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[3] In such a case I refer in the first place to the recent work by Edwin G. PULLEYBLANK, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991): pp. 75f. (for these characters).

**śūdhe* (for *śuddhe*)! One exception is to be found in 29: it reads *pariśodhe*, where one expects *pariśuddhe*. There is no doubt that the Chinese character for *śo*[ay] (as in *śodhaya śodhaya* 9) is used simply by mistake (cf. PULLEYBLANK, *op.cit.*, p. 258 for "autumn"). Note that the character "brother" is once used for "ddhi" (in *pariśuddhiś ca* 77, 80).

2.5.0. Two sounds are sometimes represented by one character[az]: *can* in *abhisiñcantu* 17 and *saṃ* in *saṃdhārani* 24, *saṃcodite* 30 (cf. PULLEYBLANK, *op.cit.*, p. 272).

2.5.1. The character "earth" represents both *ti* and *dhi*, e. g. two *dhi* and the last *ti* in *adhiṣṭhānâdhiṣṭhiti* 41: cf. the first *ti* is represented by "emperor" and the last *ti* by "earth" in *pratiṣṭhiti* 37; also *dhi* by "earth" in *adhiṣṭhāna-* 40, 98![as] In the case of *pratiṣṭhiti* 37 one would rather expect the first character to be "earth" and the last "emperor" and read *pratiṣṭhite* in the normal form. Incidentally, "bottom" is used for both *ti* (in *prati-* 3, *mati mati mahā-mati* 53) and *d(a)* (in *mudri* 42, 99), and is used for the expected *te* "emperor" in *-adhiṣṭhiti* (for *adhiṣṭhite*) 62.[at]

2.5.2. It is not really surprising to see the character "mile"[ba] used for both *ṛ* in *hṛdaya-* 39, 96 and *ri* in *mudri* 42. In the latter case, however, one expects to see the character representing *re* in *mudre*! Cf. PULLEYBLANK, *op.cit.*, p. 186–188: characters with "village".[bb]

2.6.0. It is well known that both /d/ and /n/ have been used interchangeably. In particular, this phenomenon seems to be frequently seen in the Sung period, e.g. *di* in *saṃcodite* 30[bc] (cf. PULLEYBLANK, *op.cit.*, p. 224); *da* in *daśa-* 36[bd] (not in PULLEYBLANK); *da* of *hṛdaya-* 39, 96 (cf. PULLEYBLANK, *op.cit.*, p. 221), the former being combined with the radical "woman" (cf. § 2.2.0 above).[be/ar]

2.7.0. Herewith I wish to glean some apparent mistakes in the order of the "numerical" numbers:

2.7.1. *tad-yathā* must be independent with a separate number. Numeral 7 must therefore be put after it, and not after the following *oṃ*!

2.7.2. The numbering or grouping of the words/phrases are rather sporadic and ambiguous. The following numbers must thus be put at different places:

2.7.2a. The following case is an apparent mistake: e. g. *parinivarta*(48)*ya*.

2.7.2b. The prefixes are separated unnecessarily: e. g. *prati*(3)*viśiṣṭāya*(4).

2.7.2c. As a result of the lack of the long vowel sign, the words are separated unreasonably: e. g. *-samantâ*(11)*vabhāsa-*(12), *-tathāgatâ*(31)*valokini*(32), *-hṛdayâ*(39)*dhiṣṭhānâ*(40)*dhiṣṭhiti* (41), *-karmâ*(46)*varaṇa-*, *-buddhâ*(61)*dhiṣṭhāna-*, *-hṛdayâ*(96)*dhiṣṭhānâ*(97)*dhiṣṭhite* (98).

2.7.2d. The hiatus remains in the following case, disregarding the *sandhi* rule (without using the long sign): e. g. *-vacana-*(19)*amṛta-*. In our text this should usually read *-vacana*(19)*mṛta-*, which is expected to be *-vacanâ*(19)*mṛta-*.

2.8.0. The word *yuḥ*[bf] in 49 must be a simple mistake for *āyus-*, which may have to be a compound with the preceding *parinivartaya*, i.e. *parinivartayâ-yuḥ-*, or further correctly *āyur-*, a compound with the following *viśuddhe*. More precisely, in comparison with the other versions, one should perhaps expect here *parinivartaya / mamâyur-viśuddhe*. Otherwise, *yuḥ*, as a *bīja* found in the *mantra-dhāraṇī* texts, is absolutely out of place.

2.9.0. One would expect *tathatā-bhūta-koṭi-* 54 for *tathā-bhūta-kuṭi-*.

2.10.0. Character "three"[bg] is often used for the expected sound *sa*: e.g. *saṃmanta-* (for *samanta-*) 11, 92; *saṃmāśvāsa*° (for *samāśvāsa*°) 82, 84; *saṃmanta* (for *samantān*) 92. The following "three" is used in the place where it should be *s* to make a consonant cluster with the following characters, e.g. *saṃmara saṃmara* (for *smara smara*) 59. In our text one would expect either *sa(t)* (of *bodhisattva*), e.g. *sarva-* 2, *svabhāva-* 16, or rather *sa* (of *sahā*, in the character group of "sand"),[bh] e.g. *asama-sama-samantâva-bhāsa-spharaṇa-* 11–13 (cf. PULLEYBLANK, *op.cit.*, p. 271 and 273 respectively).

2.11.0. The phrase *sphura sphura* (or possibly *sphūra sphūra* 60) is usually expected to be *sphara sphara*.

2.12.0. The sound *a*[bi] of the word *avajri* (or rather *āvjre* 65) must simply be a mistake derived from a graphical confusion of Indic *a*, *ā* and *su*.[bj]

2.13.0. The singular imperative form is used instead of the expected plural: e.g. *saṃmāśvāsayatu* (for *samāśvāsayantu* 84). The correct form is found once: *abhisiñcantu māṃ* (17) *sarva-tathāgatāḥ* … (18). The form *bhavatu* (in 74 and 78) is usually expected to be *bhavantu*.

3. Conclusion Summarized:

3.0. In our text, I think, no Prakritism is to be found, but simply a bad or corrupt transmission, if one finds any non-Sanskrit forms. The text is not written down properly in accordance with the rules for transcribing Indic words and phrases in Chinese characters, such as a separation of words, signs for long vowels and consonant clusters, etc.

3.1. If the text had already been corrupt in the present form as preserved at Fang-shan, it may well explain why this version was not authorized by imperial order to be incorporated into any edition of the so-called *Ta-ts'ang-ching* for about three centuries, and further excluded at least in the extant *Ta-ts'ang-ching* transmitted down to date (cf. § 0.6–7 above).

3.2. To sum up, it is clear that this version found in the stone-carved canon is not as well collated as is normally expected. Therefore, if one should admit that this were really the version made (or rather transliterated) by Tz'ŭ-hsien, he was not careful at all in translating/transliterating such texts, since he is

said to have been from Central India! Otherwise, one should conclude that this version was transmitted in the present form in an extremely incompetent manner.

3.3. It looks as if it would be an endless task to list Chinese characters corresponding to the Indic sounds. Any specialist in the related fields of study may agree, I believe, that he/she will always find an enlightening suggestive hint in an otherwise very useful dictionary made by Robert HEINEMANN, but, at the same time, he/she will find a great many missing Chinese characters when seeking their corresponding Indic sounds.[4] This version of Tz'ŭ-hsien itself is no exception.

3.4. In conclusion, it must be said that a comparative table of correspondence between Indic and Sinic sounds diachronically and synchronically is badly needed and it is ardently to be hoped that such a table will soon appear. A great many serious scholars have worked in this field since the appearance of the classical model by Stanislas JULIEN (1799–1873),[5] who had made thorough studies of the relevant materials for decades in the period when there was no complete *Ta-ts'ang-ching* in Paris. The accumulation of such research work will no doubt benefit not only just Buddhist studies but Indo-Sinic studies and Asian studies as a whole.

[4] Robert HEINEMANN, *Chinese-Sanskrit Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary of Words and Phrases as Used in Buddhist* Dhāraṇī (Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1985) [ISBN 4-89551-210-X].

[5] For example, *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les mots sanscrits qui se reconstrent dans les livres chinois ...*, inventée et démonstrée par Stanislas JULIEN (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861), VI; 235 pp.

List of Sino-Japanese Characters

[a] 演福寺
[b] 開城
[c] 高麗
[d] 居庸關
[e] 燕京 (北京)
[f] 忠穆王
[g] 中華大藏経 (漢文部分) [ISBN 7-101-01133-0]
[h] 房山雲居寺石経本
[i] 丁 / 丁字号
[j] 小野玄妙・佛書解説大辭典
[k] 房山石経 (遼金刻経), 第二十一卷 (北京・中国仏教協会編 / 中国仏教図書文物館刊, 1991年5月)
[l] 河北省房山縣・石経山雲居寺 / 西域寺, 西峪寺
[m] 靜琬
[n] 東方學報 (京都), 第五冊副刊: 房山雲居寺研究 (1935), 440 p., 38 pl., 32 ills., 3 folded maps.
[o] 塚本善隆, "石經山雲居寺と石刻大藏經", p. 1-245.
[= 塚本善隆著作集, V (1975), p. 291-610: "房山雲居寺の石刻大藏経" [牧田諦亮解説, p. 611f.].
[p] 中国佛教協会(編), 房山雲居寺石経 (北京・文物出版社, 1978), (i), 4, 142 p. (incl. 66 pl.).
[q] 北京圖書館金石組・中國佛教圖書文物館石經組 (編), 房山石経題記匯編 (北京・新華書店, 1987), (i), 3, 1, 44, 632 p.
[r] 房山石経之研究 (= «法音»文庫) (北京・中国佛教協会, 1987), (iii), 190 p.
[s] 任杰, "房山石経中保存的契丹国慈賢訳経"
[t] 金皇統六年 (= 1146).
[u] 金大定六年 / 金皇統六年 (= 1146)
[v] 娩長鄭, "「房山石経 (遼金刻経)」所載石経総目録", 氣賀澤保規 (編): 中國佛教石經の研究 — 房山雲居寺石経を中心に (京都・京都大学学術出版会, 1996年3月)
[w] 契丹藏
[x] 大契丹國師中天竺摩竭陀國三藏法師 慈賢 譯
[y] 至元法寶勘同總録 / 至元録
[z] 慶吉祥
[aa] 法寶義林・別冊
[ab] 八思巴
[ac] 望月信亨・佛教大辭典
[ad] 新編入藏

ae 蔡運辰: 二十五種藏經目錄對照 (台北・中華佛教文化館 /新文豐出版公司, 1983年12月)

af 東寺 (= 教王護国寺)

ag 續藏經 / 卍續經 / 大日本續藏經

ah 第三套 第四冊

ai 大日本續藏經・總目録

aj 新纂・大日本續藏經

ak 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼

al 一巻

am 口 + 縛, 羅, 賴, 多, 栗, 里, 四 (皿?), 魯, 覽 / 覧, 郎, 南, 蓭

an 口 + 糸 + 乞

ao 咤 (宅 — 宀)

ap 手 / 扌

aq 口 + 手 / 扌 + 龍

ar 女 + 那

as 引

at 底, 帝, 地, 弟

au 銘

av 二合

aw 弟

ax 秋

ay 戍

az 歆

ba 哩

bb 里

bc 袮 / 禰

bd 捺

be 那

bf 欲

bg 三

bh 娑 / 沙

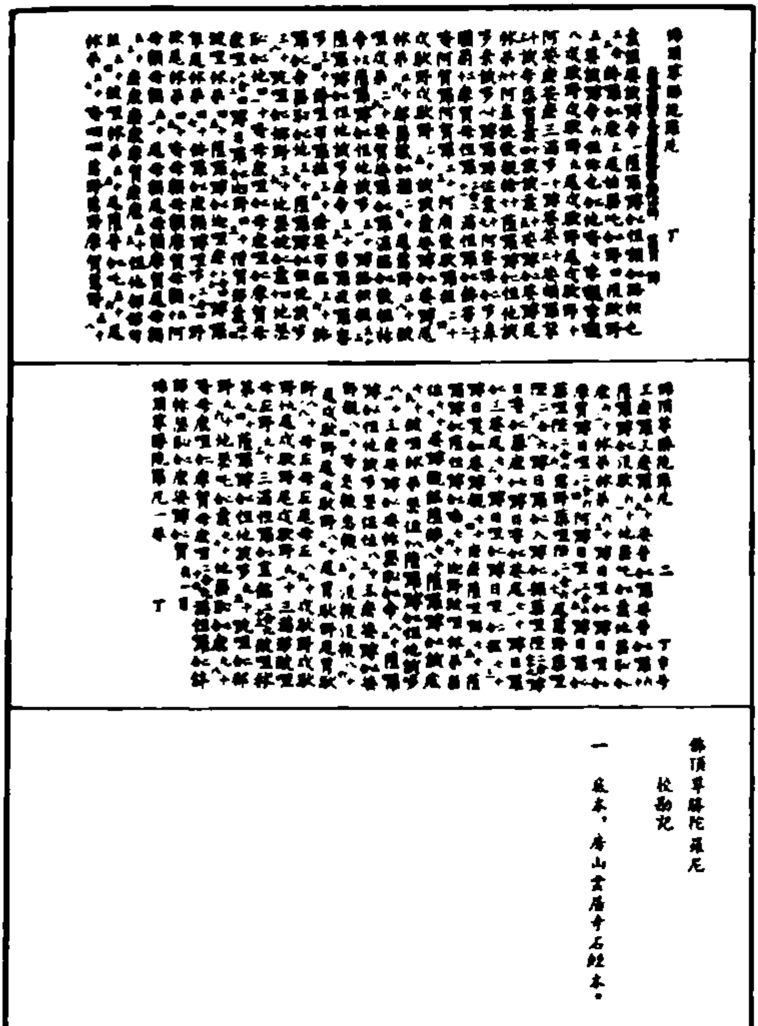
bi 阿

bj अ / अु / हु

bk 湯山明, "濟福寺銅鐘の梵語銘文覚書", 東洋學報, LXI (= 創立60周年記念特輯號) (1985)

bl 鎌田茂雄, 朝鮮仏教史 (= 東洋叢書, 1) (東京・東京大学出版会, 1987)

bm 全宗釋, "高麗仏教と元代喇嘛教との関係 — 喇嘛教の影響を中心に —", 印度學佛教學研究


中華大藏經

佛頂尊勝陀羅尼

佛頂尊勝陀羅尼

佛頂尊勝陀羅尼

校勘記

一 底本，房山雲居寺石經本。

六八—四六〇

Plate I: *Chung-hua Ta-ts'ang-ching*[a], LXVIII (Peking, 1993), p. 460 (see my text § 0.1).

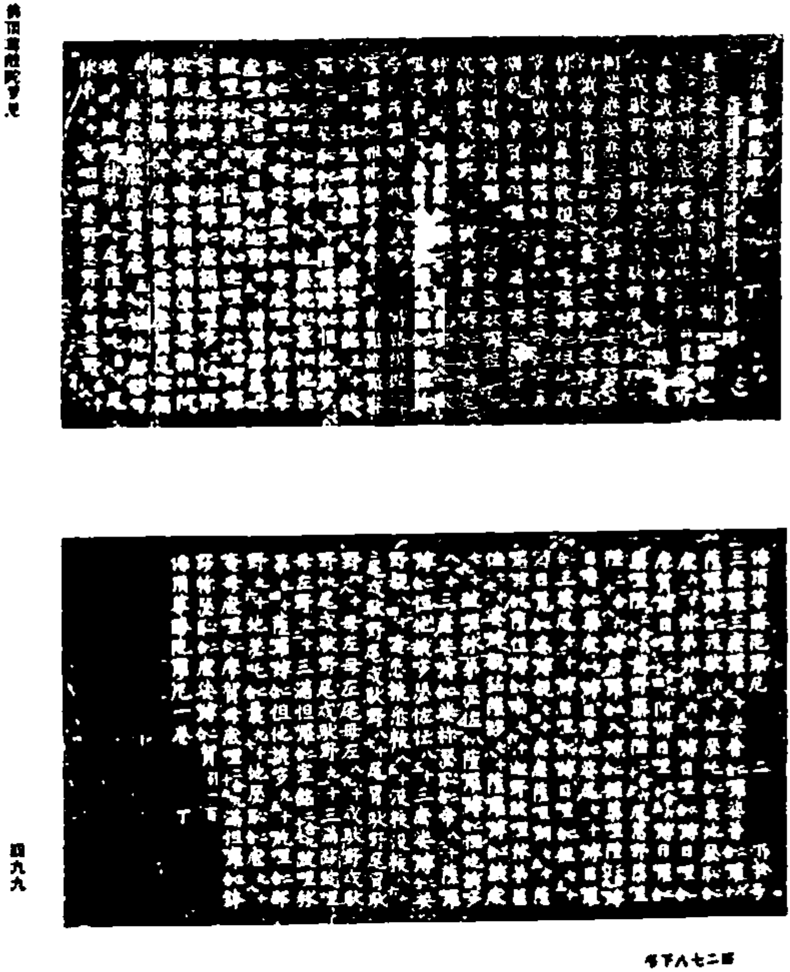


Plate II: Rubbing in the *Fang-shan Shih-ching*, XXI (Peking, 1991)[k], p. 499 (see my text § 0.3).